

A
GENERAL COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

AFRICA.

A VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA,

By Father JEROME LOBO, a Portuguese Jesuit.

FROM THE FRENCH.*

THE PREFACE.

THE following relation is so curious and entertaining, and the dissertations that accompany it so judicious and instructive, that the Translator is confident his attempt stands in need of no apology, whatever censures may fall on the performance.

The Portuguese traveller, contrary to the general vein of his countrymen, has amused his reader with no romantic absurdities or incredible fictions, whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at least probable; and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, has a right to demand that they should believe him who cannot contradict him.

He appears by his modest and unaffected narration, to have described things as he saw them, to have copied nature from the life, and to have consulted his senses not his imagination; he meets with no basilisks that destroy with their eyes, his crocodiles devour their prey without tears, and his cataracts fall from the rock without deafening the neighbouring inhabitants.

The reader will here find no regions cursed with irremediable barrenness, or blessed with spontaneous fecundity, no perpetual gloom or unceasing sunshine; nor are the nations here described either devoid of all sense of humanity, or consummate in all

* Translated by Dr. Johnson.

private and social virtues; here are no Hottentots without religion, no Chinese perfectly polite, and completely skilled in all sciences: he discover, what will always be discovered by a diligent and impartial enquirer, that wherever human nature is to be found, there is a mixture of vice and virtue, a conflict of passion and reason, and that the Creator doth not appear partial in his distribution of favours.

In his account of the mission, where his veracity is most to be suspected, he neither exaggerates overmuch the merits of the Jesuits, if we consider the partial regard paid by the Portuguese to their countrymen, by the Jesuits to their society, and by the Papists to their church, nor aggravates the vices of the Abyssinians: but if the reader will not be satisfied with a Popish account of a Popish mission, he may have recourse to the history of the church of Abyssinia, written by Dr. Geddes, in which he will find the actions and sufferings of the missionaries placed in a different light, though the same in which Mr. Le Grand, with all his zeal for the Roman church, appears to have seen them.

This learned dissertator, however valuable for his industry and erudition, is yet more to be esteemed for having dared so freely in the midst of France to declare his disapprobation of the Patriarch Oviedo's sanguinary zeal, who was continually importuning the Portuguese to beat up their drums for missionaries, who might preach the gospel with swords in their hands, and propagate by desolation and slaughter the true worship of the God of Peace.

It is not easy to forbear reflecting with how little reason these men profess themselves the followers of Jesus, who left this great characteristic to his disciples, that they should be known by loving one another, by universal and unbounded charity and benevolence.

Let us suppose an inhabitant of some remote and superior region, yet unskilled in the ways of men, having read and considered the precepts of the gospel, and the example of our Saviour, to come down in search of the true church: if he would not enquire after it among the cruel, the insolent, and the oppressive; among those who are continually grasping at dominion over souls as well as bodies; among those who are employed in procuring to themselves impunity for the most enormous villainies, and studying methods of destroying their fellow-creatures, not for their crimes but their errors; if he would not expect to meet benevolence, engage in massacres, or to find mercy in a court of inquisition, he would not look for the true church in the church of Rome.

Mr. Le Grand has given in one dissertation an example of great moderation, in declining from the temper of his religion, but in the others, has left proofs that learning and honesty are often too weak to oppose prejudice. He has made no scruple of preferring the testimony of Father de Bernat, to the writings of all the Portuguese, to whom he allows great zeal, but little learning, without giving any other reason than that his favourite was a Frenchman. This is writing only to Frenchmen and to Papists: a Protestant would be desirous to know why he must imagine that Father de Bernat had a cooler head or more knowledge; and why one man whose account is singular is not more likely to be mistaken than many agreeing in the same account.

If the Portuguese were biased by any particular views, another bias equally powerful may have deflected the Frenchman from the truth, for they evidently write with contrary designs: the Portuguese, to make their mission seem more necessary, endeavour to place in the strongest light the differences between the



Rome, and the great contest layng hold on the advantage, reduced these later writers to their common sense.

Upon the whole, the controversy seems of no great importance to those who believe the King has a right to teach the way of salvation, but of whatever moment it may be, there are not proofs sufficient to decide it.

His discourse on the same subject, will direct as well as instruct, and if either in these or in the relation of Father Lebo, any argument shall appear unconvincing, or description obscure, they are defects incident to all mankind, which, however, are not too rashly to be imputed to the authors, being, sometimes perhaps, more justly chargeable on the translator.

In this translation (if it may be so called) great liberties have been taken, which, whether justifiable or not, shall be fairly confessed; and let the judicious part of mankind pardon or condemn them.

In the first part the greatest freedom has been used, in reducing the narration into a narrow compass, so that it is by no means a translation, but an epitome, in which whether every thing either useful or entertaining be comprised, the compiler is least qualified to determine.

In the account of Abyssinia, and the continuation, the authors have been followed with more exactness, and as few passages appeared either insignificant or tedious, few have been either shortened or omitted.

The dissertations * are the only part in which an exact translation has been attempted, and even in those, abstracts are sometimes given instead of literal quotations, particularly in the first, and sometimes other parts have been contracted.

Several memorials and letters, which are printed at the end of the dissertations to secure the credit of the foregoing narrative, are entirely left out.

It is hoped, that, after this confession, whoever shall compare this attempt with the original, if he shall find no proofs of fraud or partiality, will candidly overlook any failure of judgment.

A VOYAGE TO ABYSSINIA.

CHAPTER I. — *The Author arrives after some Difficulties at Goa. Is chosen for the Mission of Ethiopia. The Fate of those Jesuits who went by Zila. The Author arrives at the Coast of Melinda.*

I DEPARTED in March 1621, in the same fleet with the Count Vidigueira, on whom the King had conferred the viceroyship of the Indies, then vacant by the resignation of Alonso Noronha, whose unsuccessful voyage in the foregoing year had been the occasion of the loss of Ormuz†, which being by the miscarriage of that fleet deprived of the succours necessary for its defence, was taken by the Persians and English. The beginning of this voyage was very prosperous we were neither annoyed with the diseases of the climate, nor distressed with bad weather, till we doubled

* Here omitted.

† Ormuz, a small island of great strength and unconqueredness in the Persian Gulf, once retaken by the Portuguese in 1622.

the Cape of Good Hope, which was about the end of May. Here began our misfortunes: these coasts are remarkable for the many shipwrecks the Portuguese have suffered. The sea is for the most part rough, and the winds tempestuous; we had here our rigging somewhat damaged by a storm of lightning, which when we had repaired, we sailed forward to Mosambique*, where we were to stay some time. When we came near that coast, and began to rejoice at the prospect of ease and refreshment, we were, on the sudden, alarmed with the sight of a squadron of ships, of what nation we could not at first distinguish, but soon discovered that they were three English and three Dutch, and were preparing to attack us. I shall not trouble the reader with the particulars of this fight, in which though the English commander ran himself a ground, we lost three of our ships, and with great difficulty escaped with the rest into the port of Mosambique.

This place was able to afford us little consolation in our uneasy circumstances; the arrival of our company almost caused a scarcity of provisions. The heat in the day is intolerable, and the dews in the night so unwholesome that it is almost certain death to go out with ones head uncovered. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the malignant quality of the air, than that the rust will immediately corrode both the iron and brass, if they are not carefully covered with straw. We staid however in this place from the latter end of July to the beginning of September, when having provided ourselves with other vessels, we set out for Cochim†, and landed there after a very hazardous and difficult passage, made so partly by the currents and storms which separated us from each other, and partly by continual apprehensions of the English and Dutch, who were cruising for us in the Indian seas. Here the viceroy and his company were received with so much ceremony, as was rather troublesome than pleasing to us who were fatigued with the labours of the passage; and having staid here some time, that the gentlemen who attended the viceroy to Goa‡, might fit out their vessels, we set sail, and after having been detained some time at sea, by calms and contrary winds, and somewhat harrassed by the English and Dutch, who were now encreased to eleven ships of war, arrived at Goa, on Saturday the 16th of December, and the viceroy made his entry with great magnificence.

I lived here above a year, and completed my studies in divinity; in which time some letters were received from the fathers in Æthiopia, with an account that Sultan Segued, Emperor of Abyssinia, was converted to the church of Rome, that many of his subjects had followed his example, and that there was a great want of missionaries to improve these prosperous beginnings. Every body was very desirous of seconding the zeal of our fathers, and of sending them the assistance they requested; to which we were the more encouraged, because the emperor's letters informed our provincial that we might easily enter his dominions by the way of Dancala§, but unhappily, the secretary wrote Zeila || for Dancala, which cost two of our fathers their lives.

* Mosambique, a city of Zanzibar, on the coast of Africa, in an island near the continent, at the mouth of a river of the same name, which there falls into the Æthiopic sea.

† A city of Asia in the East Indies in the promontory of Malabar, a bishoprick under the Archbishop of Goa, built by the Portuguese in 1503.

‡ Goa, a city of Asia, in the kingdom of Decan, in the peninsula on this side the Indus, in a small island towards the mouth of the river Mandova, on the shores of the promontory of Cuncan, on the west shore of the Cape of Malabar.

§ Dancala, a city of Africa in the Upper Æthiopia, upon the river Nile, in the tract of Nubia, of which it is the capital.

|| Zeila, a city in the kingdom of Adel, in Africa, at the mouth of the Red Sea, upon the outlet of a river of the same name, over against Adcl.

We were, however, notwithstanding the assurances given us by the emperor, sufficiently apprised of the danger, which we were exposed to in this expedition, whether we went by sea or land. By sea, we foresaw the hazard we run of falling into the hands of the Turks, amongst whom we should lose, if not our lives, at least our liberty, and be for ever prevented from reaching the court of Æthiopia. Upon this consideration, our Superiors divided the eight Jesuits chosen for this mission into two companies. Four they sent by sea, and four by land; I was of the latter number. The four first were the more fortunate, who though they were detained some time by the Turkish bassia, were dismissed at the request of the emperor, who sent him a zeura, or wild-ass, a creature of large size, and admirable beauty.

As for us, who were to go by Zeila, we had still greater difficulties to struggle with: we were entirely strangers to the ways we were to take, to the manners, and even to the names of the nations through which we were to pass. Our chief desire was to discover some new road by which we might avoid having any thing to do with the Turks. Among great numbers whom we consulted on this occasion, we were informed by some that we might go through Melinda*. These men painted that hideous wilderness in charming colours, told us that we should find a country watered with navigable rivers, and inhabited by a people that would either inform us of the way, or accompany us in it. These reports charmed us, because they flattered our desires; but our superiors finding nothing in all this talk that could be depended on, were in suspense, what directions to give us, till my companion and I upon this reflection, that since all the ways were equally new to us, we had nothing to do, but to resign our selves to the Providence of God, asked and obtained the permission of our superiors to attempt the road through Melinda. So of we who went by land, two took the way of Zeila, and my companion and I, that of Melinda.

Those who were appointed for Zeila embarked in a vessel that was going to Caxume†, where they were well received by the King, and accommodated with a ship, to carry them to Zeila, they were there treated by the check with the same civility which they had met with at Caxume. But the King being informed of their arrival, ordered them to be conveyed to his court at Auxa, to which place they were scarce come, before they were thrown by the King's command into a dark and dismal dungeon, where there is hardly any sort of cruelty that was not exercised upon them. The Emperor of Abyssinia endeavoured by large offers to obtain their liberty, but his kind offices had no other effect than to heighten the rage of the king of Zeila. This prince, besides his ill-will to Sultan Segued, which was kept up by some malcontents among the Abyssin nobility, who provoked at the conversion of their master, were plotting a revolt; entertained an inveterate hatred against the Portuguese for the death of his grandfather, who had been killed many years before, which he swore the blood of the Jesuits should repay. So after they had languished for some time in prison, their heads were struck off. A fate which had been likewise our own, had not God reserved us for longer labours!

Having provided every thing necessary for our journey, such as Arabian habits, and red caps, calligoes, and other trifles to make presents of to the inhabitants, and taking leave of our friends, as men going to a speedy death, for we were not insensible of the

* Melinda. The state of this country is now much changed; it is a kingdom of Africa upon the coast of Zanzibar, divided by the equator, with a city of the same name, subject to the Portuguese, who have (though the king is a Mahometan) churches for the exercise of their religion.

† Caxume, a city of Africa, and the capital of the kingdom of Tigremahon in Abyssinia, subject to the King of Abyssinia.

dangers we were likely to encounter, amongst horrid deserts, impassable mountains, and barbarous nations; we left Goa on the 26th day of January in the year 1624, in a Portuguese galliot that was ordered to set us ashore at Patè*, where we landed without any disaster in eleven days together, with a young Abyssin, whom we made use of as our interpreter. While we stayed here, we were given to understand that those who had been pleased at Goa to give us directions in relation to our journey, had done nothing but tell us lies. That the people were savage, that they had indeed begun to treat with the Portuguese, but it was only from fear, that otherwise they were a barbarous nation, who finding themselves too much crowded in their own country, had extended themselves to the sea shore, that they ravaged the country, and laid every thing waste, where they came, that they were man-eaters, and were on that account dreadful in all those parts. My companion and I being undeceived by this terrible relation, thought it would be the highest imprudence to expose ourselves both together to a death almost certain and unprofitable, and agreed that I should go with our Abyssin and a Portuguese to observe the country; that if I should prove so happy as to escape being killed by the inhabitants, and to discover a way, I should either return, or send back the Abyssin or Portuguese. Having fixed upon this, I hired a little bark to Jubo, a place about forty leagues distant from Patè, on board which I put some provisions, together with my sacerdotal vestments, and all that was necessary for saying mass: in this vessel we reached the coast, which we found inhabited by several nations: each nation is subject to its own king, these petty monarchies are so numerous, that I counted at least ten; in less than four leagues.

CHAP. II. — *The Author lands: the Difficulty of his Journey. An Account of the Galleys, and of the Author's Reception at the King's Tent; their manner of Swearing, and of letting Blood. The Author returns to the Indies, and finds the Patriarch of Æthiopia.*

ON this coast we landed, with an intention of travelling on foot to Jubo, a journey of much greater length and difficulty than we imagined. We durst not go far from our bark, and therefore were obliged to a toilsome march along the windings of the shore, sometimes clambering up rocks, and sometimes wading through the sands, so that we were every moment in the utmost danger of falling from the one, or sinking in the other. Our lodging was either in the rocks or on the sands, and even that incommoded by continual apprehensions of being devoured by lions and tigers. Amidst all these calamities our provisions failed us; we had little hopes of a supply, for we found neither villages, houses, nor any trace of a human creature; and had miserably perished by thirst and hunger had we not met with some fishermen's boats, who exchanged their fish for tobacco.

Through all these fatigues we at length came to Jubo, a kingdom of considerable extent, situated almost under the line, and tributary to the Portuguese who carry on a trade here for ivory, and other commodities. This region so abounds with elephants, that though the teeth of the male only are valuable, they load several ships with ivory every year. All this coast is much infested with ravenous beasts, monkeys and serpents, of which last here are some seven feet in length, and thicker than an ordinary man; in the head of this serpent is found a stone about the bigness of an egg, resembling bezoar, and

* Patè an isle and town on the coast of Zanzibar in Africa.

of great efficacy, as it is said; against all kinds of poison. I staid here some time to inform myself whether I might, by pursuing this road, reach Abyssinia; and could get no other intelligence, but that two thousand Gallas (the same people who inhabited Melinda), had encamped about three leagues from Jubo; that they had been induced to fix in that place by the plenty of provisions they found there. These Gallas lay every thing where they come in ruin, putting all to the sword without distinction of age or sex; which barbarities, though their numbers are not great, have spread the terror of them over all the country. They chuse a king, whom they call Lubo: every eighth year they carry their wives with them, and expose their children without any tenderness in the woods, it being prohibited on pain of death, to take any care of those which are born in the camp. This is their way of living when they are in arms, but afterwards when they settle at home, they breed up their children. They feed upon raw cow's flesh; when they kill a cow, they keep the blood to rub their bodies with, and wear the guts about their necks for ornaments, which they afterwards give to their wives.

Several of these Gallas came to see me, and as it seemed, they had never beheld a white man before, they gazed on me with amazement; so strong was their curiosity that they even pulled off my shoes and stockings, that they might be satisfied whether all my body was of the same colour with my face. I could remark, that after they had observed me some time, they discovered some aversion from a white; however, seeing me pull out my handkerchief, they asked me for it with a great deal of eagerness; I cut it into several pieces that I might satisfy them all, and distributed it amongst them; they bound them about their heads, but gave me to understand that they should have liked them better if they had been red: after this we were seldom without their company, which gave occasion to an accident, which though it seemed to threaten some danger at first, turned afterwards to our advantage.

As these people were continually teasing us, our Portuguese one day threatened in jest to kill one of them. The black ran in the utmost dread to seek his comrades, and we were in one moment almost covered with Gallas, we thought it the most proper course to decline the first impulse of their fury, and retired into our house. Our retreat inspired them with courage, they redoubled their cries, and posted themselves on an eminence near at hand that overlooked us, there they insulted us by brandishing their lances and daggers. We were fortunately not above a stone's cast from the sea, and could therefore have retreated to our bark had we found ourselves reduced to extremities, this made us not very solicitous about their menaces; but finding that they continued to hover about our habitation, and being wearied with their clamours, we thought it might be a good expedient to fright them away by firing four muskets towards them, in such a manner, that they might hear the bullets hiss about two feet over their heads. This had the effect we wished, the noise and fire of our arms struck them with so much terror that they fell upon the ground, and durst not for some time so much as lift up their heads. They forgot immediately their natural temper, their ferocity and haughtiness were softened into mildness and submission; they asked pardon for their insolence, and we were ever after good friends.

After our reconciliation we visited each other frequently, and had some conversation about the journey I had undertaken, and the desire I had of finding a new passage into Æthiopia. It was necessary on this account to consult their lubo or king; I found him in a straw hut something larger than those of his subjects, surrounded by his courtiers who had each a stick in his hand, which is longer or shorter according to the quality of the person admitted into the King's presence. The ceremony made use

of at the reception of a stranger is somewhat unusual ; as soon as he enters, all the courtiers strike him with their cudgels till he goes back to the door ; the amity then, subsisting between us, did not secure me from this uncouth reception, which they told me, upon my demanding the reason of it, was to shew those whom they treated with, that they were the bravest people in the world, and that all other nations ought to bow down before them. I could not help reflecting on this occasion, how imprudently I had trusted my life in the hands of men unacquainted with compassion or civility, but recollecting at the same time that the intent of my journey was such as might give me hopes of the divine protection, I banished all thoughts but those of finding a way into *Æthiopia*. In this strait it occurred to me, that these people, however barbarous, have some oath which they keep with an inviolable strictness ; the best precaution therefore that I could use would be to bind them by this oath to be true to their engagements. The manner of their swearing is this ; they set a sheep in the midst of them, and rub it over with butter, the heads of families who are the chief in the nation, lay their hands upon the head of the sheep, and swear to observe their promise. This oath (which they never violate) they explain thus, the sheep is the mother of them who swear, the butter betokens the love between the mother and the children, and an oath taken on a mother's head is sacred. Upon the security of this oath, I made them acquainted with my intention, an intention they told me it was impossible to put in execution. From the moment I left them, they said they could give me no assurance of either life or liberty, that they were perfectly informed both of the roads and inhabitants, that there were no fewer than nine nations between us and *Abyssinia*, who were always embroiled amongst themselves, or at war with the *Abyssins*, and enjoyed no security even in their own territories. We were now convinced that our enterprize was impracticable, and that to hazard ourselves amidst so many insurmountable difficulties would be to tempt Providence ; despairing therefore that I should ever come this way to *Abyssinia*, I resolved to return back with my intelligence to my companion ; whom I had left at *Patè*.

I cannot however leave this country without giving an account of their manner of blood-letting, which I was led to the knowledge of by a violent fever, which threatened to put an end to my life and travels together. The distress I was in may easily be imagined, being entirely destitute of every thing necessary. I had resolved to let myself bleed, though I was altogether a stranger to the manner of doing it, and had no lancet : but my companions hearing of a surgeon of reputation in the place, went and brought him. I saw, with the utmost surprize, an old Moor enter my chamber, with a kind of small dagger, all over rusty, and a mallet in his hand, and three cups of horn, about half a foot long. I started, and asked what he wanted ? He told me, to bleed me ; and when I had given him leave, uncovering my side, applied one of his horn cups, which he stopped with chewed paper, and by that means made it stick fast, in the same manner he fixed on the other two, and fell to sharpening his instrument, assuring me that he would give me no pain. He then took off his cups, and gave in each place a stroke with his poignard, which was followed by a stream of blood. He applied his cups several times, and every time struck his lancet into the same place ; having drawn away a large quantity of blood, he healed the orifices with three lumps of tallow. I know not whether to attribute my cure to bleeding, or my fear, but I had from that time no return of my fever.

When I came to *Patè*, in hopes of meeting with my associate, I found that he was gone to *Mombaza*, in hopes of receiving information : he was sooner undeceived than I, and we met at the place where we parted in a few days ; and soon afterwards left

Patè to return to the Indies, and in nine-and-twenty days arrived at the famous fortress of Diou*. We were told at this place, that Alfonso Mendes, patriarch of Ethiopia, was arrived at Goa from Lisbon. He wrote to us, to desire that we would wait for him at Diou, in order to embark there for the Red Sea; but being informed by us that no opportunities of going thither were to be expected at Diou, it was at length determined that we should meet at Bazaim; it was no easy matter for me to find means of going to Bazaim. However, after a very uneasy voyage, in which we were often in danger of being dashed against the rocks, or thrown upon the sands by the rapidity of the current, and suffered the utmost distress for want of water, I landed at Daman†, a place about twenty leagues distant from Bazaim. Here I hired a câtre and four boys to carry me to Bazaim: these câtres are a kind of travelling couches, in which you may either lie or sit, which the boys, whose business is the same with that of chairmen in our country, support upon their shoulders by two poles, and carry a passenger at the rate of eighteen or twenty miles a day. Here we at length found the patriarch, with three more priests, like us, designed for the mission of Ethiopia. We went back to Daman, and from thence to Diou, where we arrived in a short time.

CHAP. III. — *The Author embarks with the Patriarch, narrowly escapes Shipwreck near the Isle of Socotora; enters the Arabian Gulf, and the Red Sea. Some Account of the Coast of the Red Sea.*

THE patriarch having met with many obstacles and disappointments in his return to Abyssinia, grew impatient of being so long absent from his church. Lopo Gomez d'Abreu had made him an offer at Bazaim of fitting out three ships at his own expence, provided a commission could be procured him to cruize in the Red Sea. This proposal was accepted by the patriarch, and a commission granted by the viceroy. While we were at Diou, waiting for these vessels, we received advice from Ethiopia, that the Emperor, unwilling to expose the patriarch to any hazard, thought Dagher, a port in the mouth of the Red Sea, belonging to a prince dependent on the Abyssins, a place of the greatest security to land at, having already written to that prince, to give him safe passage through his dominions. We met here with new delays; the fleet that was to transport us did not appear, the patriarch lost all patience, and his zeal so much affected the commander at Diou, that he undertook to equip a vessel for us, and pushed the work forward with the utmost diligence. At length, the long expected ships entered the port, we were overjoyed, we were transported, and prepared to go on board. Many persons at Diou, seeing the vessels so well fitted out, desired leave to go this voyage along with us, imagining they had an excellent opportunity of acquiring both wealth and honour. We committed however one great error in setting out; for having equipped our ships for privateering, and taken no merchandize on board, we could not touch at any of the ports of the Red Sea. The patriarch, impatient to be gone, took leave in the most tender manner of the governor and his other friends, recommended our voyage to the Blessed Virgin, and in the field, before we went on shipboard, made a short exhortation, so moving and pathetic, that it touched the hearts of all who heard it. In the evening we went on board, and early the next morning, being the 3d of April 1625, we set sail.

* Diou, an island and town at the mouth of the river Indus.

† Daman, a port upon the coast of the Gulf of Cambaya.

After some days, we discovered about noon the island Socotora *, where we proposed to touch. The sky was bright, and the wind fair, nor had we the least apprehension of the danger into which we were falling, but with the utmost carelessness and jollity held on our course. At night, when our sailors, especially the Moors, were in a profound sleep, (for the Mahometans, believing every thing forewritten in the decrees of God, and not alterable by any human means, resign themselves entirely to Providence) our vessel ran aground upon a sand-bank at the entrance of the harbour. We got her off, with the utmost difficulty, and nothing but a miracle could have preserved us. We ran along afterwards by the side of the island, but were entertained with no other prospect than of a mountainous country, and of rocks that jutted out over the sea, and seemed ready to fall into it. In the afternoon, putting into the most convenient ports of the island, we came to anchor; very much to the amazement and terror of the inhabitants, who were not used to see any Portuguese ships upon their coasts, and were therefore under a great consternation at finding them even in their ports. Some ran for security to the mountains, others took up arms to oppose our landing, but were soon reconciled to us, and brought us fowls, fish, and sheep, in exchange for India calicoes, on which they set a great value. We left this island early the next morning, and soon came in sight of Cape Gardafui, so celebrated heretofore under the name of the Cape of Spices, either because great quantities were then found there, or from its neighbourhood to Arabia the Happy, even at this day famous for its fragrant products. It is properly at this Cape (the most eastern part of Africa) that the Gulf of Arabia begins, which at Babelmandel loses its name, and is called the Red Sea. Here, though the weather was calm, we found the sea so rough, that we were tossed as in a high wind for two nights; whether this violent agitation of the water proceeded from the narrowness of the strait, or from the fury of the late storm, I know not, whatever was the cause, we suffered all the hardships of a tempest. We continued our coast towards the Red Sea, meeting with nothing in our passage but a gelve, or kind of boat, made of thin boards, sewed together, with no other sail than a mat. We gave her chase, in hopes of being informed by the crew, whether there were any Arabian vessels at the mouth of the strait: but the Moors, who all entertain dismal apprehensions of the Franks, plied their oars and sail with the utmost diligence, and as soon as they reached land, quitted their boat, and scoured to the mountains. We saw them make signals from thence, and imagining they would come to a parley, sent out our boat with two sailors and an Abyssin, putting the ships off from the shore, to set them free from any suspicion of danger in coming down. All this was to no purpose, they could not be drawn from the mountain, and our men had orders not to go on shore, so they were obliged to return without information. Soon after we discovered the isle of Babelmandel, which gives name to the strait so called, and parts the sea that surrounds it into two channels, that on the side of Arabia is not above a quarter of a league in breadth, and through this pass almost all the vessels that trade to or from the Red Sea. The other, on the side of Æthiopia, though much larger, is more dangerous, by reason of the shallows, which make it necessary for a ship, though of no great burthen, to pass very near the island, where the channel is deeper and less embarrassed. This passage is never made use of but by those who would avoid meeting with the Turks who are stationed on the coast of Arabia, it was for this reason that we chose it. We passed it in the night, and entered that sea, so renowned on many accounts in history, both sacred and profane.

* Socotora, an island near the mouth of the Straights of Babelmandel.

In our description of this famous sea, an account of which may justly be expected in this place, it is most convenient to begin with the coast of Arabia, on which part at twelve leagues from the mouth stands the city of Moca, a place of considerable trade. Forty leagues farther is the Isle of Camaram, whose inhabitants are annoyed with little serpents, which they call basilisks, which, though very poisonous, and deadly, do not, as the ancients have told us, kill with their eyes, or, if they have so fatal a power, it is not at least in this place. Sailing ninety leagues farther, you see the noted port of Jodda, where the pilgrims that go to Mecca and Medina, unlade those rich presents which the zeal of different princes is every day accumulating at the tomb of Mahomet. The commerce of this place, and the number of merchants that resort thither from all parts of the world are above description, and so richly laden are the ships that come hither, that when the Indians would express a thing of inestimable price, they say, *It is of greater value than a ship of Jodda.* An hundred and eighteen leagues from thence lies Toro, and near it the ruins of an ancient monastery. This is the place, if the report of the inhabitants deserves any credit, where the Israelites miraculously passed through the Red Sea on dry land; and there is some reason for imagining the tradition not ill grounded, for the sea is here only three leagues in breadth. All the ground about Toro is barren for want of water, which is only to be found at a considerable distance, in one fountain, which flows out of the neighbouring mountains, at the foot of which there are still twelve palm-trees. Near Toro are several wells which, as the Arabs tell us, were dug by the order of Moses, to quiet the clamours of the thirsty Israelites. Suez lies in the bottom of the Gulf, three leagues from Toro, once a place of note, now reduced, under the Turks, to an inconsiderable village, where the miserable inhabitants are forced to fetch water at three leagues distance. The ancient Kings of Egypt conveyed the waters of the Nile to this place by an artificial canal, now so choked with sand, that there are scarce any marks remaining of so noble and beneficial a work.

The first place to be met with in travelling along the coast of Africa is Rondelo, situate over against Toro, and celebrated for the same miraculous passage. Forty-five leagues from thence is Cocir. Here ends that long chain of mountains that reaches from this place even to the entrance of the Red Sea. In this prodigious ridge, which extends three hundred leagues, sometimes approaching near the sea, and sometimes running far up into the land, there is only one opening, through which all that merchandise is conveyed, which is embarked at Rifa, and from thence distributed through all the East. These mountains, as they are uncultivated, are in some parts shaded with large forests, and in others dry and bare. As they are exceedingly high, all the seasons may be here found together, when the storms of winter beat on one side, on the other is often a serene sky and a bright sun-shine. The Nile runs here so near the shore, that it might without much difficulty be turned through this opening of the mountains into the Red Sea, a design which many of the Emperors have thought of putting in execution, and thereby making a communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, but have been discouraged either by the greatness of the expence, or the fear of laying great part of Egypt under water, for some of that country lies lower than the sea.

Distant from Rondelo an hundred and thirty leagues is the Isle of Suaquem, where the Bassa of that country chuses his residence, for the convenience of receiving the tribute with greater exactness, there being a large trade carried on here with the Abyssins. The Turks of Suaquem have gardens on the firm land, not above a musket shot from the island, which supply them with many excellent herbs and fruits, of which

I doubt whether there be not a greater quantity on this little spot, than on the whole coast of Africa besides, from Melinda to Suez. For if we except the dates which grow between Suez and Suaquem, the ground does not yield the least product; all the necessaries of life, even water is wanting. Nothing can support itself in this region of barrenness but ostriches, which devour stones, or any thing they meet with: they lay a great number of eggs, part of which they break to feed their young with. These fowls, of which I have seen many, are very tame, and when they are pursued, stretch out their wings, and run with amazing swiftness. As they have cloven-feet, they sometimes strike up the stones when they run, which gave occasion to the notion that they throw stones at the hunters, a relation equally to be credited with those of their eating fire and digesting iron. Those feathers which are so much valued grow under their wings: the shell of their eggs powdered is an excellent remedy for sore eyes.

The burning wind spoken of in the sacred writings, I take to be that which the natives term arur, and the Arabs uri, which blowing in the spring, brings with it so excessive an heat, that the whole country seems a burning oven; so that there is no travelling here in this dreadful season, nor is this the only danger to which the unhappy passenger is exposed in these uncomfortable regions. There blows in the months June, July, and August, another wind, which raises mountains of sand and carries them through the air: all that can be done in this case is when a cloud of sand rises, to mark where it is likely to fall, and to retire as far off as possible; but it is very usual for men to be taken unexpectedly, and smothered in the dust. One day I found the body of a Christian, whom I knew, upon the sand; he had doubtless been choked by these winds. I recommended his soul to the Divine Mercy and buried him. He seemed to have been some time dead, yet the body had no ill smell. These winds are most destructive in Arabia the Desert.

CHAP. IV. — *The Author's Conjecture on the Name of the Red Sea. An Account of the Cocoa-tree. He lands at Baylur.*

TO return to the description of the coast: sixty leagues from Suaquem is an island called Mazna, only considerable for its ports, which make the Turks reside upon it, though they are forced to keep three barks continually employed in fetching water, which is not to be found nearer than at the distance of twelve miles. Forty leagues from hence is Dalacha, an island where many pearls are found, but of small value. The next place is Baylur, forty leagues from Dalacha, and twelve from Babel-mandel.

There are few things upon which a greater variety of conjectures has been offered, than upon the reasons that induced the antients to distinguish this gulf, which separates Asia from Africa, by the name of the Red Sea, an appellation that has almost universally obtained in all languages. Some affirm that the torrents, which fall after great rains from the mountains, wash down such a quantity of red sand as gives a tincture to the water; others tell us, that the sun beams being reverberated from the red rocks, give the sea, on which they strike, the appearance of that colour. Neither of these accounts are satisfactory, the coasts are so scorched by the heat that they are rather black than red: nor is the colour of this sea much altered by the winds or rains. The notion generally received is, that the coral found in such quantities at the bottom of the sea, might communicate this colour to the water: an account merely chimerical. Coral is not to be found in all parts of this gulf, and red coral in very few. Nor does this water in fact differ from that of other seas. The patriarch and I have frequently amused
ourselves

ourselves with making observations, and could never discover any redness, but in the shallows, where a kind of weed grew which they call gouefmon, which redness disappeared as soon as we plucked up the plant. It is observable that St. Jerome, confining himself to the Hebrew, calls this sea Jamsuf. Jam in that language signifies sea, and suf is the name of a plant in Æthiopia, from which the Abyssins extract a beautiful crimson; whether this be the same with the gouefmon, I know not, but am of opinion that the herb gives to this sea both the colour and the name.

The vessels most used in the Red Sea, though ships of all sizes may be met with there, are gelves, of which some mention hath been made already; these are the more convenient, because they will not split, if thrown upon banks, or against rocks. These gelves have given occasion to the report that out of the cocoa-tree alone, a ship may be built, fitted out with mast, sails, and cordage, and victualled with bread, water, wine, sugar, vinegar, and oil. All this indeed cannot be done out of one tree, but may out of several of the same kind. They saw the trunk into planks, and sew them together with thread which they spin out of the bark, and which they twist for the cables; the leaves stitched together make the sails. This boat thus equipped may be furnished with all necessaries from the same tree. There is not a month in which the cocoa does not produce a bunch of nuts, from twenty to fifty. At first sprouts out a kind of seed or capsule, of a shape not unlike the scabbard of a scimeter, which they cut, and place a vessel under, to receive the liquor that drops from it; this drink is called *foro*, and is clear, pleasant, and nourishing. If it be boiled, it grows hard, and makes a kind of sugar much valued in the Indies; distil this liquor and you have a strong-water, of which is made excellent vinegar. All these different products are afforded before the nut is formed, and while it is green it contains a delicious cooling water; with these nuts they store their gelves, and it is the only provision of water which is made in this country. The second bark which contains the water is so tender that they eat it. When this fruit arrives to perfect maturity, they either pound the kernel into meal, and make cakes of it, or draw an oil from it of a fine scent and taste, and of great use in medicine; so that what is reported of the different products of this wonderful tree, is neither false nor incredible.

It is time we should come now to the relation of our voyage. Having happily past the straits at the entrance of the Red Sea, we pursued our course, keeping as near the shore as we could, without any farther apprehensions of the Turks. We were however under some concern that we were entirely ignorant in what part of the coast to find Baylur, a port where we proposed landing, and so little known, that our pilots, who had made many voyages in this sea, could give us no account of it. We were in hopes of information from the fishermen, but found that as soon as we came near, they fled from us in the greatest consternation; no signals of peace or friendship could prevail on them to stay, they either durst not trust, or did not understand us. We plied along the coast in this uncertainty two days, till on the first of March having doubled a point of land, which came out a great way into the sea, we found ourselves in the middle of a fair large bay, which many reasons induced us to think was Baylur; that we might be farther assured we sent our Abyssin on shore, who returning next morning confirmed our opinion. It would not be easy to determine whether our arrival gave us greater joy, or the inhabitants greater apprehensions, for we could discern a continual tumult in the land, and took notice that the crews of some barks that lay in the harbour were unlading with all possible diligence, to prevent the cargo from falling into our hands, very much indeed to the dissatisfaction of many of our soldiers, who having engaged in this expedition with no other view than of filling their pockets, were, before
the

the return of our Abyssin, for treating them like enemies, and taking them as a lawful prize. We were willing to be assured of a good reception in this port, the patriarch therefore sent me to treat with them. I dressed myself like a merchant, and in that habit received the four captains of gelves which the chec sent to compliment me, and ordered to stay as hostages, whom I sent back, that I might gain upon their affections by the confidence I placed in their sincerity; this had so good an effect, that the chec, who was transported with the account the officers gave of the civilities they had been treated with, came in an hour to visit me, bringing with him a Portuguese, whom I had sent ashore as a security for his return. He informed me, that the King his master was encamped not far off, and that a chec who was then in the company was just arrived from thence, and had seen the Emperor of Aethiopia's letters in our favour; I was then convinced that we might land without scruple, and to give the patriarch notice of it, ordered a volley of our muskets to be fired, which was answered by the cannon of the two ships, that lay at a distance, for fear of giving the Moors any cause of suspicion by their approach. The chec and his attendants, though I had given them notice that we were going to let off our guns in honour of the King their master, could not forbear trembling at the fire and noise. They left us soon after, and next morning we landed our baggage, consisting chiefly of the patriarch's library, some ornaments for the church, some images, and some pieces of calico, which were of the same use as money. Most of the soldiers and sailors were desirous of going with us, some from real principles of piety, and a desire of sharing the labours and merits of the mission, others upon motives very different, the hopes of raising a fortune. To have taken all who offered themselves would have been an injury to the owners of the ships, by rendering them unable to continue their voyage, we therefore accepted only of a few.

CHAP. V. — *An Account of Dancali. The Conduct of Chec Furt. The Author wounded. They arrive at the Court of the King of Dancali. A Description of his Pavilion, and the Reception they met with.*

OUR goods were no sooner landed, than we were surrounded with a crowd of officers, all gaping for presents; we were forced to gratify their avarice by opening our bales, and distributing among them some pieces of calico. What we gave to the chec might be worth about a pistole, and the rest in proportion.

The kingdom of Dancali, to which this belongs, is barren, and thinly peopled, the King is tributary to the Emperor of Abyssinia, and very faithful to his sovereign. The emperor had not only written to him, but had sent a Moor and Portuguese as his ambassadors, to secure us a kind reception; these in their way to this prince had come through the countries of Chumo-Salamay and Senaa, the utmost confines of Abyssinia, and had carried thither the Emperor's orders concerning our passage.

On Ascension Day we left Baylur, having procured some camels and asses to carry our baggage. The first day's march was not above a league, and the others not much longer. Our guides performed their office very ill, being influenced, as we imagined, by the Chec Furt, an officer, whom, though unwilling, we were forced to take with us. This man who might have brought us to the King in three days, led us out of the way through horrid deserts destitute of water, or where what we found was so foul, nauseous, and offensive, that it excited a loathing and aversion which nothing but extreme necessity could have overcome.

Having travelled some days, we were met by the King's brother, to whom, by the advice of Chec Furt, whose intent in following us was to squeeze all he could from us;

us; we presented some pieces of Chinese workmanship, such as cases of boxes, a standish, and some earthenware, together with several pieces of painted calico, which were so much more agreeable, that he desired some other pieces instead of our Chinese curiosities; we willingly made the exchange. Yet some time afterwards he asked again for those Chinese goods which he had returned us, nor was it in our power to refuse them. I was here in danger of losing my life by a compliment which the Portuguese paid the prince of a discharge of twelve muskets; one being unskilfully charged too high, flew out of the soldier's hand, and falling against my leg, wounded it very much; we had no surgeon with us, so that all I could do was to bind it hard with some cloth. I was obliged by this accident to make use of the Chec Furt's horse, which was the greatest service we received from him in all our journey.

When we came within two leagues and an half of the King's court, he sent some messengers with his compliments, and five mules for the chief of our company. Our road lay through a wood, where we found the ground covered over with young locusts, a plague intolerably afflictive in a country so barren of itself. We arrived at length at the bank of a small river, near which the King usually keeps his residence, and found his palace at the foot of a little mountain. It consisted of about six tents and twenty cabins, erected amongst some thorns and wild trees, which afforded a shelter from the heat of the weather. He received us the first time in a cabin about a musket shot distant from the rest, furnished out with a throne in the middle built of clay and stones, and covered with tapestry and two velvet cushions. Over against him stood his horse with his saddle and other furniture hanging by him, for in this country, the master and his horse make use of the same apartment, nor doth the King in this respect affect more grandeur than his subjects. When we entered, we seated ourselves on the ground with our legs crossed; in imitation of the rest, whom we found in the same posture. After we had waited some time, the King came in, attended by his domestics and his officers. He held a small lance in his hand, and was dressed in a silk robe, with a turban on his head, to which were fastened some rings of very neat workmanship, which fell down upon his forehead. All kept silence for some time, and the King told us by his interpreter, that we were welcome to his dominions, that he had been informed we were to come, by the Emperor his father, and that he consoled the hardships we had undergone at sea. He desired us not to be under any concern at finding ourselves in a country so distant from our own, for those dominions were ours, and he and the Emperor his father would give us all the proofs we could desire of the sincerest affection. We returned him thanks for this promise of his favour, and after a short conversation went away. Immediately we were teased by those who brought us the mules, and demanded to be paid the hire of them; and had advice given us at the same time, that we should get a present ready for the King. The Chec Furt, who was extremely ready to undertake any commission of this kind, would needs direct us in the affair, and told us, that our gifts ought to be of greater value, because we had neglected making any such offer at our first audience, contrary to the custom of that country. By these pretences he obliged us to make a present to the value of about twenty pounds, with which he seemed to be pleased, and told us we had nothing to do but prepare to make our entry.

CHAP. VI. — *The King refuses their Present. The Author's Boldness. The Present is afterwards accepted. The People are forbidden to sell them Provisions. The Author remonstrates against the Usage. The King redresses it.*

BUT such was either the hatred or avarice of this man, that instead of doing us the good offices he pretended, he advised the King to refuse our present, that he might draw from us something more valuable. When I attended the King in order to deliver the presents, after I had excused the smallness of them, as being, though unworthy his acceptance, the largest that our profession of poverty, and distance from our country, allowed us to make; he examined them one by one with a dissatisfied look, and told me that however he might be pleased with our good intentions, he thought our present such as could not be offered to a King without affronting him; and made me a sign with his hand to withdraw, and take back what I had brought. I obeyed, telling him, that perhaps he might send for it again without having so much. The Chec Furt, who had been the occasion of all this, coming to us afterwards, blamed us exceedingly for having offered so little, and being told by us, that the present was picked out by himself, that we had nothing better to give, and that what we had left would scarce defray the expences of our journey, he pressed us at least to add something, but could prevail no farther than to persuade us to repeat our former offer, which the King was now pleased to accept, though with no kinder countenance than before.

Here we spent our time and our provisions, without being able to procure any more. The country indeed affords goats and honey, but nobody would sell us any, the King as I was secretly informed, having strictly prohibited it, with a view of forcing all we had from us. The patriarch sent me to expostulate the matter with the King, which I did in very warm terms, telling him, that we were assured by the Emperor of a reception in this country far different from what we met with, which assurances he had confirmed by his promise and the civilities we were entertained with at our first arrival; but that instead of friends who would compassionate our miseries, and supply our necessities, we found ourselves in the midst of mortal enemies that wanted to destroy us.

The King who affected to appear ignorant of the whole affair, demanded an account of the injuries I complained of, and told me that if any of his subjects should dare to attempt our lives, it should cost him his own. We were not, replied I, in danger of being stabbed or poisoned, but are doomed to a more lingering and painful death by that prohibition which obliges your subjects to deny us the necessaries of life; if it be Your Highness's pleasure that we die here, we entreat that we may at least be dispatched quickly, and not condemned to longer torments. The King, startled at this discourse, denied that he had given any such orders, and was very importunate to know the author of our intelligence, but finding me determined not to discover him, he sent me away with a promise, that for the future we should be furnished with every thing we wanted, and indeed that same day we bought three goats for about a crown, and some honey, and found ourselves better treated than before.

CHAP. VII. — *They obtain Leave, with some Difficulty, to depart from Dancali. The Difficulties of their March. A Broil with the Moors. They arrive at the Plain of Salt.*

THIS usage, with some differences we had with a Moor, made us very desirous of leaving this country, but we were still put off with one pretence or other, whenever we asked leave to depart. Tired with these delays, I applied myself to his favourite minister, with a promise of a large present if he could obtain us an audience of leave; he came to us at night to agree upon the reward, and soon accomplished all we desired, both getting us a permission to go out of the kingdom, and procuring us camels to carry our baggage, and that of the Abyssinian ambassadors who were ordered to accompany us.

We set out from the kingdom of Dancali, on the fifteenth of June, having taken our leave of the King, who after many excuses for every thing that had happened, dismissed us with a present of a cow, and some provisions, desiring us to tell the Emperor of Æthiopia his father, that we had met with kind treatment in his territories, a request which we did not at that time think it convenient to deny.

Whatever we had suffered hitherto, was nothing to the difficulties we were now entering upon, and which God had decreed us to undergo for the sake of Jesus Christ. Our way now lay through a region scarce passable, and full of serpents, which were continually creeping between our legs, we might have avoided them in the day, but being obliged, that we might avoid the excessive heats, to take long marches in the night, we were every moment treading upon them. Nothing but a signal interposition of providence could have preserved us from being bitten by them, or perishing either by weariness or thirst, for sometimes we were a long time without water, and had nothing to support our strength in this fatigue but a little honey, and a small piece of cows' flesh dried in the sun. Thus we travelled on for many days; scarce allowing ourselves any rest, till we came to a channel or hollow worn in the mountains by the winter torrents: here we found some coolness, and good water, a blessing we enjoyed for three days; down this channel all the winter runs a great river, which is dried up in the heats, or to speak more properly, hides itself under ground. We walked along its side sometimes seven or eight leagues without seeing any water, and then we found it rising out of the ground, at which places we never failed to drink as much as we could, and fill our bottles.

In our march, there fell out an unlucky accident, which however did not prove of the bad consequence it might have done. The master of our camels was an old Mahometan, who had conceived an opinion that it was an act of merit to do us all the mischief he could; and in pursuance of his notion, made it his chief employment, to steal every thing he could lay hold on; his piety even transported him so far, that one morning he stole and hid the cords of our tents. The patriarch who saw him at the work, charged him with it, and upon his denial, shewed him the end of the cord hanging from under the saddle of one of his camels. Upon this we went to seize them, but were opposed by him and the rest of the drivers, who set themselves in a posture of opposition with their daggers. Our soldiers had recourse to their muskets, and four of them putting the mouths of their pieces to the heads of some of the most obstinate and turbulent, struck them with such a terror, that all the clamour was stilled in an instant: none received any hurt but the Moor who had been the occasion of the tumult. He was knocked down by one of our soldiers, who had cut his throat, but

that the fathers prevented it : he then restored the cords, and was more tractable ever after. In all my dealings with the Moors, I have always discovered in them an ill-natured cowardice, which makes them insupportably insolent, if you shew them the least respect, and easily reduced to reasonable terms, when you treat them with a high hand.

After a march of some days, we came to an opening between the mountains, the only passage out of Dancali into Abyssinia. Heaven seems to have made this place on purpose for the repose of weary travellers, who here exchange the tortures of parching thirst, burning sands, and a sultry climate, for the pleasures of shady trees, the refreshment of a clear stream, and the luxury of a cooling breeze. We arrived at this happy place about noon, and the next day at evening left those fanning winds, and woods flourishing with unfading verdure, for the dismal barrenness of the vast uninhabitable plains, from which Abyssinia is supplied with salt. These plains are surrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds which the sun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into salt. Nothing can be more curious, than to see the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, so exact and of such admirable contrivance, that they seem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyssinia are continually resorting, to carry salt into all parts of the empire, which they set a great value upon, and which in their country is of the same use as money. The superstitious Abyssinians imagine, that the cavities of the mountains are inhabited by evil spirits which appear in different shapes, calling those that pass, by their names as in a familiar acquaintance, who, if they go to them, are never seen afterwards. This relation was confirmed by the Moorish officer who came with us, who, as he said, had lost a servant in that manner : the man certainly fell into the hands of the Gallas, who lurk in those dark retreats, cut the throats of the merchants, and carry off their effects.

The heat making it impossible to travel through this plain in the day time, we set out in the evening, and in the night lost our way. It is very dangerous to go through this place, for there are no marks of the right road but some heaps of salt, which we could not see. Our camel drivers getting together to consult on this occasion, we suspected they had some ill design in hand, and got ready our weapons ; they perceived our apprehensions, and set us at ease by letting us know the reason of their consultation. Travelling hard all night, we found ourselves next morning past the plain ; but the road we were in was not more commodious, the points of the rocks pierced our feet ; to encrease our perplexities we were alarmed with the approach of an armed troop, which our fear immediately suggested to be the Gallas, who chiefly beset these passes of the mountains, we put ourselves on the defensive, and expected them, whom upon a more exact examination, we found to be only a caravan of merchants come as usual to fetch salt.

CHAP. VIII.—*They lose their Way, are in continual Apprehensions of the Gallas. They come to Duan, and settle in Abyssinia.*

ABOUT nine the next morning we came to the end of this toilsome and rugged path, where the way divided into two, yet both led to a well, the only one that was found in our journey. A Moor with three others took the shortest, without directing us to follow him ; so we marched forwards we knew not whither, through woods and over rocks, without sleep or any other refreshment : at noon the next day we discovered that

we were near the field of salt. Our affliction and distress is not to be expressed; we were all fainting with heat and weariness, and two of the patriarch's servants, were upon the point of dying for want of water. None of us had any but a Moor, who could not be prevailed upon to part with it, at less than the weight in gold; we got some from him at last, and endeavoured to revive the two servants, while part of us went to look for a guide that might put us in the right way. The Moors who had arrived at the well, rightly guessing that we were lost, sent one of their company to look for us, whom we heard shouting in the woods, but durst make no answer, for fear of the Galle. At length he found us, and conducted us to the rest, we instantly forgot our past calamities, and had no other care than to recover the patriarch's attendants. We did not give them a full draught at first, but poured in the water by drops, to moisten their mouths and throats, which were extremely swelled: by this caution they were soon well. We then fell to eating and drinking, and though we had nothing but our ordinary repast of honey and dried flesh, thought we never had regaled more pleasantly in our lives.

We durst not stay long in this place, for fear of the Galle who lay their ambushes more particularly near this well, by which all caravans must necessarily pass. Our apprehensions were very much increased by our suspicion of the camel-drivers, who, as we imagined, had advertised the Galle of our arrival. The fatigue we had already suffered, did not prevent our continuing our march all night: at last we entered a plain, where our drivers told us, we might expect to be attacked by the Galle; nor was it long before our own eyes convinced us, that we were in great danger, for we saw as we went along, the dead bodies of a caravan who had been lately massacred, a sight which froze our blood, and filled us with pity and with horror. The same fate was not far from overtaking us, for a troop of Galle, who were detached in search of us, missed us but an hour or two. We spent the next night in the mountains, but when we should have set out in the morning, were obliged to a fierce dispute with the old Moor, who had not yet lost his inclination to destroy us; he would have had us taken a road, which was full of those people we were so much afraid of: at length finding he could not prevail with us, that we charged the goods upon him as belonging to the Emperor, to whom he should be answerable for the loss of them, he consented, in a sullen way, to go with us.

The desire of getting out of the reach of the Galle, made us press forward with great expedition, and indeed, fear having entirely engrossed our minds, we were perhaps less sensible of all our labours and difficulties; so violent an apprehension of one danger, made us look on many others with unconcern; our pains at last found some intermission at the foot of the mountains of Duan the frontier of Abyssinia which separates it from the country of the Moors, through which we had travelled.

Here we imagined we might repose securely, a felicity we had long been strangers to. Here we began to rejoice at the conclusion of our labours; the place was cool, and pleasant, the water excellent, and the birds melodious; some of our company went into the wood to divert themselves with hearing the birds, and frightening the monkies, creatures so cunning, that they would not stir if a man came unarmed, but would run immediately when they saw a gun. At this place our camel drivers left us, to go to the feast of St. Michael, which the Æthiopians celebrate the sixteenth of June. We persuaded them however to leave us their camels and four of their company to take care of them.

We had not waited many days, before some messengers came to us, with an account, that father Baradas, with the Emperor's nephew, and many other persons of distinction, waited for us at some distance; we loaded our camels, and following the course of the river, came in seven hours to the place we were directed to halt at. Father Manuel

Baradas and all the company, who had waited for us a considerable time, on the top of the mountain, came down which they saw our tents, and congratulated our arrival. It is not easy to express the benevolence and tenderness with which they embraced us, and the concern they shewed at seeing us worn away with hunger, labour, and weariness, our cloaths tattered, and our feet bloody.

We left this place of interview the next day, and on the 21st of June, arrived at Fremone the residence of the missionaries, where we were welcomed by great numbers of catholics, both Portuguese and Abyssins, who spared no endeavours to make us forget all we had suffered in so hazardous a journey, undertaken, with no other intention, than to conduct them in the way of salvation.

A DESCRIPTION OF ABYSSINIA.

CHAP. I. — *The History of Abyssinia. An account of the Queen of Sheba, and of Queen Candace. The Conversion of the Abyssins.*

THE original of the Abyssins like that of all other nations, is obscure, and uncertain. The tradition generally received, derives them from Cham the son of Noah and they pretend, however improbably, that from his time till now, the legal succession of their Kings, hath never been interrupted, and that the Supreme Power hath always continued in the same family. An authentic genealogy, traced up so high, could not but be extremely curious; and with good reason might the Emperors of Abyssinia boast themselves the most illustrious and ancient family in the world. But there are no real grounds for imagining that Providence has vouchsafed them so distinguishing a protection, and from the wars with which this empire hath been shaken in these latter ages, we may justly believe, that like all others it has suffered its revolutions, and that the history of the Abyssins is corrupted with fables. This empire is known by the name of the kingdom of Prester-John. For the Portuguese having heard such wonderful relations of an ancient and famous Christian state called by that name, in the Indies, imagined it could be none but this of Æthiopia. Many things concurred to make them of this opinion: there was no Christian kingdom or state in the Indies, of which all was true which they heard of this land of Prester-John: and there was none in the other parts of the world who was a Christian separated from the catholick church, but what was known, except this kingdom of Æthiopia. It has therefore passed for the kingdom of Prester-John, since the time that it was discovered by the Portuguese in the reign of King John the second.

The country is properly called Abyssinia, and the people term themselves Abyssins. Their histories count an hundred and sixty two reigns, from Cham to Faciladas or Basilides; among which some women are remarkably celebrated. One of the most renowned is the Queen of Sheba, mentioned in Scripture, whom the natives call Nicaula or Macheda, and in their translation of the gospel, Nagista Azeb, which in their language is Queen of the south. They still shew the ruins of a city which appears to have been once of note, as the place where she kept her court, and a village which from its being the place of her birth, they call the land of Saba. The Kings of Æthiopia draw their boasted pedigree from Minilech the son of this Queen and Solomon. The other Queen, for whom they retain a great veneration, is Candace, whom they call Judith, and indeed if what they relate of her, could be proved, there never was, amongst the

the most illustrious and beneficent sovereigns, any to whom their country was more indebted, for it is said, that she being converted by Inda her Eunuch whom St. Philip baptised, prevailed with her subjects, to quit the worship of idols, and profess the faith of Jesus Christ. This opinion appears to me without any better foundation, than another of the conversion of the Abyssins to the Jewish rites, by the Queen of Sheba at her return from the court of Solomon. They however, who patronise these traditions, give us very specious accounts of the zeal and piety of the Abyssins at their first conversion. Many, they say, abandoned all the pleasures and vanities of life for solitude, and religious austerities; others devoted themselves to God in an ecclesiastical life; they who could not do these, set apart their revenues for building churches, endowing chapels, and founding monasteries, and spent their wealth in costly ornaments for the churches, and vessels for the alters. It is true, that this people has a natural disposition to goodness, they are very liberal of their alms, they much frequent their churches, and are very studious to adorn them; they practise fasting and other mortifications, and notwithstanding their separation from the Roman church, and the corruptions which have crept into their faith, yet retain in a great measure the devout fervour of the primitive Christians. There never were greater hopes of uniting this people to the church of Rome, which their adherence to the Eutichian heresy has made very difficult, than in the time of Sultan Segued, who called us into his dominions in the year 1625, from whence we were expelled in 1634. As I have lived a long time in this country, and borne a share in all that has passed, I will present the reader with a short account of what I have observed, and of the revolution which forced us to abandon Æthiopia, and destroyed all our hopes of reuniting this kingdom with the Roman church.

The empire of Abyssinia hath been one of the largest which history gives us an account of: it extended formerly from the Red Sea to the kingdom of Congo, and from Egypt to the Indian Sea. It is not long since it contained forty provinces; but is now not much bigger than all Spain, and consists but of five kingdoms, and six provinces, of which, part is entirely subject to the Emperor, and part only pays him some tribute, or acknowledgement of dependance, either voluntarily or by compulsion. Some of these are of very large extent: the kingdoms of Tigre, Bagameder and Gojama, are as big as Portugal, or bigger; Amhara and Damote are something less. The provinces are inhabited by Moors, Pagans, Jews, and Christians: the last is the reigning and established religion. This diversity of people and religion is the reason that the kingdom in different parts is under different forms of government, and that their laws and customs are extremely various.

The inhabitants of the kingdom of Amhara are the most civilized and polite; and next to them the natives of Tigre, or the true Abyssins. The rest, except the Damotes, the Gasates, and the Agaus, which approach somewhat nearer to civility, are entirely rude and barbarous. Among these nations the Ganes, who first alarmed the world in 1542, have remarkably distinguished themselves, by the ravages they have committed, and the terror they have raised in this part of Africa. They neither sow their lands, nor improve them by any kind of culture; but, living upon milk and flesh, encamp, like the Arabs, without any settled habitation. They practise no rites of worship, though they believe, that in the regions above, there dwells a Being, that governs the world: whether by this Being they mean the sun or the sky is not known; or indeed, whether they have not some conception of the God that created them. This deity they call in their language Oul. In other matters they are yet more ignorant, and have some customs so contrary even to the laws of nature, as might almost afford reason to doubt whether they are endued with reason. The christianity
professed

professed by the Abyssins is so corrupted with superstitions, errors, and heresies, and so mingled with ceremonies borrowed from the Jews, that little besides the name of christianity is to be found here; and the thorns may be said to have choaked the grain. This proceeds in a great measure from the diversity of religions which are tolerated there, either by negligence or from motives of policy; and the same cause hath produced such various revolutions, revolts, and civil wars, within these later ages. For those different sects do not easily admit of an union with each other, or a quiet subjection to the same monarch. The Abyssins cannot properly be said to have either cities or houses; they live either in tents, or in cottages made of straw and clay; for they very rarely build with stone. Their villages, or towns, consist of these huts; yet even of such villages they have but few, because the grandees, the viceroys, and the Emperor himself are always in the camp, that they may be prepared, upon the most sudden summons, to go where the exigence of affairs demands their presence. And this precaution is no more than necessary for a prince every year engaged either in foreign wars, or intestine commotions. These towns have each a governor, whom they call gadare, over whom is the educ, or lieutenant, and both are accountable to an officer called the asamacon, or mouth of the King; because he receives the revenues, which he pays into the hands of the relatina-fala, or grand master of the household: sometimes the Emperor creates a ratz, or viceroy, general over all the empire, who is superior to all his other officers.

Æthiopia produces very near the same kinds of provisions as Portugal; though, by the extreme laziness of the inhabitants, in a much less quantity: however, there are some roots, herbs, and fruits, which grow there much better than in other places. What the ancients imagined of the torrid zone being uninhabitable, is so far from being true, that this climate is very temperate: the heats, indeed, are excessive in Congo and Monomotapa, but in Abyssinia they enjoy a perpetual spring, more delicious and charming than that in our country. The blacks here are not ugly like those of the kingdoms I have spoken of, but have better features, and are not without wit and delicacy; their apprehension is quick, and their judgment sound. The heat of the sun, however it may contribute to their colour, is not the only reason of it; there is some peculiarity in the temper and constitution of their bodies, since the same men, transported into cooler climates, produce children very near as black as themselves.

They have here two harvests in the year, which is a sufficient recompense for the small produce of each*, one harvest they have in the winter, which lasts through the months of July, August, and September, the other in the spring; their trees are always green, and it is the fault of the inhabitants, that they produce so little fruit, the soil being well adapted to all sorts, especially those that come from the Indies. They have in the greatest plenty raisins, peaches, sour pomgranates, and sugar-canes, and some figs. Most of these are ripe about Lent, which the Abyssins keep with great strictness.

After the vegetable products of this country, it seems not improper to mention the animals which are found in it, of which here are as great numbers, of as many different species, as in any country in the world: it is infested with lions, of many kinds, among which are many of that which is called the lyon royal. I cannot help giving the reader on this occasion, a relation of a fact which I was an eye-witness of. A lion having taken his haunt, near the place where I lived, killed all the oxen and cows,

* Une recolte se fait dans l'hiver, qui dure pendant les Mois de Juillet, Aoust, et Septembre, et l'autre dans le printems.

and did a great deal of other mischief, of which I heard new complaints every day. A servant of mine having taken a resolution to free the country from this destroyer, went out one day with two lances, and after he had been some time in quest of him, found him with his mouth all smeared with the blood of a cow he had just devoured; the man rushed upon him, and thrust his lance into his throat with such violence that it came out between his shoulders; the beast, with one dreadful roar, fell down into a pit, and lay struggling, till my servant dispatched him. I measured the body of this lion, and found him twelve feet between the head and the tail.

CHAP. II.—*The Animals of Abyssinia; the Elephant, Unicorn, their Horses and Cows; with a particular Account of the Moroc.*

THERE are so great numbers of elephants in Abyssinia, that in one evening we met three hundred of them in three troops: as they filled up the whole way, we were in great perplexity a long time what measures to take; at length, having implored the protection of that Providence that superintends the whole creation, we went forwards through the midst of them, without any injury. Once we met four young elephants, and an old one that played with them, lifting them up with her trunk; they grew enraged on the sudden, and ran upon us: we had no way of securing ourselves but by flight, which, however, would have been fruitless, had not our pursuers been stopped by a deep ditch. The elephants of Æthiopia are of so stupendous a size, that when I was mounted on a large mule, I could not reach with my hand within two spans of the top of their backs. In Abyssinia is likewise found the rhinoceros, a mortal enemy to the elephant. In the province of Agaus, has been seen the unicorn, that beast so much talked of, and so little known: the prodigious swiftness with which this creature runs from one wood into another, has given me no opportunity of examining it particularly, yet I have had so near a sight of it as to be able to give some description of it. The shape is the same with that of a beautiful horse, exact and nicely proportioned, of a bay colour, with a black tail, which in some provinces is long, in others very short: some have long manes hanging to the ground. They are so timorous, that they never feed but surrounded with other beasts that defend them. Deer and other defenceless animals often herd about the elephant, which, contenting himself with roots and leaves, preserves those beasts that place themselves, as it were, under his protection, from the rage and fierceness of others that would devour them.

The horses of Abyssinia are excellent; their mules, oxen, and cows are without number, and in these principally consists the wealth of this country. They have a very particular custom, which obliges every man that hath a thousand cows, to save every year one day's milk, of all his herd, and make a bath with it for his relations, entertaining them afterwards with a splendid feast. This they do so many days each year, as they have thousands of cattle, so that to express how rich any man is, they tell you he bathes so many times. The tribute paid out of their herds to the King, which is not the most inconsiderable of his revenues, is one cow in ten every three years. The bees are of several kinds; one sort they have without horns, which are of no other use than to carry burthens, and serve instead of mules. Another twice as big as ours which they breed to kill, fattening them with the milk of three or four cows. Their horns are so large, the inhabitants use them for pitchers, and each will hold about five gallons. One of these oxen, fat and ready to be killed, may be bought at most for two crowns. I have purchased five sheep, or five goats with nine kids, for a piece of calico worth about a crown.

The Abyssins have many sort of fowls both wild and tame; some of the former we are yet unacquainted with: there is one of wonderful beauty, which I have seen in no other place except Peru: it has instead of a comb, a short horn upon its head, which is thick and round, and open at the top. The *feitai favez*, or devil's horse, looks at a distance like a man dressed in feathers, it walks with abundance of majesty, till it finds itself pursued, and then takes wing, and flies away. But amongst all their birds, there is none more remarkable than the *moroc*, or honey-bird, which is furnished by nature with a peculiar instinct or faculty of discovering honey. They have here multitudes of bees of various kinds; some are tame, like ours, and form their combs in hives. Of the wild ones, some place their honey in hollow trees, others hide it in holes in the ground, which they cover so carefully, that though they are commonly in the highway, they are seldom found, unless by the *moroc's* help, which, when he has discovered any honey, repairs immediately to the road side, and when he sees a traveller, sings, and claps his wings, making many motions to invite him to follow him, and when he perceives him coming, flies before him from tree to tree, till he comes to the place where the bees have stored their treasure, and then begins to sing melodiously. The Abyssin takes the honey, without failing to leave part of it for the bird, to reward him for his information. This kind of honey I have often tasted, and do not find that it differs from the other sorts in any thing but colour; it is somewhat blacker. The great quantity of honey that is gathered, and a prodigious number of cows that is kept here, have often made me call Abyssinia a land of honey and butter.

CHAP. III.—*The Manner of Eating in Abyssinia, their Dress, their Hospitality, and Traffic.*

THE great lords, and even the Emperor himself, maintain their tables with no great expence. The vessels they make use of are black earthenware, which, the older it is, they set a greater value on. Their way of dressing their meat, an European, till he hath been long accustomed to it, can hardly be persuaded to like, every thing they eat smells strong and swims with butter. They make no use of either linen or plates. The persons of rank never touch what they eat, but have their meat cut by their pages, and put into their mouths. When they feast a friend they kill an ox, and set immediately a quarter of him raw upon the table, (for their most elegant treat is raw beef newly killed) with pepper and salt; the gall of the ox serves them for oil and vinegar; some, to heighten the delicacy of the entertainment, add a kind of sauce, which they call *manta*, made of what they take out of the guts of the ox; this they set on the fire, with butter, salt, pepper, and onion. Raw beef, thus relished, is their nicest dish, and is eaten by them with the same appetite and pleasure as we eat the best partridges. They have often done me the favour of helping me to some of this sauce, and I had no way to decline eating it, besides telling them it was too good for a missionary.

The common drink of the Abyssins is beer and mead, which they drink to excess, when they visit one another; nor can there be a greater offence against good manners, than to let the guests go away sober: their liquor is always presented by a servant, who drinks first himself, and then gives the cup to the company, in the order of their quality.

The meaner sort of people here dress themselves very plain; they only wear drawers, and a thick garment of cotton, that covers the rest of their bodies: the people of quality, especially those that frequent the court, run into the contrary extreme, and

ruin themselves with costly habits. They wear all sorts of silks, and particularly the fine velvets of Turkey.

They love bright and glaring colours, and dress themselves much in the Turkish manner, except that their cloaths are wider, and their drawers cover their legs. Their robes are always full of gold and silver embroidery. They are most exact about their hair, which is long and twisted, and their care of it is such that they go bare-headed whilst they are young for fear of spoiling it, but afterwards wear red caps, and sometimes turbans after the Turkish fashion.

The ladies' dress is yet more magnificent and expensive; their robes are as large as those of the religious, of the order of St. Bernard. They have various ways of dressing their heads, and spare no expence in ear-rings, necklaces, or any thing that may contribute to set them off to advantage. They are not much reserved or confined, and have so much liberty in visiting one another, that their husbands often suffer by it: but for this evil there is no remedy, especially when a man marries a princess, or one of the royal family. Besides their cloaths, the Abyssins have no moveables or furniture of much value, or doth their manner of living admit of them.

One custom of this country deserves to be remarked: when a stranger comes to a village, or to the camp, the people are obliged to entertain him and his company according to his rank. As soon as he enters a house (for they have no inns in this nation), the master informs his neighbours that he hath a guest; immediately they bring in bread and all kinds of provisions; and there is great care taken to provide enough, because if the guest complains, the town is obliged to pay double the value of what they ought to have furnished. This practice is so well established that a stranger goes into a house of one he never saw with the same familiarity and assurance of welcome as into that of an intimate friend or near relation; a custom very convenient, but which gives encouragement to great numbers of vagabonds throughout the kingdom.

There is no money in Abyssinia, except in the eastern provinces, where they have iron coin: but in the chief provinces all commerce is managed by exchange. Their chief trade consists in provisions, cows, sheep, goats, fowls, pepper, and gold, which is weighed out to the purchaser, and principally in salt, which is properly the money of this country.

When the Abyssins are engaged in a law-suit, the two parties make choice of a judge, and plead their own cause before him; and if they cannot agree in their choice, the governor of the place appoints them one, from whom there lies an appeal to the viceroy and to the Emperor himself. All causes are determined on the spot: no writings are produced. The judge sits down on the ground in the midst of the high road, where all that please may be present: the two persons concerned stand before him, with their friends about them, who serve as their attorneys. The plaintiff speaks first, the defendant answers him; each is permitted to rejoin three or four times, then silence is commanded, and the judge takes the opinions of those that are about him: if the evidence be deemed sufficient, he pronounces sentence, which in some cases is decisive and without appeal. He then takes the criminal into custody till he hath made satisfaction; but if it be a crime punishable with death, he is delivered over to the prosecutor, who may put him to death at his own discretion.

They have here a particular way of punishing adultery: a woman convicted of that crime is condemned to forfeit all her fortune, is turned out of her husband's house, in a mean dress, and is forbid ever to enter it again; she has only a needle given her to get her living with. Sometimes her head is shaved, except one lock of hair, which is

left her, and even that depends on the will of her husband, who has it likewise in his choice whether he will receive her again or not; if he resolves never to admit her, they are both at liberty to marry whom they will. There is another custom amongst them yet more extraordinary, which is, that the wife is punished whenever the husband proves false to the marriage contract; this punishment indeed extends no farther than a pecuniary mulct, and what seems more equitable, the husband is obliged to pay a sum of money to his wife. When the husband prosecutes his wife's gallant, if he can produce any proofs of a criminal conversation, he recovers, for damages, forty cows, forty horses, and forty suits of cloaths, and the same number of other things; if the gallant be unable to pay him, he is committed to prison, and continues there during the husband's pleasure, who, if he sets him at liberty before the whole fine be paid, obliges him to take an oath, that he is going to procure the rest, that he may be able to make full satisfaction. Then the criminal orders meat and drink to be brought out, they eat and drink together, he asks a formal pardon, which is not granted at first; however, the husband forgives first one part of the debt, and then another, till at length the whole is remitted.

A husband that doth not like his wife, may easily find means to make the marriage void, and, what is worse, may dismiss the second wife with less difficulty than he took her, and return to the first; so that marriages in this country are only for a term of years, and last no longer than both parties are pleased with each other, which is one instance how far distant these people are from the purity of the primitive believers, which they pretend to have preserved with so great strictness. The marriages are in short no more than bargains, made with this proviso, that when any discontent shall arise on either side, they may separate, and marry whom they please, each taking back what they brought with them.

CHAP. IV. — *An Account of the Religion of the Abyssins.*

YET though there is a great difference between our manners, customs, civil government, and those of the Abyssins, there is yet a much greater in points of faith; for so many errors have been introduced, and ingrafted into their religion, by their ignorance, their separation from the Catholic church, and their intercourse with Jews, Pagans, and Mahometans, that their present religion is nothing but a kind of confused miscellany of Jewish and Mahometan superstitions, with which they have corrupted those remnants of Christianity which they still retain.

They have however preserved the belief of our principal mysteries, they celebrate with a great deal of piety, the passion of our Lord, they reverence the cross; they pay a great devotion to the Blessed Virgin, the angels, and the saints; they observe the festivals, and pay a strict regard to the Sunday. Every month they commemorate the assumption of the Virgin Mary, and are of opinion, that no Christians beside themselves, have a true sense of the greatness of the mother of God, or pay her the honours that are due to her. There are some tribes amongst them (for they are distinguished like the Jews by their tribes), among whom the crime of swearing by the name of the Virgin is punished with forfeiture of goods and even with loss of life: they are equally scrupulous of swearing by St. George. Every week they keep a feast to the honour of the Apostles and Angels; they come to mass with great devotion, and love to hear the word of God. They receive the sacrament often, but do not always prepare themselves by confession. Their charity to the poor may be said to exceed the proper bounds that prudence ought to set to it, for it contributes to encourage

great numbers of beggars, which are a great annoyance to the whole kingdom, and as I have often said, afford more exercise to a Christian's patience than his charity: for their insolence is such, that they will refuse what is offered them, if it be not so much as they think proper to ask.

Though the Abyssins have not many images they have great numbers of pictures, and perhaps pay them somewhat too high a degree of worship. The severity of their fasts is equal to that of the primitive church: in Lent they never eat till after sun-set. Their fasts are the more severe because milk and butter are forbidden them, and no reason or necessity whatsoever can procure them a permission to eat meat, and their country, affording no fish, they live only on roots and pulse. On fast-days they never drink but at their meat, and the priests never communicate till evening, for fear of profaning them. They do not think themselves obliged to fast till they have children, either married, or fit to be married, which yet doth not secure them very long from these mortifications, because their youths marry at the age of ten years, and their girls younger.

There is no nation where excommunication carries greater terrors than among the Abyssins, which puts it in the power of the priests to abuse this religious temper of the people, as well as the authority they receive from it, by excommunicating them, as they often do, for the least trifle in which their interest is concerned.

No country in the world is so full of churches, monasteries, and ecclesiastics, as Abyssinia; it is not possible to sing in one church or monastery without being heard by another, and perhaps by several. They sing the psalms of David, of which, as well as the other parts of the holy scriptures, they have a very exact translation in their own language; in which, though accounted canonical, the books of the Maccabees are omitted. The instruments of music made use of in their rites of worship, are little drums, which they hang about their necks, and beat with both their hands; these are carried even by their chief men, and by the gravest of their ecclesiastics. They have sticks likewise, with which they strike the ground, accompanying the blow with a motion of their whole bodies. They begin their concert by stamping their feet on the ground, and playing gently on their instruments; but when they have heated themselves by degrees, they leave off drumming, and fall to leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands, at the same time straining their voices to the utmost pitch, till at length they have no regard either to the tune or the pauses, and seem rather riotous than a religious assembly. For this manner of worship they cite the psalm of David: O clap your hands all ye nations. Thus they misapply the sacred writings to defend practices yet more corrupt than those I have been speaking of.

They are possessed with a strange notion, that they are the only true Christians in the world; as for us, they shew us as heretics, and were under the greatest surprise at hearing us mention the Virgin Mary with the respect which is due to her, and told us, that we could not be entirely barbarians, since we were acquainted with the mother of God. It plainly appears that prepossessions so strong, which receive more strength from the ignorance of the people, have very little tendency to dispose them to a reunion with the Catholic church.

They have some opinions peculiar to themselves about purgatory, the creation of souls, and some of our mysteries. They repeat baptism every year, they retain the practice of circumcision, they observe the sabbath, they abstain from all those sorts of flesh which are forbidden by the law. Brothers espouse the wives of their brothers, and to conclude, they observe a great number of Jewish ceremonies.

Though they know the words which Jesus Christ appointed to be used in the administration of baptism, they have without scruple substituted others in their place, which makes the validity of their baptism, and the reality of their christianity, very doubtful. They have a few names of saints, the same with those in the Roman martyrology, but they often insert others, as Zama la Cota, the Life of Truth, Ongulari the Evangelist; Asca Georgi, the Mouth of Saint George.

To bring back this people into the enclosure of the Catholic church, from which they had been separated so many ages, was the sole view and intention with which we undertook so long and toilsome a journey, crossed so many seas, and passed so many deserts, with the utmost hazard of our lives: I am certain that we travelled more than seven thousand leagues before we arrived at our residence at Fremona.

We came to this place, anciently called Maigoga, on the 21st of June, as I have said before, and were obliged to continue there till November, because the winter begins here in May, and its greatest rigour is from the middle of June, to the middle of September. The rains that are almost continually falling in this season make it impossible to go far from home, for the rivers overflow their banks, and therefore in a place like this, where there are neither bridges nor boats, are, if they are not fordable, utterly impassable. Some indeed have crossed them by means of a cord fastened on both sides of the water, others tie two beams together, and placing themselves upon them, guide them as well as they can, but this experiment is so dangerous, that it hath cost many of these bold adventures their lives. This is not all the danger, for there is yet more to be apprehended from the unwholesomeness of the air, and the vapours which arise from the scorched earth at the fall of the first showers, than from the torrents and rivers. Even they who shelter themselves in houses find great difficulty to avoid the diseases that proceed from the noxious qualities of these vapours. From the beginning of June to that of September it rains more or less every day. The morning is generally fair and bright, but about two hours after noon the sky is clouded, and immediately succeeds a violent storm, with thunder and lightning flashing in the most dreadful manner. While this lasts which is commonly three or four hours, none go out of doors. The ploughman upon the first appearance of it, unyokes his oxen, and betakes himself with them into covert. Travellers provide for their security in the neighbouring villages, or set up their tents, every body flies to some shelter, as well to avoid the unwholesomeness as the violence of the rain. The thunder is astonishing, and the lightning often destroys great numbers, a thing I can speak of from my own experience, for it once flashed so near me, that I felt an uneasiness on that side for a long time after, at the same time it killed three young children, and having run round my room went out, and killed a man and woman three hundred paces off. When the storm is over the sun shines out as before, and one would not imagine it had rained, but that the ground appears deluged. Thus passes the Abyssinian winter, a dreadful season, in which the whole kingdom languishes with numberless diseases, an affliction, which however grievous, is yet equalled, by the clouds of grasshoppers, which fly in such numbers from the desert, that the sun is hid and the sky darkened; whenever this plague appears, nothing is seen through the whole region, but the most ghastly consternation, or heard but the most piercing lamentations, for wherever they fall, that unhappy place is laid waste and ruined, they leave not one blade of grass, nor any hopes of a harvest.

God, who often makes calamities subservient to his will, permitted this very affliction to be the cause of the conversion of many of the natives, who might have otherwise died in their errors; for part of the country being ruined by the grasshoppers that year

year in which we arrived at Abyssinia, many, who were forced to leave their habitations, and seek the necessities of life in other places, came to that part of the land where some of our missionaries were preaching, and laid hold on that mercy which God seemed to have appointed for others.

As we could not go to court before November, we resolved, that we might not be idle, to preach and instruct the people in the country; in pursuance of this resolution, I was sent to a mountain, two days journey distant from Maigoga. The lord or governor of the place, was a catholic, and had desired missionaries, but his wife had conceived an implacable aversion both from us and the Roman church, and almost all the inhabitants of that mountain were infected with the same prejudices as she. They had been persuaded, that the hosts which we consecrated and gave to the communicants, were mixed with juices strained from the flesh of a camel, a dog, a hare, and a swine; all creatures, which the Abyssins look upon with abhorrence, believing them unclean, and forbidden to them, as they were to the Jews. We had no way of undeceiving them, and they fled from us whenever we approached. We carried with us our tent, our chalices and ornaments, and all that was necessary for saying mass. The lord of the village, who like other persons of quality throughout Æthiopia, lived on the top of a mountain, received us with very great civility. All that depended upon him, had built their huts round about him; so that this place compared with the other towns of Abyssinia seems considerable: as soon as we arrived he sent us his compliments, with a present of a cow, which among them, is a token of high respect. We had no way of returning this favour but by killing the cow, and sending a quarter smoaking, with the gall, which amongst them is esteemed the most delicate part. I imagined for some time that the gall of animals was less bitter in this country than elsewhere, but upon tasting it, I found it more; and yet have frequently seen our servants drink large glasses of it with the same pleasure that we drink the most delicious wines.

We chose to begin our mission with the lady of the village, and hoped that her prejudice and obstinacy, however great, would in time yield to the advice and example of her husband, and that her conversion would have a great influence on the whole village, but having lost several days without being able to prevail upon her to hear us on any one point, we left the place, and went to another mountain, higher and better peopled: when we came to the village on the top of it, where the lord lived, we were surprised with the cries and lamentations of men that seemed to suffer or apprehend some dreadful calamity; and were told, upon enquiring the cause, that the inhabitants had been persuaded that we were the devil's missionaries, who came to seduce them from the true religion, that foreseeing some of their neighbours would be ruined by the temptation, they were lamenting the misfortune which was coming upon them. When we began to apply ourselves to the work of the mission, we could not by any means persuade any but the lord and the priest to receive us into their houses; the rest were rough and untractable to that degree that, after having converted six, we despaired of making any farther progress, and thought it best to remove to other towns where we might be better received.

We found however a more displeasing treatment at the next place, and had certainly ended our lives there, had we not been protected by the governor, and the priest, who, though not reconciled to the Roman church, yet shewed us the utmost civility; the governor informed us of a design against our lives, and advised us not to go out after sunset, and gave us guards to protect us from the insults of the populace.

We made no long stay in a place where they stopped their ears against the voice of God, but returned to the foot of that mountain which we had left some days

days before; we were furrounded, as soon as we began to preach, with a multitude of auditors, who came either in expectation of being instructed, or from a desire of gratifying their curiosity, and God bestowed such a blessing upon our apostolical labours, that the whole village was converted in a short time. We then removed to another at the middle of the mountain, situated in a kind of natural *parterre*, or garden: the soil was fruitful, and the trees that shaded it from the scorching heat of the sun, gave it an agreeable and refreshing coolness. We had here the convenience of improving the ardour and piety of our new converts, and at the same time, of leading more into the way of the true religion: and indeed our success exceeded the utmost of our hopes, we had in a short time great numbers whom we thought capable of being admitted to the sacraments of baptism and the mass.

We erected our tent, and placed our altar under some great trees, for the benefit of the shade; and every day before sun-rising, my companion and I began to catechise and instruct these new Catholics; and used our utmost endeavours to make them abjure their errors. When we were weary with speaking, we placed in ranks those who were sufficiently instructed, and passing through them with great vessels of water, baptised them according to the form prescribed by the church. As their number was very great, we cried aloud, those of this rank are named Peter, those of that rank Anthony. And did the same amongst the women, whom we separated from the men. We then confessed them, and admitted them to the communion. After mass we applied ourselves again to catechise, to instruct, and receive the renunciation of their errors, scarce allowing ourselves time to make a scanty meal, which we never did more than once a day.

After some time had been spent here, we removed to another town not far distant; and continued the same practice. Here I was accosted one day by an inhabitant of that place, where he had found the people so prejudiced against us, who desired to be admitted to confession. I could not forbear asking him some questions about those lamentations, which we heard upon our entering into that place. He confessed with the utmost frankness and ingenuity that the priests and religious have given dreadful accounts both of us and of the religion we preached; that the unhappy people was taught by them, that the curse of God attended us wheresoever we went, that we were always followed by the grasshoppers, that pest of Abyssinia, which carried famine and destruction over all the country: that he seeing no grasshoppers following us, when we passed by their village, began to doubt of the reality of what the priests had so confidently asserted, and was now convinced that the representation they made of us, was calumny and imposture. This discourse gave us double pleasure, both as it proved that God had confuted the accusations of our enemies, and defended us against their malice without any efforts of our own, and that the people who had shunned us with the strongest detestation, were yet lovers of truth, and came to us on their own accord.

Nothing could be more grossly absurd than the reproaches which the Abyssinian ecclesiastics aspersed us and our religion with. They had taken advantage of the calamity that happened the year of our arrival; and the Abyssins, with all their wit, did not consider that they had often been distressed by the grasshoppers, before there came any Jesuits into the country, and indeed before there were any in the world.

Whilst I was in these mountains, I went on Sundays and fairs days sometimes to one church and sometimes to another; one day I went out with a resolution not to go to a certain church, where I imagined there was no occasion for me, but before I had

had gone far, I found myself pressed by a secret impulse to return back to that same church. I obeyed the influence, and discovered it to proceed from the mercy of God to three young children who were destitute of all succour, and at the point of death; I found two very quickly in this miserable state, the mother had retired to some distance that she might not see them die, and when she saw me stop, came and told me that they had been obliged by want to leave the town they lived in, and were at length reduced to this dismal condition, that she had been baptised, but that the children had not. After I had baptised and relieved them, I continued my walk, reflecting with wonder on the mercy of God, and about evening discovered another infant, whose mother, evidently a Catholic, cried out to me to save her child, or at least, that if I could not preserve this uncertain and perishable life, I should give it another certain and permanent. I sent my servant to fetch water with the utmost expedition, for there was none near, and happily baptized the child before it expired.

Soon after this I returned to Fremona, and had great hopes of accompanying the patriarch to the court; but, when we were almost setting out, received the command of the superior of the mission to stay at Fremona, with a charge of the house there, and of all the Catholics that were dispersed over the kingdom of Tigre, an employment very ill-proportioned to my abilities. The house at Fremona has always been much regarded even by those emperors who persecuted us; Sultan Segued annexed nine large manors to it for ever, which did not make us much more wealthy, because of the expensive hospitality which the great conflux of strangers obliged us to. The lands in Abyssinia yield but small revenues, unless the owners themselves set the value upon them, which we could not do.

The manner of letting farms in Abyssinia differs much from that of other countries: the farmer, when the harvest is almost ripe, invites the chumo or steward, who is appointed to make an estimate of the value of each year's product, to his house, entertains him in the most agreeable manner he can; makes him a present, and then takes him to see his corn. If the chumo is pleased with the treat and present, he will give him a declaration or writing to witness that his ground which afforded five or six sacks of corn, did not yield so many bushels, and even of this it is the custom to abate something; so that our revenue did not increase in proportion to our lands; and we found ourselves often obliged to buy corn, which, indeed is not dear, for in fruitful years forty or fifty measures weighing each about twenty-two pounds, may be purchased for a crown.

Besides the particular charge I had of the house of Fremona, I was appointed the patriarch's grand-vicar, through the whole kingdom of Tigre. I thought that to discharge this office as I ought, it was incumbent on me to provide necessaries as well for the bodies as the souls of the converted Catholics. This labour was much increased by the famine which the grasshoppers had brought that year upon the country. Our house was perpetually surrounded by some of those unhappy people, whom want had compelled to abandon their habitations, and whose pale cheeks and meagre bodies were undeniable proofs of their misery and distress. All the relief I could possibly afford them, could not prevent the death of such numbers that their bodies filled the highways; and to increase our affliction, the wolves having devoured the carcases, and finding no other food fell upon the living; their natural fierceness being so increased by hunger, that they dragged the children out of the very houses. I saw myself a troop of wolves tear a child of six years old in pieces before I or any one else could come to its assistance.

While

While I was entirely taken up with the duties of my ministry, the viceroy of Tigre received the commands of the emperor to search for the bones of Don Christopher de Gama : on this occasion it may not be thought impertinent, to give some account of the life and death of this brave and holy Portuguese, who, after having been successful in many battles fell at last into the hands of the Moors, and completed that illustrious life by a glorious martyrdom.

CHAP. V. — *The Adventures of the Portuguese, and the Actions of Don Christopher de Gama in Æthiopia.*

ABOUT the beginning of the sixteenth century, arose a Moor near the Cape of Gardafui, who, by the assistance of the forces sent him from Moca by the Arabs and Turks, conquered almost all Abyssinia, and founded the kingdom of Adel. He was called Mahomet Gragnè or the Lame. When he had ravaged Æthiopia fourteen years, and was master of the greatest part of it, the Emperor David sent to implore succour of the King of Portugal, with a promise, that when those dominions were recovered which had been taken from him, he would entirely submit himself to the Pope, and resign the third part of his territories to the Portuguese. After many delays occasioned by the great distance between Portugal and Abyssinia, and some unsuccessful attempts, King John the Third, having made Don Stephen de Gama, son of the celebrated Don Vasco de Gama, viceroy of the Indies, gave him orders to enter the Red Sea in pursuit of the Turkish gallies, and to fall upon them wherever he found them, even in the Port of Suez. The viceroy, in obedience to the King's commands, equipped a powerful fleet, went on board himself, and cruized about the coast without being able to discover the Turkish vessels. Enraged to find that with this great preparation he should be able to effect nothing, he landed at Mazna four hundred Portuguese, under the command of Don Christopher de Gama his brother : he was soon joined by some Abyssins, who had not yet forgot their allegiance to their sovereign ; and in his march up the country, was met by the Empress Helena, who received him as her deliverer. At first nothing was able to stand before the valour of the Portuguese, the Moors were driven from one mountain to another, and were dislodged even from those places, which it seemed almost impossible to approach, even unmolested by the opposition of an enemy.

These successes seemed to promise a more happy event, than that which followed them. It was now winter, a season in which, as the reader hath been already informed, it is almost impossible to travel in Æthiopia. The Portuguese unadvisedly engaged themselves in an enterprize, to march through the whole country, in order to join the Emperor, who was then in the most remote part of his dominions. Mahomet, who was in possession of the mountains, being informed by his spies, that the Portuguese were but four hundred, encamped in the plain of Ballut, and sent a message to the general, that he knew the Abyssins had imposed on the King of Portugal, which, being acquainted with their treachery, he was not surprisèd at, and that in compassion of the commander's youth, he would give him and his men, if they would return, free passage, and furnish them with necessaries ; that he might consult upon the matter, and depend upon his word, reminding him however that it was not safe to refuse his offer.

The general presented the ambassador with a rich robe, and returned this gallant answer : " That he, and his fellow soldiers were come with an intention to drive Mahomet out of these countries, which he had wrongfully usurped ; that his present

design was, instead of returning back the way he came, as Mahomet advised, to open himself a passage through the country of his enemies; that Mahomet should rather think of determining whether he would fight or yield up his ill-gotten territories, than of prescribing measures to him: that he put his whole confidence in the omnipotence of God, and the justice of his cause, and that to shew how just a sense he had of Mahomet's kindness, he took the liberty of presenting him with a looking-glass, and a pair of pincers."

This answer, and the present, so provoked Mahomet, who was at dinner when he received it, that he rose from table immediately to march against the Portuguese, imagining he should meet with no resistance; and indeed any man, however brave, would have been of the same opinion; for his forces consisted of fifteen thousand foot, beside a numerous body of cavalry, and the Portuguese commander had but three hundred and fifty men, having lost eight in attacking some passes, and left forty at Mazna, to maintain an open intercourse with the viceroy of the Indies. This little troop of our countrymen were upon the declivity of a hill near a wood; above them stood the Abyssins, who resolved to remain quiet spectators of the battle, and to declare themselves on that side which should be favoured with victory.

Mahomet began the attack with only ten horsemen, against whom as many Portuguese were detached, who fired with so much exactness, that nine of the Moors fell, and the tenth with great difficulty made his escape. This omen of good fortune gave the soldiers great encouragement; the action grew hot, and they came at length to a general battle, but the Moors, dismayed by the advantages our men had obtained at first, were half defeated before the fight. The great fire of our muskets and artillery broke them immediately. Mahomet preserved his own life not without difficulty; but did not lose his capacity with the battle: he had still a great number of troops remaining, which he rallied, and entrenched himself at Membret, a place naturally strong, with an intention to pass the winter there, and wait for succours.

The Portuguese, who were more desirous of glory than wealth, did not encumber themselves with plunder, but with the utmost expedition pursued their enemies, in hopes of cutting them entirely off. This expectation was too sanguine: they found them encamped in a place naturally almost inaccessible, and so well fortified, that it would be no less than extreme rashness to attack them. They therefore entrenched themselves on a hill over against the enemies camp, and, though victorious, were under great disadvantages. They see new troops arrive every day at the enemies camp, and their small number grew less continually, their friends at Mazna could not join them, they know not how to procure provisions, and could put no confidence in the Abyssins; yet recollecting the great things achieved by their countrymen, and depending on the Divine Protection, they made no doubt of surmounting all difficulties.

Mahomet on his part was not idle; he solicited the assistance of the Mahometan princes, pressed them with all the motives of religion, and obtained a reinforcement of two thousand musqueteers from the Arabs, and a train of artillery from the Turks. Animated with these succours, he marched out of his trenches to enter those of the Portuguese, who received him with the utmost bravery, destroyed prodigious numbers of his men, and made many sallies with great vigour, but losing every day some of their small troops, and most of their officers being killed, it was easy to surround, and force them.

Their general had already one arm broken, and his knee shattered with a musket-shot, which made him unable to repair to all those places where his presence was

necessary to animate his soldiers. Valour was at length forced to submit to Superiority of numbers, the enemy entered the camp, and put all to the sword. The general with ten more escaped the slaughter, and by means of their horses retreated to a wood, where they were soon discovered by a detachment sent in search of them, and brought to Mahomet, who was overjoyed to see his most formidable enemy in his power, and ordered him to take care of his uncle and nephew, who were wounded, telling him, he should answer for their lives; and, upon their death, taxed him with hastening it. The brave Portuguese made no excuses, but told him, he came thither to destroy Mahometans, and not to save them. Mahomet enraged at this language, ordered a stone to be put on his head, and exposed this great man to the insults and reproaches of the whole army: after this they inflicted various kinds of tortures on him, which he endured with incredible resolution, and without uttering the least complaint, praising the mercy of God who had ordained him to suffer in such a cause.

Mahomet, at last satisfied with cruelty, made an offer of sending him to the viceroy of the Indies, if he would turn Mussulman. The hero took fire at this proposal, and answered with the highest indignation, that nothing should make him forsake his heavenly Master to follow an impostor, and continued in the severest terms to vilify their false prophet, till Mahomet struck off his head.

Nor did the resentment of Mahomet end here; he divided his body into quarters, and sent them to different places. The Catholics gathered the remains of this glorious martyr, and interred them. Every Moor that passed by threw a stone upon his grave, and raised in time such an heap, as I found it difficult to remove, when I went in search of those precious reliques.

What I have here related of the death of Don Christopher, de Gama, I was told by an old man, who was an eye-witness of it: and there is a tradition in the country, that in the place where his head fell, a fountain sprung up of wonderful virtue, which cured many diseases otherwise past remedy.

CHAP. VI. — *Mahomet continues the War, and is killed. The Stratagem of Peter Leon.*

MAHOMET, that he might make the best use of his victory, ranged over a great part of Abyssinia in search of the Emperor Claudius, who was then in the kingdom of Dambia. All places submitted to the Mahometan, whose insolence increased every day with his power; and nothing after the defeat of the Portuguese was supposed able to put a stop to the progress of his arms.

The soldiers of Portugal, having lost their chief, resorted to the Emperor, who, though young, promised great things, and told them, that since their own general was dead, they would accept of none but himself. He received them with great kindness, and hearing of Don Christopher de Gama's misfortune, could not forbear honouring with some tears the memory of a man who had come so far to his succour, and lost his life in his cause.

The Portuguese, resolved at any rate to revenge the fate of their general, desired the Emperor, to assign them the post opposite to Mahomet, which was willingly granted them. That King, flushed with his victories, and imagining to fight was undoubtedly to conquer, sought all occasions of giving the Abyssins battle. The Portuguese, who desired nothing more than to re-establish their reputation by revenging the affront put upon them by the late defeat, advised the Emperor to lay hold on the first opportunity

of fighting. Both parties joined battle with equal fury: the Portuguese directed all their force against that part where Mahomet was posted. Peter Leon, who had been servant to the general, singled the King out among the crowd, and shot him into the head with his musket. Mahomet, finding himself wounded, would have retired out of the battle, and was followed by Peter Leon till he fell down dead; the Portuguese, alighting from his horse, cut off one of his ears. The Moors being now without a leader, continued the fight but a little time, and at length fled different ways in the utmost disorder; the Abyssins pursued them, and made a prodigious slaughter: one of them seeing the King's body on the ground cut off his head, and presented it to the Emperor; the sight of it filled the whole camp with acclamations, everyone applauded the valour and good fortune of the Abyssin, and no reward was thought great enough for so important a service. Peter Leon, having stood by some time, asked, whether the King had but one ear? if he had two, says he, it seems likely that the man who killed him cut off one, and keeps it as a proof of his exploit. The Abyssin stood confused, and the Portuguese produced the ear out of his pocket; every one commended the stratagem, and the Emperor commanded the Abyssin to restore all the presents he had received, and delivered them with many more to Peter Leon.

I imagined the reader would not be displeased to be informed who this man was, whose precious remains were searched for by a viceroy of Tigre, at the command of the Emperor himself. The commission was directed to me, nor did I ever receive one that was more welcome on many accounts. I had contracted an intimate friendship with the Count de Vidigueira, viceroy of the Indies, and had been desired by him, when I took my leave of him, upon going to Melinda, to inform myself where his relation was buried, and to send him some of his reliques.

The viceroy, son-in-law to the Emperor, with whom I was joined in the commission, gave me many distinguishing proofs of his affection to me, and of his zeal for the Catholic religion. It was a journey of fifteen days, through a part of the country possessed by the Gallas, which made it necessary to take troops with us for our security; yet, notwithstanding this precaution, the hazard of the expedition appeared so great, that our friends bid us farewell with tears, and looked upon us as destined to unavoidable destruction. The viceroy had given orders to some troops to join us on the road, so that our little army grew stronger as we advanced. There is no making long marches in this country; an army here is a great city well peopled, and under exact government: they take their wives and children with them, and the camp hath its streets, its market places, its churches, courts of justice, judges, and civil officers.

Before they set forward, they advertise the governors of provinces through which they are to pass, that they may take care to furnish what is necessary for the subsistence of the troops. These governors give notice to the adjacent places, that the army is to march that way on such a day, and that they are assessed such a quantity of bread, beer, and cows. The peasants are very exact in supplying their quota, being obliged to pay double the value in case of failure; and very often when they have produced their full share, they are told, that they have been deficient, and condemned to buy their peace with a large fine.

When the providore has received these contributions, he divides them according to the number of persons, and the want they are in: the proportion they observe in this distribution is twenty pots of beer, ten of mead, and one cow to an hundred loaves. The chief officers and persons of note carry their own provisions with them, which I did too, though I afterwards found the precaution unnecessary, for I had often two

or three cows more than I wanted, which I bestowed on those whose allowance fell short.

- The Abyssins are not only obliged to maintain the troops in their march, but to repair the roads, to clear them, especially in the forests, of brambles and thorns, and by all means possible to facilitate the passage of the army. They are, by long custom, extremely ready at encamping: as soon as they come to a place they think convenient to halt at, the officer that commands the vanguard, marks out with his pike the place for the King's or viceroy's tent: every one knows his rank, and how much ground he shall take up; so the camp is formed in an instant.

CHAP. VII.—*They discover the Reliques. Their Apprehension of the Gallees. The Author converts a Criminal, and procures his Pardon.*

WE took with us an old Moor, so enfeebled with age, that they were forced to carry him: he had seen, as I have said, the sufferings and death of Don Christopher de Gama; and a Christian, who had often heard all those passages related to his father, and knew the place where the uncle and nephew of Mahomet were buried, and where they interred one quarter of the Portuguese martyr. We often examined these two men, and always apart; they agreed in every circumstance of their relations, and confirmed us in our belief of them by leading us to the place where we took up the uncle and nephew of Mahomet, as they had described. With no small labour we removed the heap of stones which the Moors, according to their custom, had thrown upon the body, and discovered the treasure we came in search of. Not many paces off was the fountain where they had thrown his head, with a dead dog, to raise a greater aversion in the Moors. I gathered the teeth and the lower jaw. No words can express the extasies I was transported with, at seeing the reliques of so great a man, and reflecting that it had pleased God to make me the instrument of their preservation, so that one day, if our holy father the Pope shall be so pleased, they may receive the veneration of the faithful. All burst into tears at the sight. We indulged a melancholy pleasure in reflecting what that great man had achieved for the deliverance of Abyssinia, from the yoke and tyranny of the Moors; the voyages he had undertaken; the battles he had fought; the victories he had won; and the cruel and tragical death he had suffered. Our first moments were so entirely taken up with these reflections, that we were incapable of considering the danger we were in of being immediately surrounded by the Gallees: but as soon as we awaked to that thought, we contrived to retreat as fast as we could: our expedition, however, was not so great, but we saw them on the top of a mountain ready to pour down upon us. The viceroy attended us closely with his little army, but had been probably not much more secure than we, his force consisting only of foot, and the Gallees entirely of horse, a service at which they are very expert. Our apprehensions at last proved to be needless, for the troops we saw were of a nation at that time in alliance with the Abyssins.

Not caring, after this alarm, to stay longer here, we set out on our march back, and in our return, passed through a village where two men, who had murdered a domestic of the viceroy, lay under an arrest: as they had been taken in the fact, the law of the country allowed that they might have been executed the same hour, but the viceroy having ordered that their death should be deferred till his return, delivered them to the relations of the dead, to be disposed of as they should think proper. They made great rejoicings all the night, on account of having it in their power to

revenge their relation ; and the unhappy criminals had the mortification of standing by, to behold this jollity, and the preparations made for their execution.

The Abyssins have three different ways of putting a criminal to death ; one way is to bury him to the neck, to lay a heap of brambles upon his head, and to cover the whole with a great stone. Another is to beat him to death with cudgels. A third, and the most usual, is to stab them with their lances. The nearest relation gives the first thrust, and is followed by all the rest according to their degrees of kindred ; and they to whom it does not happen to strike while the offender is alive, dip the points of their lances in his blood, to shew that they partake in the revenge. It frequently happens, that the relations of the criminal are for taking the like vengeance for his death, and sometimes pursue this resolution so far that all those who had any share in the prosecution lose their lives.

I being informed that these two men were to die, wrote to the viceroy for his permission to exhort them, before they entered into eternity, to unite themselves to the church. My request being granted, I applied myself to the men, and found one of them so obstinate that he would not even afford me an hearing, and died in his error. The other I found more flexible, and wrought upon him so far, that he came to my tent to be instructed. After my care of his eternal welfare had met with such success, I could not forbear attempting something for his temporal, and by my endeavours, matters were so accommodated, that the relations were willing to grant his life on condition he paid a certain number of cows, or the value. Their first demand was of a thousand ; he offered them five ; they at last were satisfied with twelve, provided they were paid upon the spot. The Abyssins are extremely charitable ; and the women, on such occasions, will give even their necklaces, and pendants, so that, with what I gave myself, I collected in the camp enough to pay the fine, and all parties were content.

CHAP. VIII.—*The Viceroy is offended by his Wife. He complains to the Emperor, but without Redress. He meditates a Revolt, raises an Army, and makes an Attempt to seize upon the Author.*

WE continued our march, and the viceroy having been advertised that some troops had appeared in a hostile manner on the frontiers, went against them : I parted from him, and arrived at Tremona, where the Portuguese expected me with great impatience. I repositied the bones of Don Christopher de Gama in a decent place, and sent them the May following to the viceroy of the Indies, together with his arms which had been presented me by a gentleman of Abyssinia, and a picture of the Virgin Mary, which that gallant Portuguese always carried about him.

The viceroy, during all the time he was engaged in this expedition, heard very provoking accounts of the bad conduct of his wife, and complained of it to the Emperor, intreating him either to punish his daughter himself, or to permit him to deliver her over to justice, that, if she was falsely accused, she might have an opportunity of putting her own honour and her husband's out of dispute. The Emperor took little notice of his son-in-law's remonstrances ; and, the truth is, the viceroy was somewhat more nice in that matter than the people of rank in this country generally are. There are laws, it is true, against adultery, but they seem to have been only for the meaner people, and the women of quality, especially the ouzoros, or ladies of the blood royal, are so much above them, that their husbands have not even the liberty of complaining ; and certainly to support injuries of this kind without complaining, requires a degree of
patience

patience which few men can boast of. The viceroy's virtue was not proof against this temptation, he fell into a deep melancholy, and resolved to be revenged on his father-in-law. He knew the present temper of the people, that those of the greatest interest and power were by no means pleased with the changes of religion, and only waited for a fair opportunity to revolt; and that these discontents were every where heightened by the monks and clergy. Encouraged by these reflections, he was always talking of the just reasons he had to complain of the Emperor, and gave them sufficient room to understand, that if they would appear in his party, he would declare himself for the ancient religion, and put himself at the head of those who should take arms in the defence of it. The chief and almost the only thing that hindered him from raising a formidable rebellion, was the mutual distrust they entertained of one another, each fearing, that as soon as the Emperor should publish an act of grace, or general amnesty, the greatest part would lay down their arms and embrace it; and this suspicion was imagined more reasonable of the viceroy than of any other. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the priests, who interested themselves much in this revolt, ran with the utmost earnestness from church to church, levelling their sermons against the Emperor and the Catholic religion: and that they might have the better success in putting a stop to all ecclesiastical innovations, they came to a resolution of putting all the missionaries to the sword; and that the viceroy might have no room to hope for a pardon, they obliged him to give the first wound to him that should fall into his hands.

As I was the nearest, and by consequence the most exposed, an order was immediately issued out for apprehending me, it being thought a good expedient to seize me, and force me to build a citadel, into which they might retreat if they should happen to meet with a defeat. The viceroy wrote to me to desire that I would come to him, he having, as he said, an affair of the highest importance to communicate.

The frequent assemblies which the viceroy held had already been much talked of; and I had received advice that he was ready for a revolt, and that my death was to be the first signal of an open war. Knowing that the viceroy had made many complaints of the treatment he received from his father-in-law, I made no doubt that he had some ill design in hand; and yet could scarce persuade myself that after all the tokens of friendship I had received from him he would enter into any measures for destroying me. While I was yet in suspense, I dispatched a faithful servant to the viceroy with my excuse for disobeying him; and gave the messenger strict orders to observe all that passed, and bring me an exact account.

This affair was of too great moment not to engage my utmost endeavours to arrive at the most certain knowledge of it, and to advertise the court of the danger. I wrote therefore to one of our fathers, who was then near the Emperor, the best intelligence I could obtain of all that had passed, of the reports that were spread through all this part of the empire, and of the disposition which I discovered in the people to a general defection; telling him, however, that I could not yet believe that the viceroy, who had honoured me with his friendship, and of whom I never had any thought but how to oblige him, could now have so far changed his sentiments as to take away my life.

The letters which I received by my servant, and the assurances he gave that I need fear nothing; for that I was never mentioned by the viceroy without great marks of esteem, so far confirmed me in my error, that I went from Fremona with a resolution to see him. I did not reflect that a man who could fail in his duty to his King, his father-in-law, and his benefactor, might without scruple do the same to a stranger, though distinguished as his friend; and thus sanguine and unsuspecting continued my journey, still receiving intimation from all parts to take care of myself: at length when

I was

I was within a few days journies of the viceroy, I received a billet in more plain and exprefs terms than any thing I had been told yet, charging me, with extreme imprudence in putting myself into the hands of those men who had undoubtedly sworn to cut me off.

I began upon this to distrust the fincerity of the viceroy's professions, and resolved, upon the receipt of another letter from the viceroy, to return directly : in this letter, having excused himself for not waiting for my arrival, he desired me in terms very strong and pressing to come forward, and stay for him at his own house, assuring me, that he had given such orders for my entertainment as should prevent my being tired with living there. I imagined at first that he had left some servants, to provide for my reception, but being advertised at the same time, that there was no longer any doubt of the certainty of his revolt, that the Gallas were engaged to come to his assistance, and that he was gone to sign a treaty with them ; I was no longer in suspense what measures to take, but returned to Fremona.

Here I found a letter from the Emperor, which prohibited me to go out, and the orders which he had sent through all these parts, directing them to arrest me wherever I was found, and to hinder me from proceeding on my journey. These orders came too late to contribute to my preservation, and this Prince's goodness had been in vain, if God, whose protection I have often had experience of in my travels, had not been my conductor in this emergency.

The viceroy hearing that I was returned to my residence, did not discover any concern or chagrin as at a disappointment, for such was his privacy and dissimulation, that the most penetrating could never form any conjecture that could be depended on, about his designs, till every thing was ready for the execution of them. My servant, a man of wit, was surpris'd as well as every body else ; and I can ascribe to nothing but a miracle, my escape from so many snares as he laid to entrap me.

There happened during this perplexity of my affairs an accident of small consequence in itself, which yet I think deserves to be mentioned, as it shews the credulity and ignorance of the Abyssins. I received a visit from a religious, who pass'd, though he was blind, for the most learned person in all that country : he had the whole scriptures in his memory, but seem'd to have been at more pains to retain, than understand them ; as he talk'd much, he often took occasion to quote them, and did it almost always improperly : having invited him to sup and pass the night with me, I set before him some excellent mead, which he liked so well, as to drink somewhat beyond the bounds of exact temperance : next day, to make some return for his entertainment, he took upon him to divert me with some of those stories which the monks amuse simple people with, and told me of a devil that haunted a fountain, and us'd to make it his employment to plague the monks that came hither to fetch water, and continued his malice, till he was converted by the founder of their order, who found him no very stubborn proselyte till they came to the point of circumcision ; the devil was unhappily prepossessed with a strong aversion from being circumcised, which however, by much persuasion, he at last agreed to, and afterwards taking a religious habit, died ten years after with great signs of sanctity. He added another history of a famous Abyssinian monk, who killed a devil two hundred feet high, and only four feet thick, that ravaged all the country ; the peasants had a great desire to throw the dead carcase from the top of a rock, but could not with all their force remove it from the place, but the monk drew it after him with all imaginable ease, and pushed it down. This story was followed by another, of a young devil that became a religious of the famous monastery of Aba Gatima. The good father would have favoured me with more relations

tions of the same kind, if I had been in the humour to have heard them, but, interrupting him, I told him that all these relations confirmed what we had found by experience, that the monks of Abyssinia were no improper company for the devil.

CHAP. IX. — *The Viceroy is defeated and hanged. The Author narrowly escapes being poisoned.*

I DID not stay long at Fremona, but left that town and the province of Tigre, and soon found that I was very happy in that resolution, for scarce had I left the place, before the viceroy came in person to put me to death, who, not finding me, as he expected, resolved to turn all his vengeance against the father Gaspard Paes, a venerable man, who was grown grey in the missions of Æthiopia, and five other missionaries newly arrived from the Indies: his design was to kill them all at one time without suffering any to escape; he therefore sent for them all, but one happily being sick, another, staid to attend him: to this they owed their lives, for the viceroy finding but four of them, sent them back, telling them he would see them all together. The fathers, having been already told of his revolt, and of the pretences he made use of to give it credit, made no question of his intent to massacre them, and contrived their escape so, that they got safely out of his power.

The viceroy disappointed in his scheme, vented all his rage upon father James, whom the patriarch had given him as his confessor; the good man was carried, bound hand and foot, into the middle of the camp; the viceroy gave the first stab in the throat, and all the rest struck him with their lances, and dipped their weapons in his blood, promising each other that they would never accept of any act of oblivion or terms of peace, by which the Catholic religion was not abolished throughout the empire, and all those who professed it either banished or put to death. They then ordered all the beads, images, crosses, and reliques which the Catholics made use of to be thrown into the fire.

The anger of God was now ready to fall upon his head for these daring and complicated crimes: the Emperor had already confiscated all his goods, and given the government of the kingdom of Tigre to Keba Christos, a good Catholic, who was sent with a numerous army to take possession of it. As both armies were in search of each other, it was not long before they came to a battle. The revolted viceroy Tecla Georgis placed all his confidence in the Galle his auxiliaries. Keba Christos, who had marched with incredible expedition to hinder the enemy from making any intrenchments, would willingly have refreshed his men a few days before the battle, but finding the foe vigilant, thought it not proper to stay till he was attacked, and therefore resolved to make the first onset; then presenting himself before his army without arms and with his head uncovered, assured them that such was his confidence in God's protection of those that engaged in so just a cause, that though he were in that condition and alone, he would attack his enemies.

The battle began immediately, and of all the troops of Tecla Georgis only the Galle made any resistance, the rest abandoned him without striking a blow. The unhappy commander seeing all his squadrons broken, and three hundred of the Galle, with twelve ecclesiastics, killed on the spot, hid himself in a cave, where he was found three days afterwards, with his favourite and a monk. When they took him, they cut off the heads of his two companions in the field, and carried him to the Emperor; the procedure against him was not long, and he was condemned to be burnt alive. Then imagining that, if he embraced the Catholic faith, the intercession of the missionaries,

with

with the intreaties of his wife and children might procure him a pardon, he desired a Jesuit to hear his confession, and abjured his errors. The Emperor was inflexible both to the intreaties of his daughter, and the tears of his grand children, and all that could be obtained of him, was that the sentence should be mollified, and changed into a condemnation to be hanged. Tecla Georgis renounced his abjuration, and at his death persisted in his errors. Adero, his sister, who had borne the greatest share in his revolt, was hanged on the same tree fifteen days after.

I arrived not long after at the Emperor's court, and had the honour of kissing his hands; but staid not long in a place, where no missionary ought to linger, unless obliged by the most pressing necessity: but being ordered by my superiors into the kingdom of Damote, I set out on my journey, and on the road was in great danger of losing my life by my curiosity of tasting an herb which I found near a brook, and which, though I had often heard of it, I did not know. It bears a great resemblance to our raddishes, the leaf and colour were beautiful, and the taste not unpleasant; it came into my mind when I began to chew it, that perhaps it might be that venomous herb, against which no antidote had yet been found, but persuading myself afterwards that my fears were merely chimerical, I continued to chew it, till a man accidentally meeting me, and seeing me with a handful of it, cried out to me, that I was poisoned; I had happily not swallowed any of it, and throwing out what I had in my mouth, I returned God thanks for this instance of his protection.

I crossed the Nile the first time in my journey to the kingdom of Damote; my passage brought into my mind all that I had read either in ancient or modern writers, of this celebrated river; I recollected the great expences at which some Emperors had endeavoured to gratify their curiosity of knowing the sources of this mighty stream, which nothing but their little acquaintance with the Abyssins made so difficult to be found. I passed the river within two days journey of its head, near a wide plain, which is entirely laid under water when it begins to overflow the banks. Its channel is even here so wide, that a ball-shot from a musket can scarce reach the farther bank. Here is neither boat nor bridge, and the river is so full of hippopotames, or river horses, and crocodiles, that it is impossible to swim over without danger of being devoured. The only way of passing it is upon floats, which they guide as well as they can with long poles. Nor is even this way without danger, for these destructive animals overturn the floats, and tear the passengers in pieces. The river horse, which lives only on grass and branches of trees, is satisfied with killing the men, but the crocodile being more voracious, feeds upon the carcases.

But since I am arrived at the banks of this renowned river, which I have passed and repassed so many times; and since all that I have read of the nature of its waters, and the causes of its overflowing, is full of fables, the reader may not be displeased to find here an account of what I saw myself, or was told by the inhabitants.

CHAP. X. — *A Description of the Nile.*

THE Nile, which the natives call Abavi, that is, the Father of Waters, rises first in Sacala, a province of the kingdom of Gojama, which is one of the most fruitful and agreeable of all the Abyssinian dominions. This province is inhabited by a nation of the Agaus, who call, but only call themselves Christians, for by daily intermarriages they have allied themselves to the Pagan Agaus, and adopted all their customs and ceremonies. These two nations are very numerous, fierce, and unconquerable, inhabiting a country full of mountains, which are covered with woods, and hollowed by

nature into vast caverns, many of which are capable of containing several numerous families, and hundreds of cows: to these recesses the Agaus betake themselves, when they are driven out of the plain, where it is almost impossible to find them, and certain ruin to pursue them. This people increases extremely, every man being allowed so many wives as he hath hundreds of cows, and it is seldom that the hundreds are required to be complete.

In the eastern part of this kingdom, on the declivity of a mountain, whose descent is so easy that it seems a beautiful plain, is that source of the Nile which has been sought after at so much expence of labour, and about which such variety of conjectures hath been formed without success. This spring, or rather these two springs, are two holes, each about two feet diameter, a stone's cast distant from each other, the one is but about five feet and a half in depth, at least we could not get our plummet farther, perhaps because it was stopped by roots, for the whole place is full of trees; of the other, which is somewhat less, with a line of ten feet we could find no bottom, and were assured by the inhabitants that none ever had been found. It is believed here, that these springs are the vents of a great subterraneous lake, and they have this circumstance to favour their opinion, that the ground is always moist and so soft that the water boils up under foot as one walks upon it; this is more visible after rains, for then the ground yields and sinks so much, that I believe it is chiefly supported by the roots of trees, that are interwoven one with another: such is the ground round about these fountains. At a little distance to the south, is a village named Guix, through which the way lies to the top of the mountain, from whence the traveller discovers a vast extent of land, which appears like a deep valley, though the mountain rises so imperceptibly that those who go up or down it are scarce sensible of any declivity.

On the top of this mountain is a little hill which the idolatrous Agaus have in great veneration: their priest calls them together at this place once a year, and having sacrificed a cow, throws the head into one of the springs of the Nile; after which ceremony, every one sacrifices a cow or more, according to their different degrees of wealth or devotion. The bones of these cows have already formed two mountains of considerable height, which afford a sufficient proof that these nations have always paid their adorations to this famous river. They eat these sacrifices with great devotion, as flesh consecrated to their Deity. Then the priest anoints himself with the grease and tallow of the cows, and sits down on an heap of straw, on the top and in the middle of a pile which is prepared, they set fire to it, and the whole heap is consumed without any injury to the priest, who while the fire continues, harangues the standers by, and confirms them in their present ignorance and superstition. When the pile is burnt, and the discourse at an end, every one makes a large present to the priest, which is the grand design of this religious mockery.

To return to the course of the Nile: its waters, after the first rise, run to the eastward for about a musket-shot, then turning to the north, continue hidden in the grass and weeds for about a quarter of a league, and discover themselves for the first time among some rocks; a sight not to be enjoyed without some pleasure, by those who have read the fabulous accounts of this stream delivered by the ancients, and the vain conjectures and reasonings which have been formed upon its original, the nature of its water, its cataracts, and its inundations, all which we are now entirely acquainted with, and eye-witnesses of.

Many interpreters of the holy scriptures pretend that Gihon, mentioned in Genesis, is no other than the Nile, which encompasseth all Æthiopia; but as the Gihon had its source from the terrestrial paradise, and we know that the Nile rises in the country

of the Agaus, it will be found, I believe, no small difficulty to conceive how the same river could arise from two sources so distant from each other, or how a river from so low a source should spring up and appear in a place perhaps the highest in the world; for if we consider, that Arabia and Palestine are in their situation almost level with Egypt; that Egypt is as low, if compared with the kingdom of Dambia, as the deepest valley in regard of the highest mountain, that the province of Sacala is yet more elevated than Dambia; that the waters of the Nile must either pass under the Red Sea, or take a great compass about, we shall find it hard to conceive such an attractive power in the earth, as may be able to make the waters rise through the obstruction of so much sand from places so low, to the most lofty region of Æthiopia.

But leaving these difficulties, let us go on to describe the course of the Nile. It rolls away from its source with so inconsiderable a current, that it appears unlikely to escape being dried up by the hot season, but soon receiving an increase from the Gemma, the Keltu, the Bransu, and other less rivers, it is of such a breadth in the plain of Boad, which is not above three days journey from its source, that a ball shot from a musket will scarce fly from one bank to the other. Here it begins to run northwards, deflecting, however, a little towards the east, for the space of nine or ten leagues, and then enters the so much talked of Lake of Dambia, called by the natives Barhar Sena, the Resemblance of the Sea, or Bahar Dambia, the Sea of Dambia. It crosses this lake only at one end, with so violent a rapidity, that the waters of the Nile may be distinguished through all the passage, which is six leagues. Here begins the greatness of the Nile. Fifteen miles farther, in the land of Alata, it rushes precipitately from the top of a high rock, and forms one of the most beautiful water-falls in the world: I passed under it without being wet; and resting myself there, for the sake of the coolness, was charmed with a thousand delightful rainbows, which the sunbeams painted on the water in all their shining and lively colours. The fall of this mighty stream from so great a height makes a noise that may be heard to a considerable distance; but I could not observe that the neighbouring inhabitants were at all deaf. I conversed with several, and was as easily heard by them, as I heard them. The mist that rises from this fall of water may be seen much farther than the noise can be heard. After this cataract the Nile again collects its scattered stream among the rocks, which seem to be disjoined in this place only to afford it a passage. They are so near each other that, in my time, a bridge of beams, on which the whole Imperial army passed, was laid over them. Sultan Segued hath since built here a bridge of one arch in the same place, for which purpose he procured masons from India. This bridge, which is the first the Abyssins have seen on the Nile, very much facilitates a communication between the provinces, and encourages commerce among the inhabitants of his empire.

Here the river alters its course, and passes through many various kingdoms; on the east it leaves Begmeder, or the Land of Sheep, so called from great numbers that are bred there, *beg*, in that language, signifying sheep, and *meder*, a country. It then waters the kingdoms of Amhara, Olaca, Choa, and Damot, which lie on the left side, and the kingdom of Goïama, which it bounds on the right, forming by its windings a kind of peninsula. Then entering Bezamo, a province of the kingdom of Damot, and Gamarchaufa, part of Goïama, it returns within a short day's journey of its spring; though to pursue it through all its mazes, and accompany it round the kingdom of Goïama, is a journey of twenty-nine days. So far, and a few days journey farther, this river confines itself to Abyssinia, and then passes into the bordering countries of Fazulo and Ombarca.

These vast regions we have little knowledge of: they are inhabited by nations entirely different from the Abyssins; their hair is like that of the other blacks, short and curled. In the year 1615, Raffela Christos, lieutenant-general to Sultan Segued, entered those kingdoms with his army in an hostile manner; but being able to get no intelligence of the condition of the people, and astonished at their unbounded extent, he returned, without daring to attempt any thing.

As the empire of the Abyssins terminates at these deserts, and as I have followed the course of the Nile no farther, I here leave it to range over barbarous kingdoms, and convey wealth and plenty into Egypt, which owes to the annual inundations of this river its envied fertility. I know not any thing of the rest of its passage, but that it receives great increases from many other rivers; that it has several cataracts like the first already described, and that few fish are to be found in it, which scarcity, doubtless, is to be attributed to the river-horses, and crocodiles, which destroy the weaker inhabitants of these waters, and something may be allowed to the cataracts, it being difficult for fish to fall so far without being killed.

Although some who have travelled in Asia and Africa have given the world their descriptions of crocodiles and hippopotamus or river-horse; yet as the Nile has at least as great numbers of each as any river in the world, I cannot but think my account of it would be imperfect without some particular mention of these animals.

The crocodile is very ugly, having no proportion between his length and thickness; he hath short feet, a wide mouth, with two rows of sharp teeth, standing wide from each other, a brown skin so fortified with scales even to his nose, that a musket-ball cannot penetrate it. His sight is extremely quick and at a great distance. In the water he is daring and fierce, and will seize on any that are so unfortunate as to be found by him bathing, who, if they escape with life, are almost sure to leave some limb in his mouth. Neither I, nor any with whom I have conversed about the crocodile, have ever seen him weep, and therefore I take the liberty of ranking all that hath been told us of his tears, amongst the fables which are only proper to amuse children.

The hippopotamus or river-horse, grazes upon the land, and browses on the shrubs, yet is no less dangerous than the crocodile. He is the size of an ox, of a brown colour without any hair, his tail is short, his neck long, and his head of an enormous bigness; his eyes are small, his mouth wide, with teeth half a foot long; he hath two tusks like those of a wild boar, but larger; his legs are short, and his feet part into four toes. It is easy to observe from this description that he hath no resemblance of an horse, and indeed nothing could give occasion to the name, but some likeness in his ears, and his neighing and snorting like an horse when he is provoked, or raises his head out of water. His hide is so hard that a musket fired close to him can only make a slight impression, and the best tempered lances pushed forcibly against him are either blunted or shivered, unless the assailant has the skill to make his thrust at certain parts which are more tender. There is great danger in meeting him, and the best way is, upon such an accident, to step aside, and let him pass by. The flesh of this animal doth not differ from that of a cow, except that it is blacker and harder to digest.

The ignorance, which we have hitherto been in, of the original of the Nile, hath given many authors an opportunity of presenting us very gravely with their various systems and conjectures about the nature of its waters, and the reason of its overflows.

It is easy to observe how many empty hypotheses and idle reasonings the phenomena of this river have put mankind to the expence of. Yet there are people so bigoted

to antiquity, as not to pay any regard to the relation of travellers who have been upon the spot, and by the evidence of their eyes can confute all that the ancients have written. It was difficult, it was even impossible to arrive at the source of the Nile, by tracing its channel from the mouth; and all who ever attempted it, having been stopped by the cataracts, and imagining none that followed them could pass farther, have taken the liberty of entertaining us with their own fictions.

It is to be remembered likewise that neither the Greeks nor Romans, from whom we have received all our information, ever carried their arms into this part of the world, or ever heard of multitudes of nations that dwell upon the banks of this vast river; that the countries where the Nile rises, and those through which it runs, have no inhabitants but what are savage and uncivilized; that before they could arrive at its head, they must surmount the insuperable obstacles of impassable forests, inaccessible cliffs, and deserts crowded with beasts of prey, fierce by nature, and raging for want of sustenance. Yet if they who endeavoured with so much ardour to discover the spring of this river, had landed at Mazna on the coast of the Red Sea, and marched a little more to the south than the south-west, they might perhaps have gratified their curiosity at less expence, and in about twenty days might have enjoyed the desired sight of the sources of the Nile.

But this discovery was reserved for the invincible bravery of our noble countrymen, who not discouraged by the dangers of a navigation in seas never explored before, have subdued kingdoms and empires where the Greek and Roman greatness, where the names of Cæsar and Alexander were never heard of: who first steered an European ship into the Red Sea through the Gulf of Arabia and the Indian ocean; who have demolished the airy fabricks of renowned hypotheses, and detected those fables which the ancients rather chose to invent of the sources of the Nile, than to confess their ignorance. I cannot help suspending my narration to reflect a little on the ridiculous speculations of those swelling philosophers, whose arrogance would prescribe laws to nature, and subject those astonishing effects which we behold daily, to their idle reasonings, and chimerical rules. Presumptuous imagination! that has given being to such numbers of books, and patrons to so many various opinions about the overflows of the Nile. Some of these theorists have been pleased to declare it as their favourite notion, that this inundation is caused by high winds which stop the current, and so force the water to rise above its banks, and spread over all Egypt. Others pretend a subterraneous communication between the ocean and the Nile, and that the sea being violently agitated swells the river. Many have imagined themselves blessed with the discovery when they have told us, that this mighty flood proceeds from the melting of snow on the mountains of Æthiopia, without reflecting that this opinion is contrary to the received notion of all the ancients, who believed that the heat was so excessive between the tropics that no inhabitant could live there. So much snow and so great heat are never met with in the same region; and indeed I never saw snow in Abyssinia, except on Mount Semen in the kingdom of Tigre, very remote from the Nile, and on Namera, which is indeed not far distant, but where there never falls snow sufficient to wet the foot of the mountain, when it is melted.

To the immense labours and fatigues of the Portuguese mankind is indebted for the knowledge of the real cause of these inundations so great and so regular. Their observations inform us, that Abyssinia where the Nile rises, and waters vast tracts of land, is full of mountains, and in its natural situation much higher than Egypt; that all the winter, from June to September, no day is without rain; that the Nile receives in its course all the rivers, brooks and torrents which fall from those mountains; these necessarily

necessarily swell it above the banks, and fill the plains of Egypt with the inundation. This comes regularly about the month of July, or three weeks after the beginning of a rainy season in Æthiopia. The different degrees of this flood are such certain indications of the fruitfulness or sterility of the ensuing year, that it is publicly proclaimed in Cairo how much the water hath gained each night. This is all I have to inform the reader of concerning the Nile, which the Ægyptians adored as the Deity, in whose choice it was to bless them with abundance, or deprive them of the necessities of life.

CHAP. XI. — *The Author discovers a Passage over the Nile. Is sent into the Province of Ligonus, which he gives a Description of. His Success in his Mission. The Stratagem of the Monks to encourage the Soldiers. The Author narrowly escapes being burned.*

WHEN I was to cross this river at Boad, I durst not venture myself on the floats, I have already spoken of, but went up higher in hopes of finding a more commodious passage. I had with me three or four men that were reduced to the same difficulty with myself. In one part seeing people on the other side, and remarking that the water was shallow, and that the rocks and trees, which grew very thick there, contributed to facilitate the attempt, I leaped from one rock to another, till I reached the opposite bank, to the great amazement of the natives themselves, who never had tried that way; my four companions followed me with the same success; and it hath been called since the passage of Father Jerome.

That province of the kingdom of Damot, which I was assigned to by my superior, is called Ligonus, and is perhaps one of the most beautiful and agreeable places in the world; the air is healthful and temperate, and all the mountains, which are not very high, shaded with cedars. They sow and reap here in every season, the ground is always producing, and the fruits ripen throughout the year; so great, so charming is the variety, that the whole region seems a garden laid out and cultivated only to please. I doubt whether even the imagination of a painter has yet conceived a landscape as beautiful as I have seen. The forests have nothing uncouth or savage, and seem only planted for shade and coolness. Among a prodigious number of trees which fill them, there is one kind which I have seen in no other place, and to which we have none that bears any resemblance. This tree, which the natives call *enfetè*, is wonderfully useful; its leaves, which are so large as to cover a man, make hangings for rooms, and serve the inhabitants instead of linen for their tables and carpets. They grind the branches and the thick parts of the leaves, and when they are mingled with milk, find them a delicious food. The trunk and the roots are even more nourishing than the leaves or branches, and the meaner people, when they go a journey, make no provision of any other victuals. The word *enfetè* signifies the tree against hunger, or the poor's tree, though the most wealthy often eat of it. If it be cut down within half a foot of the ground, and several incisions made in the stump, each will put out a new sprout, which, if transplanted, will take root, and grow to a tree. The Abyssins report, that this tree when it is cut down, groans like a man, and on this account, call cutting down an *enfetè* killing it. On the top grows a bunch of five or six figs, of a taste not very agreeable, which they set in the ground to produce more trees.

I staid two months in the province of Ligonous, and during that time procured a church to be built of hewn stone, roofed and wainscoted with cedar, which is the most considerable in the whole country. My continual employment was the duties of the mission, which I was always practising in some part of the province, not indeed with
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any extraordinary success, at first, for I found the people inflexibly obstinate in their opinions, even to so great a degree, that when I first published the Emperor's edict, requiring all his subjects to renounce their errors, and unite themselves to the Roman church, there were some monks, who, to the number of sixty, chose rather to die by throwing themselves headlong from a precipice, than obey their sovereign's commands: and in a battle fought between these people that adhered to the religion of their ancestors, and the troops of Sultan Segued, six hundred religious placing themselves at the head of their men, marched towards the Catholic army with the stones of the altars upon their heads, assuring their credulous followers, that the Emperor's troops would immediately at the sight of those stones fall into disorder and turn their backs; but, as they were some of the first that fell, their death had a great influence upon the people, to undeceive them, and make them return to the truth. Many were converted after the battle, and when they had embraced the Catholic faith, adhered to that with the same constancy and firmness with which they had before persisted in their errors.

The Emperor had sent a viceroy into this province, whose firm attachment to the Roman church, as well as great abilities in military affairs, made him a person very capable of executing the orders of the Emperor, and of suppressing any insurrection that might be raised, to prevent those alterations in religion which they were designed to promote: a farther view in the choice of so warlike a deputy, was, that a stop might be put to the inroads of the Gallas, who had killed one viceroy, and in a little time after killed this.

It was our custom to meet together every year about christmas, not only that we might comfort and entertain each other, but likewise that we might relate the progress and success of our missions, and concert all measures that might farther the conversion of the inhabitants. This year our place of meeting was the Emperor's camp, where the patriarch and superior of the missions were. I left the place of my abode, and took in my way four fathers, that resided at the distance of two days journey, so that the company, without reckoning our attendants, was five. There happened nothing remarkable to us till the last night of our journey, when taking up our lodging at a place belonging to the Empress, a declared enemy to all Catholics, and in particular, to the missionaries, we met with a kind reception in appearance, and were lodged in a large stone house covered with wood and straw, which had stood uninhabited so long, that great numbers of red ants had taken possession of it; these, as soon as we were laid down, attacked us on all sides, and tormented us so incessantly that we were obliged to call up our domestics. Having burnt a prodigious number of these troublesome animals, we tried to compose ourselves again, but had scarce closed our eyes before we were awaked by the fire that had seized our lodging: our servants, who were, fortunately, not all gone to bed, perceived the fire as soon as it began, and informed me who lay nearest the door. I immediately alarmed all the rest, and nothing was thought of but how to save ourselves and the little goods we had, when to our great astonishment, we found one of the doors barricaded in such a manner that we could not open it; nothing now could have prevented our perishing in the flames had not those who kindled them omitted to fasten that door near which I was lodged. We were no longer in doubt that the inhabitants of the town had laid a train, and set fire to a neighbouring house, in order to consume us; their measures were so well laid, that the house was in ashes in an instant, and three of our beds were burnt which the violence of the flame would not allow us to carry away. We spent the rest of the night in the most dismal apprehensions, and found next morning that we had justly charged the inhabitants

inhabitants with the design of destroying us, for the place was entirely abandoned, and those that were conscious of the crime, had fled from the punishment. We continued our journey, and came to Gorgora, where we found the fathers met, and the Emperor with them.

CHAP. XII. — *The Author is sent into Tigre, is in danger of being poisoned by the Breath of a Serpent; is stung by a Serpent. Is almost killed by eating Anchovy. The People conspire against the Missionaries, and distress them.*

MY superiors intended to send me into the farthest parts of the empire, but the Emperor over-ruled that design, and remanded me to Tigre where I had resided before; I passed in my journey by Ganete Ilhos, a palace newly built, and made agreeable by beautiful gardens, and had the honour of paying my respects to the Emperor who had retired thither, and receiving from him a large present for the finishing of an hospital, which had been begun in the kingdom of Tigre. After having returned him thanks, I continued my way, and in crossing a desert two days journey over, was in great danger of my life, for, as I lay on the ground, I perceived myself seized with a pain which forced me to rise, and saw about four yards from me one of those serpents that dart their poison at a distance; although I rose before he came very near me, I yet felt the effects of his poisonous breath, and, if I had lain a little longer, had certainly died; I had recourse to bezoar, a sovereign remedy against these poisons, which I always carried about me. These serpents are not long, but have a body short and thick, and their bellies speckled with brown, black, and yellow; they have a wide mouth, with which they draw in a great quantity of air, and having retained it some time, eject it with such force, that they kill at four yards distance; I only escaped by being somewhat farther from him. This danger however was not much to be regarded in comparison of another which my negligence brought me into. As I was picking up a skin that lay upon the ground, I was stung by a serpent, that left his sting in my finger, I at least picked an extraneous substance about the bigness of an hair, out of the wound which I imagined was the sting. This slight wound I took little notice of, till my arm grew inflamed all over; in a short time the poison infected my blood, and I felt the most terrible convulsions which were interpreted as certain signs that my death was near, and inevitable. I received now no benefit from bezoar, the horn of the unicorn, or any of the usual antidotes, but found myself obliged to make use of an extraordinary remedy which I submitted to with extreme reluctance; this submission and obedience brought the blessing of Heaven upon me; nevertheless I continued indisposed a long time, and had many symptoms which made me fear that all the danger was not yet over: I then took cloves of garlick, though with a great aversion both from the taste and smell; I was in this condition a whole month, always in pain, and taking medicines the most nauseous in the world, at length youth and an happy constitution surmounted the malignity, and I recovered my former health.

I continued two years at my residence in Tigre, entirely taken up with the duties of the mission, preaching, confessing, baptising, and enjoyed a longer quiet and repose than I had ever done since I left Portugal. During this time one of our fathers, being always sick, and of a constitution which the air of Abyssinia was very hurtful to, obtained a permission from our superiors to return to the Indies; I was willing to accompany him through part of his way, and went with him over a desert, at no great distance from my residence, where I found many trees loaded with a kind of fruit, called by the natives anchovy, about the bigness of an apricot, and very yellow, which is much eaten without any

any ill effect. I therefore made no scruple of gathering and eating it, without knowing that the inhabitants always pegled it, the rind being a violent purgative: so that eating the fruit and skin together I fell into such a disorder as almost brought me to my end. The ordinary dose is six of these rinds, and I had devoured twenty.

I removed from thence to Debaroa, fifty-four miles nearer the sea, and crossed in my way the desert of the province of Sarape. The country is fruitful, pleasant, and populous; there are greater numbers of Moors in these parts than in any other province of Abyssinia; and the Abyssins of this country are not much better than the Moors.

I was at Debaroa when the prosecution was first set on foot against the Catholics, Sultan Segued, who had been so great a favourer of us, was grown old, and his spirit and authority decreased with his strength. His son who was arrived at manhood, being weary of waiting so long for the crown he was to inherit, took occasion to blame his father's conduct, and found some reason for censuring all his actions; he even proceeded so far as to give orders sometimes contrary to the Emperor's. He had embraced the Catholic religion, rather through complaisance than conviction, or inclination; and many of the Abyssins who had done the same, waited only for an opportunity of making public profession of the ancient erroneous opinions, and of re-uniting themselves to the church of Alexandria. So artfully can this people dissemble their sentiments, that we had not been able hitherto to distinguish our real from our pretended favourers, but as soon as this Prince began to give evident tokens of his hatred, even in the life-time of the Emperor, we saw all the courtiers and governors who had treated us with such a shew of friendship declare against us, and persecute us as disturbers of the public tranquillity, who had come into Æthiopia with no other intention than to abolish the ancient laws and customs of the country, to sow divisions between father and son, and preach up a revolution.

After having borne all sorts of affronts and ill treatments, we retired to our house at Fremona, in the midst of our countrymen, who had been settling round about us a long time, imagining we should be more secure there, and that at least during the life of the Emperor, they would not come to extremities or proceed to open force. I laid some stress upon the kindness which the viceroy of Tigre had shown to us, and in particular to me; but was soon convinced that those hopes had no real foundation, for he was one of the most violent of our persecutors. He seized upon all our lands, and advancing with his troops to Fremona, blocked up the town. The army had not been stationed there long before they committed all sorts of disorders; so that one day a Portuguese, provoked beyond his temper at the insolence of some of them, went out with his four sons, and wounding several of them, forced the rest back to their camp.

We thought we had good reason to apprehend an attack; their troops were increasing, our town was surrounded, and on the point of being forced: our Portuguese therefore, thought, that without staying till the last extremities, they might lawfully repel one violence by another, and rallying out to the number of fifty, wounded about threescore of the Abyssins, and had put them to the sword, but that they feared it might bring too great an odium upon our cause. The Portuguese were some of them wounded, but happily none died on either side.

Though the times were by no means favourable to us, every one blamed the conduct of the viceroy; and those who did not commend our action, made the necessity we were reduced to of self-defence an excuse for it. The viceroy's principal design was to get my person into his possession, imagining that if I was once in his power, all the Portuguese would pay him a blind obedience. Having been unsuccessful in his

attempt by open force, he made use of the arts of negotiation, but with an event not more to his satisfaction. This viceroy being recalled, a son-in-law of the Emperor's succeeded, who treated us even worse than his predecessor had done.

When he entered upon his command, he loaded us with kindnesses, giving us so many assurances of his protection, that while the Emperor lived we thought him one of our friends; but no sooner was our protector dead, than this man pulled off his mask, and quitting all shame, let us see that neither the fear of God nor any other consideration was capable of restraining him when we were to be distressed. The persecution then becoming general, there was no longer any place of security for us in Abyssinia, where we were looked upon by all as the authors of all the civil commotions, and many councils were held to determine in what manner they should dispose of us. Several were of opinion that the best way would be to kill us all at once, and affirmed that no other means were left of re-establishing order and tranquillity in the kingdom.

Others, more prudent, were not for putting us to death with so little consideration, but advised that we should be banished to one of the isles of the Lake of Dambia, an affliction more severe than death itself. These alleged in vindication of their opinions, that it was reasonable to expect if they put us to death, that the viceroy of the Indies would come with fire and sword to demand satisfaction. This argument made so great an impression upon some of them, that they thought no better measures could be taken than to send us back again to the Indies. This proposal, however, was not without its difficulties, for they suspected, that when we should arrive at the Portuguese territories, we would levy an army, return back to Abyssinia, and under pretence of establishing the Catholic religion, revenge all the injuries we had suffered.

While they were thus deliberating upon our fate, we were imploring the succour of the Almighty with fervent and humble supplications, intreating him in the midst of our sighs and tears, that he would not suffer his own cause to miscarry, and that however it might please him to dispose of our lives, which, we prayed, he would assist us to lay down with patience and resignation worthy of the faith for which we were persecuted, he would not permit our enemies to triumph over the truth.

Thus we passed our days and nights in prayers, in affliction, and tears, continually crowded with widows and orphans, that subsisted upon our charity, and came to us for bread, when we had not any for ourselves.

While we were in this distress we received an account that the viceroy of the Indies had fitted out a powerful fleet against the King of Mombaza, who having thrown off the authority of the Portuguese, had killed the governor of the fortress, and had since committed many acts of cruelty. The same fleet, as we were informed, after the King of Mombaza was reduced, was to burn and ruin Zeila, in revenge of the death of two Portuguese jesuits, who were killed by the King in the year 1604. As Zeila was not far from the frontiers of Abyssinia, they imagined that they already saw the Portuguese invading their country.

The viceroy of Tigre had inquired of me a few days before how many men one India ship carried; and being told that the complement of some was a thousand men, he compared that answer with the report then spread over all the country, that there were eighteen Portuguese vessels on the coast of Adel, and concluded that they were manned by an army of eighteen thousand men; then considering what had been achieved by four hundred, under the command of Don Christopher de Gama, he thought Abyssinia already ravaged, or subjected to the King of Portugal. Many declared themselves of his opinion; and the court took its measures with respect to us from these uncertain and ungrounded rumours. Some were so infatuated with their apprehen-

apprehensions that they undertook to describe the camp of the Portuguese, and affirmed that they had heard the report of their canons.

All this contributed to exasperate the inhabitants, and reduced us often to the point of being massacred. At length they came to a resolution of giving us up to the Turks, assuring them that we were masters of a vast treasure, in hope, that after they had inflicted all kinds of tortures on us, to make us confess where we had hid our gold, or what we had done with it, they would at length kill us in rage for the disappointment. Nor was this their only view, for they believed that the Turks would, by killing us, kindle such an irreconcilable hatred between themselves and our nation, as would make it necessary for them to keep us out of the Red Sea, of which they are entirely masters : so that their determination was as politic as cruel. Some pretend that the Turks were engaged to put us to death as soon as we were in their power.

CHAP. XIII. — *The Author relieves the Patriarch and Missionaries ; and supports them. He escapes several Snares laid for him by the Viceroy of Tigre. They put themselves under the Protection of the Prince of Bar.*

HAVING concluded this negotiation, they drove us out of our houses, and robbed us of every thing that was worth carrying away ; and not content with that, informed some banditti, that were then in those parts, of the road we were to travel through, so that the patriarch and some missionaries were attacked in a desert by these rovers, with their captain at their head, who pillaged his library, his ornaments, and what little baggage the missionaries had left, and might have gone away without resistance or interruption, had they satisfied themselves with only robbing : but when they began to fall upon the missionaries and their companions, our countrymen, finding that their lives could only be preserved by their courage, charged their enemies with such vigour, that they killed their chief, and forced the rest to a precipitate flight. But these rovers being acquainted with the country, harassed the little caravan till it was past the borders.

Our fathers then imagined they had nothing more to fear, but too soon were convinced of their error, for they found the whole country turned against them, and met every where new enemies to contend with, and new dangers to surmount. Being not far distant from Fremona, where I resided, they sent to me for succour. I was better informed of the distress they were in than themselves, having been told that a numerous body of Abyssins had posted themselves in a narrow pass, with an intent to surround and destroy them, therefore, without long deliberation, I assembled my friends, both Portuguese and Abyssins, to the number of fourscore, and went to their rescue, carrying with me provisions and refreshments, of which I knew they were in great need. These glorious confessors I met as they were just entering the pass designed for the place of their destruction, and doubly preserved them from famine and the sword. A grateful sense of their deliverance made them receive me as a guardian angel. We went together to Fremona, and being in all a patriarch, a bishop, eighteen jesuits, and four hundred Portuguese, whom I supplied with necessaries, though the revenues of our house were lost, and though the country was disaffected to us, in the worst season of the year. We were obliged for the relief of the poor and our own subsistence, to sell our ornaments and chalices, which we first broke in pieces, that the people might not have the pleasure of ridiculing our mysteries, by prophaning the vessels made use of in the celebration of them ; for they now would gladly treat with the highest indignities what they had a year before looked upon with veneration.

Amidst all these perplexities the viceroy did not fail to visit us, and make us great offers of service, in expectation of a large present. We were in a situation in which it was very difficult to act properly; we knew too well the ill intentions of the viceroy, but durst not complain, or give him any reason to imagine that we knew them. We longed to retreat out of his power, or at least to send one of our company to the Indies, with an account of the persecution we suffered, and could without his leave neither do one nor the other.

When it was determined that one should be sent to the Indies, I was at first singled out for the journey, and it was intended that I should represent at Goa, at Rome, and at Madrid, the distresses and necessities of the mission of *Æthiopia*; but the fathers reflecting afterwards, that I best understood the Abyssinian language, and was most acquainted with the customs of the country, altered their opinions, and continuing me in *Æthiopia*, either to perish with them or preserve them, deputed four other jesuits, who in a short time set out on their way to the Indies.

About this time I was sent for to the viceroys camp to confess a criminal, who, though falsely, was believed a Catholic, to whom, after a proper exhortation, I was going to pronounce the form of absolution, when those that waited to execute him, told him aloud, that if he expected to save his life, by professing himself a Catholic, he would find himself deceived, and that he had nothing to do but prepare himself for death. The unhappy criminal had no sooner heard this, than rising up, he declared his resolution to die in the religion of his country; and being delivered up to his prosecutors, was immediately dispatched with their lances.

The chief reason of calling me, was not that I might hear this confession: the viceroy had another design of seizing my person, expecting that either the Jesuits or Portuguese would buy my liberty with a large ransom, or that he might exchange me for his father, who was kept prisoner by a revolted prince. That prince would have been no loser by the exchange, for so much was I hated by the Abyssinian monks, that they would have thought no expence too great to have gotten me into their hands, that they might have glutted their revenge by putting me to the most painful death they could have invented. Happily, I found means to retire out of this dangerous place, and was followed by the viceroy almost to Fremona, who, being disappointed, desired me either to visit him at his camp, or appoint a place where we might confer. I made many excuses, but at length agreed to meet him at a place near Fremona, bringing each of us only three companions. I did not doubt but he would bring more, and so he did, but found that I was upon my guard, and that my company increased in proportion to his. My friends were resolute Portuguese, who were determined to give him no quarter, if he made any attempt upon my liberty. Finding himself once more countermined, he returned ashamed to his camp, where, a month after, being accused of a confederacy in the revolt of that prince, who kept his father prisoner, he was arrested, and carried in chains to the Emperor.

The time now approaching in which we were to be delivered to the Turks, we had none but God to apply to for relief: all the measures we could think of were equally dangerous; resolving nevertheless to seek some retreat where we might hide ourselves either altogether or separately, we determined at last to put ourselves under the protection of the Prince John Akay, who had defended himself a long time in the province of Bar against the power of Abyssinia.

After I had concluded a treaty with this prince, the patriarch and all the fathers put themselves into his hands, and being received with all imaginable kindness and civility,

were conducted with a guard to Adicota, a rock excessively steep, about nine miles from his place of residence. The event was not agreeable to the happy beginning of our negotiation; for we soon began to find that our habitation was not likely to be very pleasant. We were surrounded with Mahometans, or Christians, who were inveterate enemies to the Catholic faith, and were obliged to act with the utmost caution. Notwithstanding these inconveniencies we were pleased with the present tranquillity we enjoyed, and lived contentedly on lentils and a little corn that we had; and I, after we had sold all our goods, resolved to turn physician, and was soon able to support myself by my practise.

I was once consulted by a man troubled with an asthma, who presented me with two alquieres, that is, about twenty-eight pounds weight of corn, and a sheep. The advice I gave him, after having turned over my books, was to drink goats urine every morning; I know not whether he found any benefit by following my prescription; for I never saw him after.

Being under a necessity of obeying our acoba or protector, we changed our place of abode as often as he desired it, though not without great inconveniencies, from the excessive heat of the weather, and the faintness which our strict observation of the fasts and austerities of Lent, as it is kept in this country, had brought upon us. At length, wearied with removing so often, and finding that the last place assigned for our abode was always the worst, we agreed that I should go to our sovereign, and complain.

I found him entirely taken up with the imagination of a prodigious treasure, affirmed by the monks to be hidden under a mountain: he was told that his predecessors had been hindered from discovering it by the dæmon that guarded it, but that the dæmon was now at a great distance from his charge, and was grown blind and lame, that having lost his son, and being without any children, except a daughter that was ugly and unhealthy, he was under great affliction, and entirely neglected the care of his treasure, that if he should come, they could call one of their ancient brothers to their assistance, who, being a man of a most holy life, would be able to prevent his making any resistance. To all these stories the prince listened with unthinking credulity. The monks, encouraged by this, fell to the business, and brought a man above an hundred years old, whom, because he could not support himself on horseback, they had tied on the beast, and covered him with black wool. He was followed by a black cow, designed for a sacrifice to the dæmon of the place, and by some monks that carried mead, beer, and parched corn, to complete the offering.

No sooner were they arrived at the foot of the mountain, than every one began to work: bags were brought from all parts to convey away the millions which each imagined would be his share. The Xumo, who superintended the work, would not allow any to come near the labourers, but stood by, attended by the old monk, who almost sung himself to death. At length, having removed a vast quantity of earth and stones, they discovered some holes made by rats or moles; at sight of which a shout of joy run through the whole troop: the cow was brought and sacrificed immediately, and some pieces of flesh were thrown into these holes. Animated now with assurance of success, they lose no time: every one redoubles his endeavours, and the heat, though intolerable, was less powerful than the hopes they had conceived. At length, some not so patient as the rest, were weary, and desisted. The work now grew more difficult; they found nothing but rock, yet continued to toil on, till the prince, having lost all temper, began to enquire, with some passion, when he should have a sight of this treasure; and, after having been sometime amused with many promises
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by the monk, was told, that he had not faith enough to be favoured with the discovery.

All this I saw myself, and could not forbear endeavouring to convince our protector, how much he was imposed upon: he was not long before he was satisfied that he had been too credulous; for all those that had so industriously searched after this imaginary wealth, within five hours, left the work in despair, and I continued almost alone with the prince.

Imagining no time more proper to make the proposal I was sent with, than while his passion was still hot against the monks, I presented him with two ounces of gold, and two plates of silver, with some other things of small value, and was so successful that he gratified me in all my requests, and gave us leave to return to Adicora, where we were so fortunate to find our huts yet uninjured and entire.

About this time the fathers, who had staid behind at Fremona, arrived with the new viceroy, and an officer fierce in the defence of his own religion, who had particular orders to deliver all the Jesuits up to the Turks, except me, whom the Emperor was resolved to have in his own hands, alive or dead. We had received some notice of this resolution from our friends at court, and were likewise informed that the Emperor, their master, had been persuaded that my design was to procure assistance from the Indies, and that I should certainly return at the head of an army. The patriarch's advice upon this emergency was, that I should retire into the woods, and by some other road join the nine Jesuits, who were gone towards Mazna; I could think of no better expedient, and therefore went away in the night between the 23d and 24th of April, with my comrade, an old man, very infirm, and very timorous. We crossed woods never crossed, I believe, by any before: the darkness of the night, and the thickness of the shade spread a kind of horror round us; our gloomy journey was still more incommoded by the brambles and thorns, which tore our hands; amidst all these difficulties I applied myself to the Almighty, praying him to preserve us from those dangers which we endeavoured to avoid, and to deliver us from those to which our flight exposed us. Thus we travelled all night, till eight next morning, without taking either rest or food; then imagining ourselves secure, we made us some cakes of barley meal and water, which we thought a feast.

We had a dispute with our guides, who though they thought had bargained to conduct us for an ounce of gold, yet when they saw us so entangled in the intricacies of the wood, that we could not possibly get out without their direction, demanded seven ounces of gold, a mule, and a little tent which we had; after a long dispute, we were forced to come to their terms. We continued to travel all night, and to hide ourselves in the woods all day; and here it was that we met the three hundred elephants I spoke of before. We made long marches, travelling without any halt from four in the afternoon to eight in the morning.

Arriving at a valley where travellers seldom escape being plundered, we were obliged to double our pace, and were so happy as to pass it without meeting with any misfortune, except that we heard a bird sing on our left hand; a certain presage among these people of some great calamity at hand. As there is no reasoning them out of superstition, I knew no way of encouraging them to go forward, but what I had already made use of on the same occasion, assuring them that I heard one at the same time on the right. They were happily so credulous as to take my word, and we went on till we came to a well, where we staid a while to refresh ourselves. Setting out again in the evening, we passed so near a village where these robbers had retreated, that the

dogs barked after us. Next morning we joined the fathers who waited for us, after we had rested ourselves some time in that mountain, we resolved to separate and go two and two, to see for a more convenient place, where we might hide ourselves. We had not gone far before we were surrounded by a troop of robbers, with whom, by the interest of some of the natives who had joined themselves to our caravan, we came to a composition, giving them part of our goods to permit us to carry away the rest; and after this troublesome adventure arrived at a place something more commodious than that which we had quitted, where we met with bread, but of so pernicious a quality, that after having eat it, we were intoxicated to so great a degree, that one of my friends seeing me so disordered, congratulated my good fortune of having met with such good wine, and was surprised when I gave him an account of the whole affair. He then offered me some curdled milk very sour, with barley-meal, which we boiled, and thought it the best entertainment we had met with a long time.

CHAP. XIV.—*They are betrayed into the Hands of the Turks ; are detained awhile at Mazna ; are threatened by the Bassa of Suaquem ; they agree for their Ransom, and are Part of them dismissed.*

SOMETIME after we received news that we should prepare ourselves to serve the Turks ; a message which filled us with surprise, it having never been known that one of these lords had ever abandoned any whom he had taken under his protection ; and it is, on the contrary, one of the highest points of honour amongst them, to risk their fortunes and their lives in the defence of their dependents who have implored their protection. But neither law nor justice were of any advantage to us, and the customs of the country were doomed to be broken, when they would have contributed to our security.

We were obliged to march in the extremity of the hot season, and had certainly perished by the fatigue, had we not entered the woods, which shaded us from the scorching sun. The day before our arrival at the place where we were to be delivered to the Turks, we met with five elephants that pursued us, and if they could have come to us, would have prevented the miseries we afterwards endured, but God had decreed otherwise.

On the morrow we came to the banks of a river, where we found fourscore Turks, that waited for us armed with muskets. They let us rest awhile, and then put us into the hands of our new masters, who setting us upon camels, conducted us to Mazna ; their commander seeming to be touched with our misfortunes, treated us with much gentleness and humanity ; he offered us coffee, which we drank, but with little relish. We came next day to Mazna, in so wretched a condition, that we were not surprised at being hooted by the boys, but thought ourselves well used that they threw no stones at us.

As soon as we were brought hither, all we had was taken from us, and we were carried to the governor, who is placed there by the Bassa of Suaquem. Having been told by the Abyssins that we had carried all the gold out of Æthiopia, they searched us with great exactness, but found nothing except two chalices, and some relics of so little value, that we redeemed them for six sequins. As I had given them my chalice upon their first demand, they did not search me, but gave us to understand, that they expected to find something of greater value, which either we must have hidden, or the Abyssins must have imposed on them. They left us the rest of the day at a gentleman's house, who was our friend, from whence the next day they fetched us, to transport us to

to the island, (where they put us into a kind of prison, with a view of terrifying us into a confession of the place where we had hid our gold, in which, however, they found themselves deceived.

But I had here another affair upon my hands, which was near costing me dear. My servant had been taken from me, and left at Mazna, to be sold to the Arabs; being advertised by him of the danger he was in, I laid claim to him, without knowing the difficulties which this way of proceeding would bring upon me. The governor sent me word that my servant should be restored me, upon the payment of sixty piastras; and being answered by me, that I had not a penny for myself, and therefore could not pay sixty piastras to redeem my servant, he informed me by a renegade Jew, who negotiated the whole affair, that either I must produce the money, or receive an hundred blows of the battoon. Knowing that those orders are without appeal, and always punctually executed, I prepared myself to receive the correction I was threatened with, but, unexpectedly, found the people so charitable as to lend me the money. By several other threats of the same kind, they drew from us about six hundred crowns.

On the 24th of June, we embarked in two galleys for Suaquem, where the bassa resided; his brother, who was his deputy at Mazna, made us promise before we went, that we would not mention the money he had squeezed from us. The season was not very proper for sailing, and our provisions were but short. In a little time we began to feel the want of better stores, and thought ourselves happy in meeting with a gelve, which though small, was a much better failer than our vessel in which I was sent to Suaquem, to procure camels and provisions. I was not much at my ease, alone among six Mahometans, and could not help apprehending that some zealous pilgrim of Mecca might lay hold on this opportunity, in the heat of his devotion, of sacrificing me to his prophet.

These apprehensions were without ground, I contracted an acquaintance which was soon improved into a friendship with these people; they offered me part of their provisions, and I gave them some of mine. As we were in a place abounding with oysters, some of which were large, and good to eat, others more smooth and shining, in which pearls are found; they gave me some of those they gathered: but whether it happened by trifling our time away in oyster catching, or whether the wind was not favourable, we came to Suaquem later than the vessel I had left, in which were seven of my companions.

As they had first landed, they had suffered the first transports of the bassa's passion, who was a violent tyrannical man, and would have killed his own brother for the least advantage, a temper which made him fly into the utmost rage at seeing us poor, tattered, and almost naked; he treated us with the most opprobrious language, and threatened to cut off our heads. We comforted ourselves in this condition, hoping that all our sufferings would end, in shedding our blood for the name of Jesus Christ. We knew that the bassa had often made a public declaration, before our arrival, that he should die contented, if he could have the pleasure of killing us all with his own hand. This violent resolution was not lasting, his zeal gave way to his avarice, and he could not think of losing so large a sum as he knew he might expect for our ransom: he therefore sent us word, that it was in our choice either to die, or to pay him thirty thousand crowns, and demanded to know our determination.

We knew that his ardent thirst of our blood was now cold, that time and calm reflection, and the advice of his friends, had all conspired to bring him to a milder temper, and therefore willingly began to treat with him. I told the messenger, being deputed by the rest to manage the affair, that he could not but observe the wretched

condition

condition we were in, that we had neither money nor revenues, that what little we had was already taken from us; and that therefore all we could promise was to set a collection on foot, not much doubting but that our brethren would afford us such assistance as might enable us to make him a handsome present according to custom.

This answer was not at all agreeable to the Bassa, who returned an answer that he would be satisfied with twenty thousand crowns, provided we paid them on the spot, or gave him good securities for the payment. To this we could only repeat what we had said before: he then proposed to abate five thousand of his last demand, assuring us, that unless we came to some agreement, there was no torment so cruel but we should suffer it, and talked of nothing but impaling and slaying us alive, the terror of these threatenings was much increased by his domestics, who told us of many of his cruelties. This is certain, that some time before, he had used some poor Pagan merchants in that manner, and had caused the executioner to begin to slay them; when some Bramin touched with compassion, generously contributed the sum demanded for their ransom. We had no reason to hope for so much kindness, and having nothing of our own, could promise no certain sum.

At length some of his favourites whom he most confided in, knowing his cruelty and our inability to pay what he demanded, and apprehending that if he should put us to the death he threatened, they should soon see the fleets of Portugal in the Red Sea, laying their towns in ashes to revenge it, endeavoured to soften his passion and preserve our lives, offering to advance the sum we should agree for, without any other security than our words. By this assistance, after many interviews with the Bassa's agents, we agreed to pay four thousand three hundred crowns, which were accepted on condition that they should be paid down, and we should go on board within two hours: but changing his resolution on a sudden, he sent us word by his treasurer that two of the most considerable among us should stay behind for security, while the rest went to procure the money they promised. They kept the patriarch, and two more fathers, one of which was above fourscore years old, in whose place I chose to remain prisoner, and represented to the Bassa, that being worn out with age, he perhaps might die in his hands, which would lose the part of the ransom which was due on his account, that therefore it would be better to chuse a younger in his place, offering to stay myself with him, that the good old man might be set at liberty.

The Bassa agreed to another Jesuit, and it pleased heaven that the lot fell upon father Francis Marquez. I imagined that I might with the same ease get the patriarch out of his hand, but no sooner had I begun to speak, but the anger flashed in his eyes, and his look was sufficient to make me stop and despair of success. We parted immediately, leaving the patriarch and two fathers in prison, whom we embraced with tears, and went to take up our lodging on board the vessel.

CHAP. XV. — *Their Treatment on board the Vessel. Their Reception at Diou. The Author applies to the Viceroy for Assistance, but without Success; he is sent to solicit in Europe.*

OUR condition here was not much better than that of the illustrious captives, whom we left behind. We were in an Arabian ship, with a crew of pilgrims of Mecca, with whom it was a point of religion to insult us. We were lodged upon the deck exposed to all the injuries of the weather, nor was there the meanest workman or sailor, who did not either kick or strike us. When we went first on board, I perceived a humour in my finger, which I neglected at first, till it spread over my hand, and swelled up

my arm, afflicting me with the most horrid torture. There was neither surgeon nor medicines to be had, nor could I procure any thing to ease my pain but a little oil, with which I anointed my arm, and in time found some relief. The weather was very bad, and the wind almost always against us, and to increase our perplexity, the whole crew, though Moors, were in the greatest apprehension of meeting any of those vessels which the Turks maintain in the strait of Babelmandel; the ground of their fear was, that the captain had neglected the last year to touch at Moca, though he had promised; thus we were in danger of falling into a captivity perhaps more severe than that we had just escaped from. While we were wholly engaged with these apprehensions, we discovered a Turkish ship and galley were come upon us; it was almost calm, at least there was not wind enough to give us any prospect of escaping, so that when the galley came up to us, we thought ourselves lost without remedy, and had probably fallen into their hands, had not a breeze sprung up just in the instant of danger, which carried us down the channel between the main land and the isle of Babelmandel. I have already said that this passage is difficult and dangerous, which nevertheless we passed in the night, without knowing what course we held, and were transported at finding ourselves next morning out of the Red Sea, and half a league from Babelmandel. The currents are here so violent, that they carried us against our will to Cape Guardafui, where we sent our boats ashore for fresh water, which we began to be in great want of. The captain refused to give us any when we desired some, and treated us with great insolence, till coming near the land, I spoke to him in a tone more lofty and resolute than I had ever done, and gave him to understand, that when he touched at Diou he might have occasion for our interest. This had some effect upon him, and procured us a greater degree of civility than we had met with before.

At length after forty days sailing we landed at Diou, where we were met by the whole city, it being reported that the patriarch was one of our number; for there was not a gentleman who was not impatient to have the pleasure of beholding that good man, now made famous by his labours and sufferings. It is not in my power to represent the different passions they were affected with, at seeing us pale, meagre, without cloaths, in a word, almost naked and almost dead with fatigue and ill usage. They could not behold us in that miserable condition without reflecting on the hardships we had undergone, and our brethren then underwent in Suaquem and Abyssinia. Amidst their thanks to God for our deliverance they could not help lamenting the condition of the patriarch and the other missionaries who were in chains, or at least in the hands of professed enemies to our holy religion. All this did not hinder them from testifying in the most obliging manner, their joy for our deliverance, and paying such honours as surprised the Moors, and made them repent in a moment of the illtreatment they had shewn us on board. One who had discovered somewhat more humanity than the rest, thought himself sufficiently honoured, when I took him by the hand, and presented him to the chief officer of the custom house who promised to do all the favours that were in his power.

When we passed by in sight of the fort, they gave us three salutes with their cannon, an honour only paid to generals. The chief men of the city, who waited for us on the shore, accompanied us through a crowd of people, whom curiosity had drawn from all parts of our college. Though our place of residence at Diou, is one of the most beautiful in all the Indies, we staid there only a few days, and as soon as we had recovered our fatigues, went on board the ships that were appointed to convoy the northern fleet. I was in the admiral's. We arrived at Goa in some vessels bound for

Camberia: here we lost a good old Abyssin convert, a man much valued in his order, and who was actually prior of his convent when he left Abyssinia, chusing rather to forsake all for religion, than to leave the way of salvation which God had so mercifully favoured him with the knowledge of.

We continued our voyage, and almost without stopping sailed by Surate and Damam, where the rector of the college came to see us, but so sea sick, that the interview was without any satisfaction on either side. Then landing at Bazaim we were received by our fathers with their accustomed charity, and nothing was thought of but how to put the unpleasing remembrance of our past labours out of our minds; finding here an order of the Father Provineta to forbid those who returned from the missions, to go any farther, it was thought necessary to send an agent to Goa, with an account of the revolutions that had happened in Abyssinia, and of the imprisonment of the patriarch. For this commission I was made choice of, and I know not by what hidden degree of providence, almost all affairs whatever the success of them was, were transacted by me. All the coasts were beset by Dutch cruisers, which made it difficult to sail without running the hazard of being taken; I went therefore by land from Bazaim to Tana, where we had another college, and from thence to our house of Chaul. Here I hired a narrow light vessel, and placing eighteen oars on a side, went close by the shore, from Chaul to Goa, almost eighty leagues. We were often in danger of being taken, and particularly when we touched at Dabal, where a cruiser blocked up one of the channels through which ships usually sail, but our vessel requiring no great depth of water, and the sea running high, we went through the little channel, and fortunately escaped the cruiser. Though we were yet far from Goa, we expected to arrive there on the next morning, and rowed forward with all the diligence we could. The sea was calm and delightful, and our minds were at ease, for we imagined ourselves past danger; but soon found we had flattered ourselves too soon with security, for we came within sight of several barks of Malabar, which had been hid behind a point of land which we were going to double. Here we had been inevitably taken, had not a man called to us from the shore, and informed us, that among those fishing boats there, some cruisers would make us a prize. We rewarded our kind informer for the service he had done us, and lay by till night came to shelter us from our enemies. Then putting out our oars, we landed at Goa next morning about ten, and were received at our college. It being there a festival day, each had something extraordinary allowed him, the choicest part of our entertainments was two pilchers, which were admired because they came from Portugal.

The quiet I began to enjoy did not make me lose the remembrance of my brethren, whom I had left languishing among the rocks of Abyssinia, or groaning in the prisons of Suaquem, whom since I could not set at liberty without the viceroy's assistance, I went to implore it, and did not fail to make use of every motive which could have any influence.

I described in the most pathetic manner I could, the miserable state to which the Catholic religion was reduced, in a country where it had lately flourished so much by the labours of the Portuguese; I gave him in the strongest terms, a representation of all that we had suffered since the death of Sultan Segued; how we had been driven out of Abyssinia; how many times they had attempted to take away our lives; in what manner we had been betrayed and given up to the Turks; the menaces we had been terrified with; the insults we had endured; I laid before him the danger the patriarch was in of being either impaled or flayed alive; the cruelty, insolence, and avarice of the Bassa of Suaquem, and the persecution that the Catholics suffered in Æthiopia. I

exhorted, I implored him by every thing I thought might move him to make some attempt for the preservation of those who had voluntarily sacrificed their lives for the sake of God. I made it appear with how much ease the Turks might be driven out of the Red Sea, and the Portuguese enjoy all the trade of those countries. I informed him of the navigation of that sea, and the situation of its ports, told him which it would be necessary to make ourselves masters of first, that we might upon any unfortunate encounter retreat to them. I cannot deny that some degree of resentment might appear in my discourse; for though revenge be prohibited to Christians, I should not have been displeased to have had the Bassa of Suaquem and his brother in my hands, that I might have reproached them with the ill treatment we had met with from them. This was the reason of my advising to make the first attack upon Mazna, to drive the Turks from thence, to build a citadel, and garrison it with Portuguese.

The viceroy listened with great attention to all I had to say, gave me a long audience, and asked me many questions. He was well pleased with the design of sending a fleet into that sea, and to give a greater reputation to the enterprise proposed making his son commander in chief, but could by no means be brought to think of fixing garrisons, and building fortresses there; all he intended was to plunder all they could, and lay the towns in ashes.

I left no art of persuasion untried to convince him, that such a resolution would injure the interests of Christianity, that to enter the Red Sea only to ravage the coasts, would so enrage the Turks, that they would certainly massacre all the Christian captives, and for ever shut the passage into Abyssinia, and hinder all communication with that empire. It was my opinion that the Portuguese should first establish themselves at Mazna, and that a hundred of them would be sufficient to keep the fort that should be built. He made an offer of only fifty, and proposed that we should collect those few Portuguese who were scattered over Abyssinia. These measures I could not approve.

At length when it appeared that the viceroy had neither forces nor authority sufficient for this undertaking, it was agreed, that I should go immediately into Europe, and represent at Rome and Madrid, the miserable condition of the missions of Abyssinia. The viceroy promised, that, if I could procure any assistance, he would command in person the fleet and forces raised for the expedition, assuring, that he thought he could not employ his life better than in a war so holy, and of so great an importance, to the propagation of the Catholic faith.

Encouraged by this discourse of the viceroy, I immediately prepared myself for a voyage to Lisbon, not doubting to obtain upon the least solicitation every thing that was necessary to re-establish our mission.

Never had any man a voyage so troublesome as mine, or interrupted with such variety of unhappy accidents: I was shipwrecked on the coast of Natal; I was taken by the Hollanders, and it is not easy to mention the danger which I was exposed to both by land and sea, before I arrived at Portugal.

A. JOURNEY TO ABYSSINIA.

BY C. J. PONCET.*

TO THE JESUITS OF FRANCE.

REVEREND FATHERS,

I BELIEVE that the account of Ethiopia, which I now give you, will be found very curious. It was communicated to me by Dr. Charles James Poncet, a French physician, who travelled into that country with a missionary Jesuit. You possibly may be glad to know the motive of their undertaking so tedious and painful a journey. The Emperor of Ethiopia being afflicted with a distemper, whose consequences he thought might prove fatal to him, and not meeting with physicians in his own dominions able to cure him, thought it but prudent to send into other countries for a skilful person. Hearing at this time, that one of his officers was troubled with the same kind of disease, he sent him to Grand Cairo, in order that if he could get cured in this city, he might bring the physician to him. This officer, whose name was Hagi-Ali, and who had gone that journey more than once, informed an Armenian, his friend, there, of the motive which had brought him again to Cairo; when the Armenian, knowing Dr. Poncet's abilities by experience; (he having formerly cured him of a very violent and very dangerous distemper) introduced his friend to the doctor.

Hagi Ali, on the recommendation of the Armenian, put himself into Dr. Poncet's hands, took his medicines, observed the regimen prescribed, and was perfectly recovered in a little time. He therefore intreated the doctor to travel with him into Ethiopia, in order that he might perform the like cure on his sovereign, which Dr. Poncet consented to, and immediately prepared to follow the Ethiopian officer. Our missionaries, who had already attempted several times, but with ill success†, to enter

* Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits (extracted from the *Lettres Edifiantes*) London 1743, 8vo. Vol. i. p. 178

† Ludolf, who is esteemed the best writer on Ethiopia, informs us, that the Abyssinians formerly acknowledged the Pope of Rome as the chief patriarch. Some Portuguese missionaries, after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, almost made Roman Catholics of the Ethiopians, and prevailed upon the monarch to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and to admit a patriarch from Rome. The government also consented to abolish their own rites, and set up those of the church of Rome; but many of their great men, and most part of the people opposing this, took up arms against the Emperor, which gave rise to civil wars, of above a hundred years continuance, wherein multitudes of people were killed. During this, many provinces revolted from the Emperor; notwithstanding which, the monarchs persisted obstinately in their profession of the Romish religion. At last the Jesuits, upon pretence of maintaining the Papal supremacy, undertook the management of temporal affairs, in an arbitrary manner, and almost exclusive of the Emperor. They even ventured to go so far, as to erect forts, which they manned, and were going to send for European troops. But now the Emperor and the nobility awaked from their lethargy, and immediately agreed to abolish the Romish religion, and to massacre the priests, who accordingly fell the victims of the people, the patriarch himself very narrowly escaping out of the country with his life. Three Capuchins attempting afterwards to get into Ethiopia, the Turkish basha, at the Emperor's request, beheaded them, and sent him their heads and their skins stuffed.

this wide extended empire, imagined it would be proper to make use of so favourable a juncture, to execute their design; for which purpose they consulted with Dr. Poncet and Monsieur Maillet*, the French consul at Grand Cairo. It was then agreed that one of our missionaries should accompany Dr. Poncet to Ethiopia, and go as his servant†, for fear of giving umbrage to a nation, whose disposition with regard to the Europeans was not yet well known. This was an important commission, and required a man of great abilities and zeal; since he was to inform himself, on the spot, of the state of the Christian religion; and see what was to be done, in order to restore, if possible, the Romish religion in a country where it formerly had made a very great progress, under the Patriarchs John Nunez Baretto, Andrew Oviedo, Apollinarius of Almeida, and several other Jesuit-missionaries.

Father de Brevedent, of a very good family in the city of Roan, was pitched upon for this purpose, he being endued with all the qualities requisite for so difficult and important an enterprise. The scheme he gave for a new machine, for finding the perpetual motion in 1685, engraved in the journals of that time, gained him no little reputation among the learned, and shewed the great penetration of his genius. Engaging afterwards in missions, he laboured indefatigably above ten years in the islands of the Archipelago and in Syria. In a word, the whole tenor of his life was so perfect that he was considered as a true apostle. His austerities were so extreme, when labouring among the infidels, that his ordinary food was bran soaked in water, with some herbs or roots. He used to lie on the bare ground; to pass two or three hours every night in prayer; and scourge himself so unmercifully twice a day‡, that his superiors being informed that it would be impossible for him to support much longer so very mortified a life, were obliged to soften the rigour of his penance, to prevent their losing a person so useful to the mission.

The following relation is very curious; for, besides the account it gives of the dominions of the Kings of Dongola§, of Sennar, and of Mecca, it informs us likewise of several very remarkable particulars concerning Ethiopia, that Empire, so very famous, whether we consider the vast extent of its dominions, the multitude of its inhabitants, or their professing the Christian religion in the first ages of the church. But as the Abyssinians were so happy as to receive the light of the gospel in the first ages of Christianity, they have been so unfortunate as to lose that precious advantage, by imbibing the errors of the Cophtis or Eutychians, and forming a schism in the church.

How ample a harvest might be made in so wide extended a field, by able and zealous missionaries, who should devote themselves to the cultivating of it; especially at a time when the conjunctures are more favourable than ever!

The greatest obstacle, formerly, to the conversion of the Abyssinians, was the obstinacy of the schismatic patriarchs of Alexandria, who opposed the establishment of the Catholic religion with all their might. But as the present patriarch is a Catholic, he is no less desirous than we can be, of seeing all the people of Ethiopia open their eyes, and embrace the truths of the gospel, as he himself did not long since.

* He published an account of Egypt not many years since. I wrote this in 1742.

† This disguise is exactly agreeable to the genius of the Jesuits.

‡ What an inconsistency was there in this character! a man to have a mind capable of going through a course of polite literature, and making discoveries in the mathematics, and yet be so weak as to scourge himself daily! Surely this must have been done by Father le Brevedent, merely in the view of promoting the general scheme of the Jesuits, or Father le Gobien must have told this of him falsely, merely in the same view.

§ I suppose this is what Moll calls Dancala.

His Majesty and His Holiness intend to send missionaries into this extended empire; and wishing that their endeavours may be crowned with success, I subscribe myself, with the utmost respect, &c.

CHARLES LE GOBIEN.

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT

OF

THE TRAVELS OF CHARLES JAMES PONCET, A FRENCH PHYSICIAN,
INTO ETHIOPIA.

In 1698, 1699, and 1700.

I SET out from Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, the 10th of June 1698, with Hagi Ali, an officer under the Emperor of Ethiopia, and father Charles Francis Xavier of Brevedent, a Jesuit missionary. We embarked on the Nile at Boolack*, half a league from that city. As the waters were low, and our pilots very unskilful, we spent a fortnight in reaching Manfeloo, though this voyage is commonly performed in five days, when the river is swelled, and the wind favourable. Manfeloo is a city of Upper Egypt, famous for its traffic in linens. The Grand Signior keeps a garrison there of five hundred Janisaries and two hundred Spahis, to prevent the incursions of the Arabs, who infest every part of that country.

The rendezvous of the caravans of Sennar and Ethiopia is at Ibnali, half a league above Manfeloo. We encamped in that village, till such time as the whole caravan might be assembled; and continued there above three months, under our tents, where we suffered very much; the heat of that country being insupportable, especially to Europeans, who are not accustomed to it. The rays of the sun are so scorching, that, from ten in the morning, till night, we could scarce breathe. After having purchased camels, and got all the provisions necessary for crossing the deserts of Lybia, we left this disagreeable abode the 24th of September, at three in the afternoon; and went and lay a league and a half from thence, on the eastern side of the Nile, at a place called Cantara, where we also were obliged to encamp some days, to wait for the merchants of Girga and Syoot, who were not yet arrived.

A relation of the King of Sennar invited me to go to Syoot, and for that purpose sent me an Arabian horse. I crossed the Nile on a very large bridge built of beautiful free-stone. I believe it is the only bridge on this river, and I got to my journey's end in four hours. I saw the ruins of an old magnificent amphitheatre, with some sepulchral monuments of the ancient Romans. The city of Syoot is surrounded with delicious gardens, and beautiful palm-trees, which bear the finest dates in all Egypt. Finding our whole company met at my return, we set out very early on the 2d of October, and that very day entered a frightful desert. Travellers are exposed to great danger in these deserts, occasioned by the moving sands, which rising with the gentlest breeze darken the air; and falling back again like rain, often bury

* Or Bulac. This is the port town to Grand Cairo, and by some considered as a suburb of it. There are about four thousand families in this town, where a considerable trade is carried on. All vessels who go up the Nile stop here, and pay the duties exacted by the government.

travellers under them, or make them lose their way. The greatest order possible is observed in the march of the caravans. Besides the chief man, whose business it is to determine all disputes and contests, there are guides who march at the head of the caravan, and give the signal either for going forward or halting, by beating a small kettle-drum. The travellers set out three or four hours before day, at which time all the camels and beasts of burthen must be ready. Any person who loses sight of the caravan, or goes astray from it, is in great danger of perishing; but the conductors are so skilful, that though not even the smallest footsteps or marks are seen on the sand, they yet never go out of their way. After travelling in this manner till noon, the company halt half an hour without unlading the camels; when resting themselves a little, they then go on till three or four hours after sun-set. As travellers have always the same rank or place, at every encampment as the first day they set out, there never happens the least dispute on that account*.

We

* The best relation I have seen of the manner of the travelling with the caravan is this. The guides conduct themselves either by a sea-compass, or by the Stars. A caravan consists often of two or three hundred men, and perhaps of a thousand beasts of different kinds, to secure them from the incursion of the Arabs. The several merchandises are carried either on camels or dromedaries (whose shape is much the same), and the camel will carry seven hundred weight, there being no wheel-carriages in Arabia, &c. The above mentioned beasts kneel down to take up their burden; and will travel, when requisite, six days or more without drinking. There are no inns on those roads, for which reason travellers carry provisions and tents, which they don't set up except in bad weather; they chusing, when it is fair, to lodge in the open air, for fear of the thievish Arabs. The slaves and servants dress their masters' victuals on the road in manner following: they make a hole in the ground, and there they make a fire, and boil the meat, &c. As little water is found in the deserts, the travellers provide themselves with some, which they carry in goats skins.

Before the caravan first sets out, the merchants elect, from among their body, a commander or captain *basha*, who regulates the order of the march, and settles all controversies which may happen. But as there is room for committing various frauds in this employment, (as these captains pay the duties, &c. in the journey) few honest men are willing to accept of it. The merchants commonly ride on mules or horses; and the poorer sort of them on asses. The Europeans are obliged to carry their wine in skins, on horses; the camel-masters, who are Mohammedans, not permitting their camels to be loaded with wine, this beast being sacred to Mohammed.

The caravans sometimes travel six hours, and at other times twelve every day, according as they meet with water, they halting at those places, where they meet with any. Every master, with his servants, rides about his goods, particularly if the night is dark; and this on account of a set of cunning thieves, who at those times, sometimes cut the strings by which the beasts are fastened to one another, and then drive them away to some distance before the loss is perceived. One great inconvenience which those who travel in caravans often meet with is, that as water is generally found only in wells and cisterns, whence not more than two or three people can draw water at a time, the travellers are sometimes forced to stay two hours, or more, before they can get any; which is owing to the rudeness of the camel-drivers, who will not suffer any person to draw water, till they have first regaled their several beasts. It is necessary that the European travellers wear a Mohammedan dress, or put on an Arabian vest and cap, to prevent their being stopp'd at some towns; as well as several other inconveniences. They also must provide themselves with boots, and these are as easy to walk in as shoes; but they don't need to get spurs, the horses being pricked forward with an iron fixed to the stirrup. When the caravan stops, after sun-set, to spend the night, a set of poor people, who make it their business to attend on these occasions, walk about the fields like watchmen, crying aloud, *God is one, Be watchful of yourselves*: And when the time proper for marching is nigh, they give notice of it to the captain of the caravan, who immediately commands them to cry, Saddle your horses, and load your goods. All this is done with surprising dispatch; and the whole caravan proceeds forward with the greatest order and silence. If the next stage is long, and they cannot arrive at it till about an hour or two before noon, the merchants spread their carpets and sit down to breakfast; during which the beasts advance forward slowly with their burdens.

It is said that upwards of forty thousand pilgrims go to Mecca yearly, to visit Mohammed's tomb; the Grand Signior giving the fourth part of the revenues of Egypt towards defraying the expences of the caravan. This vast body of devotees is accompanied with soldiers, to protect them from the incursions of the Arabs; and followed by eight or nine thousand camels, laden with provisions necessary for so long a journey

We arrived the 6th of October at Helaoüa, a pretty large town, and the last subject to the Grand Signior. It has a garrison of five hundred Janizaries and three hundred Spahis, commanded by an officer, called in that country Kaskif. Helaoüa is a delightful place, and answers exactly to its name, which signifies, *the country of delights or sweets*. We there see a great many gardens watered with rivulets, and a vast number of palm-trees, which have a perpetual verdure. There we find coloquintida*; and all the fields are overspread with senna, which grows on a shrub about three foot high. This drug, of which the Europeans have so high an opinion, is not made any use of in this country. The inhabitants of Helaoüa, when indisposed, never take any other remedy but the root of the esula, which they steep in milk a whole night, and drink next morning after passing it through a sieve. This physic is exceedingly strong, but those people like it, and praise it exceedingly. The esula† is a great tree, with a blue flower. This flower forms a kind of oval ball full of cotton, and with this the inhabitants make tolerably fine linen.

We stopt four days at Helaoüa, to supply ourselves with water and provisions, as we were going to cross a desert, where not a single spring or rivulet are found. The heats are so violent, and the sands of those deserts so very scorching, that such as walk bare-footed, always find their feet swell in a surprizing manner. Nevertheless, the nights are pretty cold, which afflict those who travel in this country with grievous distempers, if they do not take the utmost care of themselves. After travelling two days we arrived at Chabba‡, a country full of allum; and three days after at Selyme, where we drew water, to serve us five days, from an excellent spring situated in the midst of that desert. These wide extended solitudes, where we meet neither with birds, wild beasts, grass, nor even so much as a gnat; and see nothing but mountains of sand, carcases, and bones of camels, strike the soul with I know not what horror, which makes the travelling here quite tedious and disagreeable. It would be extremely difficult to cross these frightful deserts without the assistance of camels. These beasts can pass six or seven days without eating or drinking: a circumstance I myself should never have believed, had I not been a careful observer of it. A yet more wonderful incident of this kind is as follows, the truth of which was assured me by a venerable old man, brother to the patriarch of Ethiopia, who was in our caravan. He declared that he travelled twice from Selyme to Sudan, in the country of the negroes; and that having employed each time forty days in crossing the deserts lying that way, the camels of his caravan did not once eat or drink during all that time §. Three or four

journey through the deserts. One of the camels carries the golden standard, which is offered up with great ceremony to Mohammed. Several caravans set out annually from Aleppo, Grand Cairo, &c. for Persia, Mecca, &c.

* A wild kind of gourd, extremely bitter, and employed in purgative remedies.

† The esula is also a kind of plant called milk-thistle: when corrected, it is given to persons afflicted with the dropsy.

‡ Chabba in Arabic signifies allum. At Chabba begins the kingdom of Gondola, dependant on that of Sennar.

§ What we are told by the authors of the *Missions Étrangères*, in their last relation, is equally surprizing. They inform us as follows concerning some Christians of Cochin-China, who died for their religion.

Of the four remaining who continued in prison, three struggled with hunger and thirst, for perhaps a much longer time than could be believed by the Europeans, till they died; for I am of opinion these would scarce think it possible for them to live so long as they did without eating and drinking. The first was Mr. Laurengo (Lorenzo) who did not expire till the fortieth day of his imprisonment. The holy old man Anthony followed him three days after; and Madam Agnes languished till the forty-sixth day, and then quietly breathed her last. [This note is by Father le Gobien.] The Protestant (and less credulous) reader, will probably think the accounts given here a fiction, considering the quarter it comes from, and the motive for mentioning it.

hours rest every night supports them, and compensates for the want of food, which must not be given them till after they have drank, for otherwise they would burst.

The kingdom of Sudan lies to the west of Sennar. The merchants of Upper Egypt go thither to purchase gold and slaves. The Kings of Sennar and Sudan are commonly at war. As to the mules and asses, which also are made use of for crossing these deserts, they are allowed only a small measure of water daily.

The 26th of October we arrived at Machoo, a large town* on the eastern shore of the Nile. This river forms here two large islands abounding with palm-trees, fena, and colocintida. Machoo, the only place inhabited from Helaoüa, is in the province of Fungee†. It is subject to the King of Sennar; and here begins the country of the Baroras, called by us Barbarins. The Erbab, or governor of this province, being informed that the Emperor of Ethiopia had sent for us to court, invited us to Argos, the place of his residence. This town stands opposite to Machoo, on the other side of the Nile, and we went thither in a boat. The governor received us with great civility, and entertained us two days, which, after the violent fatigues we had undergone, was extremely agreeable. The chief officer of the customs, who is son to the King of Dongola‡, lives also at Argos. This prince never appears in public but on horseback, his horse being covered with two hundred little brass bells, which make a great noise; and attended by twenty horsemen, and two hundred soldiers armed with lances and sabres. He came and searched our tents, where we presented him with coffee, and paid the duties, consisting in soap and linens. He did us the honour to invite us next day to dinner, and we waited upon him accordingly at the time appointed. His palace is spacious, and built of brick dried in the sun. The walls are very lofty; and flanked, at intervals, with large square towers, but without port-holes, there being no cannon in that country, muskets being the only fire-arms used there.

After staying a week at Machoo, we left it the 4th of November, and arrived the 13th at Dongola. The whole country we passed through to this city, and even to that of Sennar, is extremely agreeable, but not above a league in breadth. Beyond it we meet with nothing but frightful deserts. The Nile runs through the middle of this delicious plain. Its banks are high; so that the fertility of this country is not owing, as in Egypt, to the inundation of that river, but to the labour and industry of the inhabitants. As it rains extremely seldom in these parts, the people raise by the help of certain wheels turned by oxen, a prodigious quantity of water, which they carry through the several lands to reservoirs dug to receive it; and hence they afterwards draw it, whenever they want to water their lands, which otherwise would be barren.

Money is not the medium here for traffic, every thing of that kind being carried on by barter, as in the infant ages of the world. Travellers purchase whatever provisions they want, by giving in exchange, pepper, anise, fennel, cloves, choorga, or wool died blue, French spikenard§, Egyptian mahaleb||, and such like. Their only food is bread made of dora, a small round berry, with which they also make a kind of muddy, very ill-tasted beer. As this liquor will not keep, they are obliged to make it almost every hour. Any man who has got some dora-bread, and a gourd-bottle full of the unpala-

* The French is *grosse bourgade*, which is the diminutive of *bourg*, an assemblage of houses between a city and a village. In my version I generally translate *bourg* a town, and *bourgade* a small town.

† Called Fungi, in our maps.

‡ This King of Dongola, or Dancalia, can hardly be a powerful prince.

§ A species of lavender, whence the *oleum spicæ* is distilled.

|| I know not whether this is a kind of wild cherry, or a *sloe*. According to some it is the *vaccinium* or black-berry; whilst others say that it is a shrub with which they dye purple in France. I suppose the mahaleb bartered in the country, treated of in the text, was used for dying.

table liquor above-mentioned, of which they drink such quantities as to grow intoxicated, thinks himself happy, and enabled to make good cheer. Though these Africans live upon such slender nourishment, they yet enjoy health, and are more robust and vigorous than the Europeans. Their houses are low, built of earth, and covered with dora-reeds: but their horses are perfectly beautiful, and the people are very skilful in breeding them for the manége. The backs of their saddles* are very high, which tires the rider very much. Persons of quality go bareheaded, and with their hair disposed agreeably in tresses. Their whole dress is only a sleeveless rude vest; and a kind of sole, which they tie with thongs. The common people throw a piece of linen round them an hundred different ways, but the children go almost naked. All the men carry a lance, and this they take with them wherever they go. The iron of it is hooked, and some are very neat. Those who have swords, wear them hanging at their left-arm. Oaths and blasphemous expressions are very common among these rude ignorant Africans, who, at the same time, are such debauchees, that they have not the least idea of politeness, modesty, or religion; for though they now profess Mohammedanism, they know nothing of it, except their confession of faith, and this they repeat incessantly. A deplorable circumstance, and which drew tears from Father de Brevedent, my dear companion, is that this people, not long since, professed the Christian religion, and lost it purely for want of persons zealous enough to devote themselves to their instruction. We saw, in our way, a great many hermits' cells, and churches half ruined.

We travelled but gently from Machoo to Dongola, to ease ourselves after our long journeying through the desert. That country had been infested, but two years before, with the plague. It had raged with so much violence in Grand Cairo, where I happened to be that year, and on which occasion I attended the sick, that it was affirmed ten thousand persons died of it daily†. This dreadful scourge made miserable havoc in every part of Upper Egypt, and in the country of the Barbarins; so that we found several towns, as likewise a great number of villages, uninhabited; and wide extended plains which had formerly been very fruitful, were now quite uncultivated and abandoned.

Being got within sight of the city of Dongola, the leader of our caravan left us, and went and waited upon the King, to desire leave for him and his company to enter it, which he was graciously permitted to do. We were then in a village, which is as a kind of suburb to that city; and we crossed the river in a boat kept by the prince for the use of the public. The goods pay a certain duty, but passengers are carried gratis. The city of Dongola‡, stands on the eastern banks of the Nile, on the declivity of a dry sandy hill. The houses are very ill-built; and the streets half deserted, and choaked with heaps of sand, which the great floods force down from the mountains. The castle stands in the center of the city, and is very spacious, but poorly fortified; however, it serves as a check to the Arabs, who inhabit the plains, where they are permitted to feed their cattle undisturbed, on paying a small tribute to the Mek § or King of Dongola. We had the honour to eat several times with this prince, but at a separate table. In our first audience, he was dressed in a green velvet vest that reached to the ground. He has a numerous guard. Those who are near his person carry a long sword before him, but unsheathed; and the outward guards are armed with half-pikes.

* The original is, *leurs selles ont des appuis bien hauts*, by which I suppose is meant, that there are backs to them, as to those in some countries of Europe; or else, that they are raised very high on the sides; and tire the rider's arms very much, when leaning on them.

† The plague is said to sweep away prodigious numbers in this city once every seven years.

‡ If this Dongola is, as I suppose it to be, Dancala, this city is situated to the west of the Nile, in our maps.

§ The name of the present Mek, (in the year 1700) or Malek of Dongola, is Achmet.

This prince came and visited us in our tent ; and as I had been successful in some cures, he invited us to reside at his court ; but the instant he heard that we were under engagements to the Emperor of Ethiopia, he did not offer to stop us. His kingdom is hereditary, but he pays a tribute to the King of Sennar.

We left Dongola the 6th of January 1699 ; and four days after entered the kingdom of Sennar. Ibrahim the governor, brother to the King's prime minister, whom we met on the frontiers, received us honourably, and defrayed the expences of our journey as far as Korty, a large town on the Nile, whither we arrived the 13th of January, he accompanying us to that place. As the nations who live above Korty, along the Nile, have taken up arms against the King of Sennar, and plunder the caravans whenever they pass through their country ; travellers are obliged to pass at a distance from the banks of that river ; then proceed forward between the west and south ; and enter the vast desert of Bihooda, which cannot be crossed in less than five days, though with ever so great speed. This desert is not so frightful as those of Lybia, since nothing is found in those but sand ; whereas we here meet with herbs and trees. After crossing it, we returned to the banks of the Nile, and arrived at Derrara, a town where we stopt two days. This country abounds with provisions, which probably is the reason why the inhabitants call it Beladalla, or God's Country. We left it the 26th, and travelled westward. We do not meet with a single village in all the way ; but the inhabitants, who encamp under tents, bring provisions to travellers.

After travelling some days we again come to the Nile, and arrived at Guerry. This is the residence of a governor, whose chief business is to visit the caravans which come from Egypt, in order to see whether some persons in it may not have the small pox ; that distemper being as dangerous, and making as great havoc in this country, as the plague in Europe. The governor in question paid us great civilities, out of respect to the throne of Ethiopia, for by this name the Emperor of Ethiopia is distinguished ; and dispensed with our performing quarantine, as is the custom in that place where we crossed the Nile.

The manner of crossing that river is very particular. The passengers and goods are put into a bark ; but the beasts are fastened, at the head and under the belly, with ropes, which are either drawn tighter, or slackened, according as the bark goes forward. The beasts swim, but suffer greatly in their passage, and some of them even lose their lives ; for though the Nile is not wide at this place, it is deep and rapid. We left Guerry the 1st of February, and went and lay at Alfaa, a large village built of free-stone. The inhabitants are tall and well-shaped.

After having travelled north-east, to get clear of the great windings of the Nile, and passed by the village of Alfon, of Cotran, and of Camin ; after crossing a large island not specified in our maps, we arrived at the town of Harbagee, where we met with plenty of provisions, and reposed ourselves a little. The following days we passed through forests of acacia*, whose lofty, thorny trees were adorned with yellow and blue flowers, the last of which diffuse a very agreeable fragrance. These groves abound with small green paroquets ; with a kind of wood-hens, and a multitude of other birds not found in Europe. At our leaving these delightful forests, we entered into vast

* A term in botany, given to various trees, though very different one from the other. A tree of this name (also called cassia) grows in Egypt, and is called in Latin, *spina Ægyptia*. It answers pretty nearly to the description given of this tree ; and from it gum Arabic, and a juice called the true acacia are taken. Other trees of a different kind, though called by the same name, grow in Malabar, in Mesopotamia, the deserts of Arabia, Brasil, Virginia, &c. Acacia is also a thick liquid brought from the Levant in bladders. It is an excellent astringent.

plains which appeared exceedingly fruitful, and very well cultivated; and travelling some time in these, we at last discovered the city of Sennar*, whose situation seemed enchanting.

This city, which is near a league and half in circumference, is very populous, but far from being neat, and is very ill governed. Sennar is thought to contain about an hundred thousand souls. It stands on the west of the Nile, on an eminence, in thirteen degrees, four minutes, north latitude, according to an observation taken at noon, the 21st of March 1699†. The houses are but one story high, and ill built; but their terraces, which serve as roofs, are very commodious. As to the suburbs, it consists of a number of poor huts, made with reeds. The King's palace is surrounded with lofty walls of brick baked in the sun. There does not appear the least regularity in these buildings, they being thrown up in a confused and tasteless manner. The apartments of the palace are richly adorned with large carpets after the manner of the Levant.

The very next day after our arrival we were presented to the King. The very first thing we did, at our going to this audience, was to pull off our shoes, a ceremony which all foreigners who have access to the King, are obliged to observe; the natives never being permitted to appear before him but bare-footed. We now entered a spacious court, paved with a kind of delft-ware of various colours. On every side of it guards were standing armed with lances. Having almost crossed this court, we were stopt at a stone lying near an open hall, where the King generally gives audience to ambassadors. We saluted the King after the custom of the country, by falling on our knees, and kissing the ground thrice. The Monarch is about nineteen years old, black, but well-shaped and of a majestic stature; he not having thick lips, nor a flat nose, like those of his subjects. He was seated on a very neat kind of sofa, cross-legged, after the manner of the Easterns; and surrounded by about twenty old men, seated like himself, but a little below him. The Monarch was dressed in a long silken vest embroidered with gold, having a kind of scarf over it, made of very fine cotton‡. He wore on his head a white turban; and the old men were dressed much after the same fashion. The prime minister, standing at the entrance of the hall, carried our compliments to the King, and brought back his answers. We saluted the Monarch a second time, after the same manner as in the court; and presented him with some crystal-glasses, &c, and several European curiosities, with which he seemed mightily pleased. The different questions he asked us, spoke him a man of good sense, and of an inquisitive genius. He enquired into the motives of our journey, and professed the highest regard and attachment for the person of the Emperor of Ethiopia. After continuing an hour at this audience, we withdrew, making three very low bows. He caused us to be attended by his guards to the house where we resided; and sent us large vessels full of butter, honey, and other refreshments; and likewise two oxen and two sheep.

This prince goes twice a week and dines at one of his country-seats, a league from the city. The order of his march thither is as follows: first appear three or four hundred horsemen, extremely well mounted; next comes the King amidst a great num-

* I could not find any of the towns mentioned in this journey from Dancala to Sennar, in our maps, and indeed no towns are therein specified between them.

† The city of Sennar is situated more to the north in our maps.

‡ The original is, *est ceint d'une espèce d'écharpe de toile de coton très fine*, which may mean, that he had a sash of very fine cotton round his loins. The word *echarpe*, signifies sometimes a shoulder-belt, a girdle, the covering for a woman's head or shoulders, &c.

ber of servants, and armed soldiers, who sing his praises with a loud voice; a tabor sounding at the same time, which makes a harmony that is agreeable enough. Seven or eight hundred maidens and married women walk confusedly with these soldiers, carrying on their heads large round straw-baskets, finely wrought, and of various colours. These baskets representing flowers of every kind, the lids of which are in a pyramidal form, cover copper dishes, tinned over, and filled with fruits and viands ready dressed. These dishes are served up to the King, and afterwards distributed among such as have the honour of attending him. The march is closed by two or three hundred horsemen, who proceed in the same order as the first.

The King, who never appears in public, but having his face covered with a piece of silk gauze of different colours, sits down at table the moment of his arrival. The most common diversion of this prince is, to propose prizes to the noblemen of his court; and to shoot at a mark with a gun, with whose use they are not yet very well acquainted. After spending the greatest part of the day in this exercise, he returns to the city, in the evening, in the same order as he came from it in the morning. He travels in this manner every Wednesday and Saturday. The other days of the week he holds a council morning and evening; and administers justice to his subjects, none of whose crimes he permits to go unpunished. Prosecutions are not spun out to any length here. The moment a criminal is seized he is carried before the judge, who examines him; and, in case he finds him guilty, condemns him to die, when the sentence is immediately put in execution. The criminal being laid hold on, is thrown backwards on the ground, and then beat with clubs, on the breast, till he expires. This kind of punishment was inflicted, during our stay in Sennar, on one Joseph, an Ethiopian, who some time before had apostatized from the Christian religion, and turned Mohammedan.

After this sad execution, there was brought to me a sick Mohammedan infant, about five or six months old, in order that I might cure her. As the child was so ill that I had scarce any hopes of her recovery, Father Brevedent baptized her secretly, upon pretence of giving her a medicine; and the child was so fortunate as to die, after having been received into Christ's kingdom. One would conclude, that the wonderful Providence of God was pleased, by this happy incident, to compensate for the loss sustained by the weeping parents. Father Brevedent, on the other hand, was so overjoyed at his having opened the gates of heaven to this babe, that he assured me with such transports as words could never express, that had he performed but this single act in his life-time, he should have thought himself amply rewarded for all the fatigues and toils he had undergone during this journey.

Every thing is vastly cheap at Sennar. A camel costs but seven or eight livres*, an ox two livres and a half, a sheep fifteen-pence, and a hen a penny; and so in proportion for other provisions. The people do not care for wheaten bread, and therefore they never make any but for foreigners. The bread eaten by them is made of Dora, a small grain or berry mentioned before. This bread is good when new; but when above a day old, it is so insipid that there is no eating it. It is made in the form of a large cake, and about the thickness of a crown piece. The merchandizes of this country are, elephant's teeth, tamarinds, civet, tobacco, gold dust, &c. The market is held every day in the open square, in the centre of the city, where provisions and merchandizes of every kind are sold. There is another market for slaves, in the open

* Whenever our author speaks of money, we are to understand that of France. A livre is worth ten-pence halfpenny English. Twenty-halfpence, or sols, make a livre.

square before the King's palace. These sit on the ground cross-legged, the men and boys on one side, and the women and girls on the other. A very strong, robust slave is purchased for ten crowns *, for which reason the Egyptian merchants carry off great numbers of them annually.

The smallest money used in Sennar is worth a double †, and is a little bit of iron, shaped like St. Anthony's cross. The fadda comes from Turkey; it is a silver piece, very thin, of a less size than the denier ‡, and is worth a little more than a French penny or sol §. Besides these two sorts of coins, those in use are only Spanish reals and pieces of eight, and these must be round, the square ones not passing current here. In this country a piece of eight is worth about four livres.

The heats of Sennar || are so violent, that a person can scarce breathe in day-time. These heats begin in January, and end at the close of April. They are succeeded by heavy showers of rain, which last three months, infect the air, and cause a great mortality among men and cattle. This is partly owing to the indolence of the slovenly inhabitants, who neglect to drain off the waters; these stagnate, and afterwards corrupting, raise malignant vapours.

These people are naturally knavish; and at the same time, very superstitious, and strongly attached to their religion, which is the Mohammedan. Whenever they meet a Christian in the streets, they always repeat their confession of faith, which is, There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet. They are not allowed brandy, wine, nor even mead, and never drink any of those liquors except in private. Their usual liquor is a sort of beer something like that at Dongola: it is called booza, is vastly thick, very ill tasted, and thus prepared: they roast at the fire the berry dora; they then throw it into cold water, and after letting it soak twenty-four hours, drink it. They also are very fond of coffee, which liquor is not drunk in Ethiopia.

The women of quality wear a garment of silk, or of very fine cotton, with large sleeves, which descend to the ground. Their hair is bound in tresses, and adorned with rings of silver, copper, brass, ivory, or glass of different colours. These rings are fixed to their hair in the form of crowns; and their arms, legs, ears, and even nostrils, are decked with them. Their fingers are filled with rings, the stones of which are not true; they wear nothing on their feet but a sole, which is tied on with strings. The wives and maidens among the common people are covered only from the girdle to the knee.

The merchandizes brought into the kingdom of Sennar are spices, paper, brass, iron, brass-wire, vermillion, white and yellow arsenic, toys, French spica, Egyptian mahaleb, which is a berry of strong scent; chaplets of glass beads, made in Venice, of all colours and a black colour, called by that people kool, and used by them to darken the eyes and eye-brows, upon which account it is highly valued. All the commodities above mentioned sell likewise in Abyssinia, but with this difference, that the largest glass beads are esteemed in Sennar, and the smallest in Ethiopia.

The merchants of Sennar carry on a great traffic eastward. At the season of the monsoons they take shipping at Saquem ¶, standing on the Red Sea. The pearl-fishing

* A French crown (consisting of three livres) is worth about two shillings and nine-pence, English.

† A French brass coin worth two deniers. ‡ A French brass coin, the twelfth part of a penny.

§ The original is, *un sol marqué*, that is, a marked or stamped penny, signifying a stamp made by the King of France's order, on every sol or penny, to increase its value a little.

|| Sennar, in Arabic, signifies poison and fire.

¶ It is subject to the Turks, and governed by a Beglerbeg. It is a good harbour, and very much frequented, and stands about fourscore leagues to the north of Erquico or Arquica. Some take this city for that of the Troglodytes, called antiently Ptolemais Feraum, and Epitheras.

carried on there, and the town of Saquem, belong to the Grand Signior. From thence they cross to Mocha *, a city of Arabia Felix, and subject to the King of Yemen, and afterwards go to Surat, whither they carry gold, civet, elephants' teeth, and bring from thence spices, and other commodities of India. The merchants commonly employ two years in this voyage.

When the King of Sennar dies, the great council meet; and then, pursuant to a most horrid custom, murder all the brothers of the prince who is to ascend the throne. Prince Gorech was concealed till the death of the King his brother; his nurse having carried him away unknown to this bloody council. A brother of the reigning monarch was likewise preserved. This prince is now at the Ethiopian court, where he is greatly distinguished on account of his merit and birth.

After spending three months in the court of the King of Sennar, who paid us the greatest honours, we took leave of him. He was so gracious as to order us a safe-guard, called by the natives foccori, who were to defray all our expences, and conduct us to the frontiers of his kingdom. We then got into the large body of a tree, scooped in the form of a bark or boat, and crossing the Nile the 12th of May 1699, we went and encamped at Basboch, a large village, half a league from the city of Sennar. We waited there three days, till our whole caravan was assembled, and set out in the evening of the 15th of May. We travelled all night to Bacras, a town, the lord of which was a venerable old man, one hundred and thirty years of age, who yet seemed to be so very strong and vigorous, that we did not think him to be above forty †. He had served under five Kings of Sennar. We paid him a visit, on which occasion he received us very graciously, and enquired about the affairs of Europe. We made him a little present, in return for which he sent some provisions to our tent. We proceeded forward, and arrived next day at Abec, a mean hamlet, where nothing is seen but some poor shepherds' cots; and on the morrow, we came to Baha, after travelling ten hours without stopping anywhere. Baha is a small village on an arm of the Nile, which was then dry. The 19th we set forward, and lay at Dodar, as insignificant a place as Baha; and on the morrow, after travelling four hours, came to Abra, a town where we lost two of our camels, which we recovered with great difficulty. We got to Debarka, a village, from thence to another called Bulbul; and after travelling through a very beautiful, populous country, arrived the 25th of May at Geasim ‡, a town standing on the banks of the Nile, and in the middle of a forest, the trees of which differ greatly from those we had seen hitherto. They are taller than our loftiest oaks, and some are so thick, that nine men together cannot embrace them. Their leaf is like that of a melon, and their fruit, which is vastly bitter, resembles the gourd, and some of them are round. At Geasim I also saw some of those large trees, which are naturally hollow. We entered, through a little door, into a kind of room, open at top, and so large that fifty persons might easily stand upright in it.

I saw another tree called Geling §, which is not larger than our oaks, but as lofty as the above mentioned tree. Its fruit is shaped like our water melon, but a little

* Mocha is the capital of a kingdom. About 200 years since it was only an inconsiderable village, but is now a very populous town, where a great trade is carried on. The streets are wide, the houses either of brick or stone, and the shops make a handsome appearance. The Europeans trade chiefly for coffee here.

† I fancy Dr. Poncet's eyes must have deceived him on this occasion; it scarce being possible, I believe, for any man so much more than an hundred years of age, not to appear above forty.

‡ I find none of the towns mentioned from Sennar in our maps. I believe this part of the world is very little known to the Europeans.

§ The original is Gelingue. I do not find this word in any of my dictionaries.

smallex. It is divided, within, into little cells filled with yellow berries or grains, and such a substance as very much resembles powdered sugar: this substance is a little fowerish but pleasant, of a good flavour, and extremely refreshing; and consequently very delightful in this excessively hot country. The rind is hard and thick. The flower of this tree has five leaves as white as the lilly; and the berry resembles that of the poppy.

There is likewise in this country another kind of tree called *deleb* *. It is double the height of the palm tree, and in much the same form. Its leaves are like that of a fan, but larger; its fruit is round, and in clusters; and from the stalk to the middle part of it, a little larger than those above mentioned. This fruit is covered with five very hard shells which form a kind of cup. It is yellow when ripe, and its rind is so very thick and hard, that when these trees are shaken by the winds, the fruits striking one against the other, make a dreadful noise. Should any one of them break away on these occasions, and fall upon a man's head, it would certainly kill him. The shell of this fruit being broke, (which is not done without difficulty) we perceive a great number of filaments containing a substance very like honey. This substance, which smells like balm, is so sweet and grateful, that I do not remember ever to have tasted any thing more delicious. In the middle of this substance is a large, hard, brown lentil, and this is the seed of the tree in question. Besides the fruit above mentioned, this tree bears also another shaped like a raddish, and covered with three rinds which must be taken off, and has the taste of boiled chestnuts.

The *domi* is as the male of the *daleb*. It is not half the height of the palm tree; but its leaves are almost as long, and twice the breadth. Of these they make baskets, mats, and even sails for such vessels as go on the Red Sea. This tree produces fruit a foot long, covered with five or six leaves, the substance of which is white, sweet as milk, and very nourishing.

The tree called *coogles* †, is likewise of a stupendous size. These are nine or ten thick trees twisted together very irregularly. It bears a little leaf, but no fruit, and only small blue flowers that have no smell. There are several other trees, wholly unknown to Europeans, in these wide extended forests.

We staid nineteen days in *Geasim* ‡. This town is half way between the city of *Sennar* and the confines of *Ethiopia*; and in the tenth degree of north latitude, according to the observation made by *Father Brevedent* §. Travellers who arrive at *Geasim* are obliged to sell their camels on account of the mountains they must cross, and which produce herbs that poison these beasts. For this reason the *Ethiopians* employ only mules and horses which are not shod. The camels are sold at *Geasim*, upon this condition, that the venders shall make use of them as far as *Girana*, where they are fetched by the purchasers. At *Geasim* we saw a caravan of *Gibertis* or *Mohammedans*, dependent on the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, who treats them like slaves,

* I have not met with this tree in any of my lexicons. In the *Religious Ceremonies of all Nations*, Vol. iii. p. 269. London 1731, folio, mention is made of a tree growing in the island of *Moeli*, called the *cassia-tree*. "The manner (says the author) how the sticks are made, in which that kind of purgative gum is put, is pretty well known in Europe. They are long and dry when ripe; and whenever the wind blows, the sticks with which those trees are loaded wave up and down, and thus striking against one another, form a very strange noise to such persons as do not know what it is owing to; especially if they happen to be in a forest, when they sometimes hear this clashing sound at a great distance from them."

† *Cougles* in French.

‡ *Geasim* in the original.

§ This town (*Geasim*) must be very far in *Abyssinia*, according to our maps, and a considerable way higher than the sources of the Nile. Either our geographers or our traveller must be mistaken.

to their name. The reason of our long stay at Geasim was on account of the death of the Queen, mother to the King of Sennar. The officer who conducted us returned to Sennar for fresh orders from his sovereign, and we were obliged to wait for him. This proved a sad disappointment to us, the rains falling in this place. At first they did not fall till after sun-set. These showers are always preceded by thunder and lightning. The sky in the day-time is vastly serene, but the heat is intolerable.

We left Geasim the 11th of June; and after travelling five hours, came to a village called Deleb, on account of the vast vistas of the trees so named, which extend out of sight. We travelled a long way in these delightful allies, they being planted chequer-wise. The next day we arrived at Sho*, a village situated on the Nile; and the day following at Aboetkna, where we saw a kind of box which is neither so leafy nor so strong as ours. All this way we came through vast groves of tamarind trees, which have a perpetual verdure, and the leaf is larger than that of the cypress-tree. The tree in question produces small blue odoriferous flowers, and a fruit very like the plumb: it is called erdeb in this country. These forests of tamarind-trees are so very tufted that the sun cannot pierce through them. We spent the following night in the valley of Sonnone, in the middle of a beautiful meadow; and in two days reached Serka†, a neat city, consisting of five or six hundred houses, which are very pretty, though built only of Indian canes or reeds. Serka stands in a fine valley, surrounded with mountains. At our going out of this city we come to a small river, which separates Ethiopia from the kingdom of Sennar.

From Serka, which we left on the 20th of June, to Gondar‡, the capital of Ethiopia, we met with a great number of fine springs; and an almost continual range of mountains in different forms, but all very agreeable and covered with trees unknown in Europe, which seemed to us loftier and more beautiful than those of Sennar. These mountains, some of which are pyramidal, and others in the form of a cone, are so well cultivated, that not the least spot is suffered to lie useless; and at the same time, are so populous, that a traveller would imagine them to be one continued city. The next day we lay at Tambisso, a large village belonging to the patriarch of Ethiopia, and on the morrow we reached Abead, situated on a high mountain, covered with sycamore-trees. The country, quite from Geasim to this place, is covered with cotton. The 23d of June we stopt in a valley full of ebony-trees and Indian canes, where a lion carried off one of our camels. Lions are common in this country, and their roaring is heard all night; travellers secure themselves from them by lighting up and keeping in great fires. On these mountains are found squinautes§, and a great many other aromatic plants and herbs.

The 24th we crossed the river of Gandova||, which is very deep and very rapid, whence the crossing of it is rendered vastly dangerous. It is not quite so wide as the Seine at Paris. It rushes from the mountains with so much impetuosity that, in over-

* Chau in the original.

† Serké, in French. All these parts seem *terra incognita* to the Europeans.

‡ Other writers, and particularly Ludolf, (I think) call the capital of Abyssinia, Ambara, being also the name of a province. Either they or our traveller must be mistaken, unless some change should have happened in Ethiopia since the time of Ludolf, &c. I suppose, however, that this city Gondar is that called Gontar, placed in about 13 degrees of north latitude by Moll. If it be true that the Abyssinian monarch generally keeps his court in a camp, and the people live more under tents than in houses, I do not know any place in Ethiopia, which we could properly call a capital.

§ I have not been able to make any discovery with regard to this plant.

|| I do not find this river in our maps.

flowing,

flowing, it drags along all things in its way. On these occasions, it sometimes swells to such a degree, that it is ten days before travellers can get over. As the river happened to be very low at that time, we crossed it with ease. This river falls into another called Tekefel *, or the dreadful; and these two rivers uniting together empty themselves in the Nile. We crossed two other large rivers on the morrow. Their banks were lined with box-trees, of a surprizing thickness, and as tall as our beech-trees. That day one of our beasts of burthen straying from the caravan, was bit in the thigh by a bear. The wound was large and dangerous; but the people of the country applying only a caustic and fire to it, the beast was perfectly cured.

• The 26th we entered a wide plain covered with pomegranate-trees, and spent the night there in sight of Girana, whither we arrived next day. Girana is a village on the top of a mountain, whence we have a prospect of the finest country in the world †. Here we travel in another manner, we quitting our camels in order to ride on horse-back, as was before observed. The lord of Girana came and paid us a visit, and ordered refreshments to be brought us. Here we found a guard of thirty men sent by the Emperor of Ethiopia for our security, and in honour to the patriarch's brother who was in our caravan; and we were freed from all care of the baggage, pursuant to the custom of that empire. The manner of doing this is as follows.

When the Emperor of Ethiopia invites any person to his court, his baggage is intrusted with the lord of the first village which happens to lie in the way. This lord puts it into the hands of his vassals, who are obliged to carry it to the neighbouring village. These give it to the inhabitants of the second village, who carry it to the next they meet with, and so on till it gets to the capital; all which is performed with surprizing exactness and fidelity.

The rains, the fatigue of the journey, and especially Father Brevedent's indisposition, obliged us to stay some days in Girana. We left it the first of July; and after travelling three hours over mountains and through almost unpassable ways, we arrived at Barangea, and the next day at Shelga ‡, a large and beautiful city surrounded with aloes. This is a place of great trade; a market is kept there every day, whither the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns come to sell civet, gold, and all sorts of cattle and provisions. The King of Sennar keeps in this city, with the consent of the Emperor of Ethiopia, a custom-house officer, who receives the duty paid on all the cotton brought out of his kingdom into Ethiopia; and these duties are equally divided between the two princes. Two leagues from Shelga, northward, is seen a torrent which falls from a very high and very steep mountain, and forms such a natural cascade as art could scarcely imitate. As the water of this cascade is divided into various canals or streams, it passes through the whole country, and renders it vastly fruitful.

The third of July we arrived at Barko, a small but very pretty city, standing in the midst of a most agreeable plain, and half a day's journey from the capital of Ethiopia. We were forced to stop in this place, I myself falling grievously sick; and my dear companion Father Brevedent being in a few days brought near his end, occasioned by

* I suppose this is the river called Tacaze in Moll, which takes a long course, and empties itself in the Nile.

† The most esteemed travellers who have been in Abyssinia declare it to be either surrounded by mountains, or by deserts that are next to unpassable; but that the country within these is vastly beautiful and level, watered by several fine rivers, and diversified with woods and plains, stocked with palm-trees, dates, and cedars.

‡ Chelga in French. I do not find either this or Barangoa in our maps.

his taking a violent purge of *ricinus Americanus* *, called *cataputia*, which had been prescribed for him, very improperly, at Tripoli in Syria. This medicine, which is ever dangerous in the opinion of a very learned man †, had thrown him into a very troublesome purging, which he had always concealed from me out of modesty. I no sooner heard of his illness but I got myself carried to his chamber, notwithstanding my being vastly out of order. My tears rather than my expressions informed him that I thought it was impossible for me to do him any service, and that his disease was mortal. These tears were sincere; and could I have saved him, though I had lost my own life, I should have sacrificed it with pleasure. But he was ripe for heaven, and the Almighty thought proper to recompence his apostolical labours. I had known him at Grand Cairo, where his reputation was so great, that it was believed God had indulged him with more than ordinary graces, and even endowed him with the gift of miracles and prophecy ‡.

This is the idea I had formed to myself of him from common fame, the truth of which I myself afterwards knew perfectly, by various predictions with regard to his own death, and by several other things which happened to me exactly as he had foretold them. During his whole journey the Almighty was the only topic of his discourse; and his words were forcible, and in such a strain of piety, that they made the deepest impression on my mind. In his latter moments his heart seemed almost insensible to any emotions except those of love and gratitude towards his Creator; and these emotions were so rapturous that I shall never forget them. In such sentiments this holy man breathed his last in a foreign land, within sight of the capital of Ethiopia; in like manner as St. Francis Xavier, whose name-sake he was, formerly died before China, just as he was entering it, in the design of winning over that empire to Christ.

To do justice to Father Brevedent's character, I must declare that I never knew a man who discovered greater intrepidity in danger, more firmness and resolution in supporting the cause of religion, or more modesty and piety in his general behaviour and conduct. He died the ninth of July 1699, at three in the afternoon. Several Ethiopian friars who happened to see him expire were so touched, so edified by it, that I do not doubt but they will preserve, as long as they live, a great veneration for the memory of this holy missionary. These friars came on the morrow in a body, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, with each an iron cross in his hand. After offering up the prayers for the dead, and making the usual perfumings with incense, they themselves carried the body into a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and buried it there.

My illness, and the grief with which I was seized, detained me in Barko till the twenty-first of July, when I set out for Gondar §, at which city I arrived in the evening. I alighted at the palace, where an apartment was prepared for me near that of one of the Emperor's children. The very next day I had the honour to see this monarch, who, at the same time that he discovered the greatest goodness for me, expressed his sorrow for the death of my companion, whose merit and capacity had been hinted to him. He bid me take all the rest necessary for the recovery of my health, before I

* In French, *pignons d'Inde*. I am not sure whether this is the *ricinus Americanus*, which is the fruit of a tree very common in the island Antilles in America. It grows to the height of a fig-tree, and is shaped like it. This fruit purges violently downwards, and sometimes upwards.

† Philos. Cosmopol.

‡ Dr. Poncet seems here, and on one occasion or two more, to be of a superstitious turn of mind, though in other respects an agreeable writer.

§ This capital city is called Gondar a Catma, that is, City of the Seal.

attempted to appear in public. He used to come through a little gallery which led to my apartment, and visit me almost every day; and when I had a little more strength, which the toils and fatigues of my journey had greatly impaired, I had the honour to be admitted to a public audience, on the 10th of August, about ten in the morning. Some persons came then to my room, and after making me cross upwards of twenty apartments*, I found myself in a hall, where the Emperor was seated on his throne; it was a kind of sofa, covered with a carpet of red damask, enriched with gold flowers: around were placed large cushions worked with gold. This throne, the feet of which are of solid gold, was placed at the upper end of the hall, in an alcove covered with a dome all shining with gold and blue. The Emperor was in a filken vest embroidered with gold, with very long sleeves; and the sash which went round him was embroidered in the same taste. He was bare-headed, and his hair was disposed very agreeably in tresses: a large emerald† glittered above his forehead, and diffused an air of majesty. He was alone in his alcove, seated on his couch, and cross-legged after the manner of the easterns. The chief noblemen stood in a line on each side of him, their hands crossed; and they observed a respectful silence.

Being come to the foot of the throne, I made three very low bows to the Emperor, and kissed his hand. This is an honour he indulges only to such persons as he is pleased to distinguish; for as to others he does not give them his hands to kiss till after they have prostrated themselves three times, and kissed his feet. I then presented him with the letter written by Mr. Maillet, the French consul, which being interpreted that instant, seemed to give him satisfaction. He asked me several questions concerning the person of His Majesty, whom he spoke of as the greatest and most powerful prince in Europe‡; concerning the state of the royal family, and the grandeur and forces of France. After having answered these several questions, I gave him my presents, consisting in pictures, looking-glasses, vases of chrystal, and other works in glass all curiously wrought. The Emperor received them very graciously; and as I was still weak he commanded me to sit down, when a magnificent collation was served up.

The next day the monarch himself, and one of his children, began to enter upon a course of physic; and both followed my prescriptions very exactly, and these were so happy in their effects, that they were perfectly cured in a short time. This success won me new favour, so that the Emperor treated me with greater familiarity than before. He seemed to be of a very devout frame of mind: though he was still under a course of physic, he yet resolved to receive the sacrament, and to appear in public on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, to which the Ethiopians pay a particular regard. The monarch invited me to that ceremony, and accordingly I went to it about eight o'clock. I saw about twelve thousand men drawn up in battle array in the great court of the palace§. The Emperor's head was then covered with a piece of muslin.

* This must be a large pile of building, contrary to what we are told by some writers, who affirm that there are none of any considerable extent in Abyssinia. These travellers relate, that the monarch in question generally keeps, as was before observed, his court in a camp, which is disposed in the form of streets. As he is ever attended by his nobles, officers, tradesmen, &c., this camp never fails of being well supplied with provisions, &c. But most writers affirm that the buildings in Abyssinia are very mean, being so many huts made only of clay and little pieces of wood; that the Abyssinians, when the Europeans first came among them about two centuries ago, had neither palaces, churches, nor walled towns: however, that the missionaries afterwards taught them to build these, but that very few of them are standing at this time.

† It is related that the largest emeralds in the world come from this country.

‡ The French seldom or never fail to exalt their own monarch, on all occasions, and in all places.

§ We are told that the Abyssinian monarch is crowned in one of the chief churches with a sort of coronet, enriched with glittering stones, and which their metropolitan places on his head, before his nobles and clergy; and that anthems are sung, and guns fired on those occasions.

streaked with gold threads, which formed a kind of crown after the manner of the antients, having the middle part of his head bare, and he wore a vest of blue velvet, adorned with gold flowers, which reached to the ground: his shoes were after the Indian fashion, wrought with pearls in flowers. Two princes of the blood in splendid dresses waited for him at the gate of the palace, holding a magnificent canopy, under which the Emperor walked, preceded by his trumpets, kettle-drums, fifes, harps, hautboys, and other instruments, which formed an agreeable symphony. He was followed by the seven chief ministers of the empire, who held each other by the arm, their heads being covered much after the same manner with that of the Emperor, with every one a lance in his hand. The minister who walked in the middle was bare-headed, and carried the imperial crown, which leaned against his stomach, and seemed to give him pain. This crown, which is close, and adorned at the top with a cross of jewels, is vastly magnificent. I marched in the same rank with the ministers, in a Turkish dress, and led by an officer whose arm was under mine: the crown officers, all holding by one another in the same manner, followed, singing alternately in praise of the Emperor. The musketeers dressed in close-bodied vests of different colours came afterwards, and were followed by archers armed with bows and arrows. The march was closed by the Emperor's led horses, in splendid trappings, and covered with very rich gold stuffs which reached to the ground, and over these were very beautiful tiger-skins.

The patriarch, cloathed in his pontifical vestments wrought with gold crosses, stood at the chapel door, accompanied by near an hundred friars dressed in white: they were drawn up in two lines, each holding an iron cross, some being within and others without the chapel. The patriarch at his entrance into the chapel called *Tensa Christos*, or the Church of the Resurrection, took the Emperor by the right hand, and led him near to the altar through two lines of friars, each of whom held a lighted torch. The canopy was carried over the Emperor till such time as he came to his desk, which was covered with a rich carpet, and very like the desks of the Italian prelates. The Emperor stood almost the whole time till the receiving of the sacrament, which the patriarch administered to him under both kinds. The ceremonies of the mass* are beautiful and majestic; but I have not so distinct an idea of them as to be able to describe them in this place.

The ceremony being ended, two cannon were fired, in the same manner as at the entrance, and then the Emperor left the chapel, and returned to the palace in the same order he came to it. The minister who carried the crown gave it to the chief treasurer, who carried it to the treasury, attended by a company of fusiliers. The Emperor being entered the great hall of the palace, seated himself on a very high throne; having the two princes, his sons, on each side, and after them the ministers. With regard to myself, I was placed opposite to the monarch. All stood silent, and with their arms across. The Emperor, having taken some mead, and orange peel, which was presented to him in a golden cup; such as had any favour to sue for came in; when advancing to the foot of the throne, one of the ministers took their petitions, and read them aloud. The Emperor himself also read them sometimes, and immediately answered them.

* By this expression one would imagine that Dr. Poncet would have it supposed that the Ethiopians solemnize mass as the Roman Catholics: but according to the best authors, the religion of the Ethiopians seems to be a mixture of Christianity and Judaism, the former of the two coming nearer to the Greek church than that of the Latins; for it is said that they keep both the Jewish and Christian sabbath; that they use circumcision and baptism. It is generally agreed that they administer the sacrament in both kinds; and believe in the real presence, but not in transubstantiation.

The monarch dined that day in public, and in the most august manner practised on certain occasions. He sat on a sort of bed, and had a large table before him. There were several other lower ones for the lords of his court. The viands eat on these occasions are beef, mutton, and fowls. They are generally tossed up ragoo fashion; but are seasoned so strongly with pepper, and other spices unknown to us, that an European cannot relish them. They are served in China dishes, and singly. I saw no wild fowl, and was assured that the Ethiopians never eat any. I was surprised to observe raw beef set upon the Emperor's table. It is seasoned after a very particular manner. A piece of beef being cut into pieces, these are sprinkled with the gall of the ox, which is an excellent dissolvent, and they then are powdered with pepper and spices. This ragoo, which, according to them, is the most exquisite dish that can be tasted, was loathsome to my palate. The Emperor did not touch it, upon my assuring him that nothing would be more injurious to his health. There also is another way of seasoning raw meats. These people take, from the paunches of oxen, herbs which the beast had not yet digested. These they mix with the meat; and adding mustard, make a ragoo of the whole, which they call menta. This ragoo is still more unpalatable than the former.

As the table at which I was seated stood near that of the Emperor, he spoke to me often. His discourse generally turned on the person of our King, and the wonders of his reign. He told me he was charmed with the character which one of his ambassadors, at his return from India, gave of him; and that he considered our prince as the hero of Europe. All the dishes are tasted here as in France; an officer tasting of them severally as they are served up to the Emperor. That monarch first drank a little brandy, presented to him in a chrystal vessel; and mead during the whole entertainment. If he happens to commit any excess, it is hinted to him, on which occasion he rises from table that instant*.

The reader will probably wonder to hear, that in a country where there are such excellent grapes, mead only should be drunk. This surprised me at first; but I was told, that † wine made with grapes would not keep, on account of the violent heat; and as it corrupts so soon, the Emperor does not love it any more than the common people; whereas mead, which is universally liked, is made in manner following ‡. They take barley, make it sprout, and roast it in much the same manner as we do coffee, and then pound it. The same is done to a root called taddo, which grows in the country. They then take a vessel varnished over, when pouring in some water, and a fourth part honey, they mix them; and to ten pounds of this water, put two ounces of barley, and two ounces of taddo. The whole is mixed together, and being left to ferment three hours in a warm place, they stir it from time to time; and three days after this they have excellent mead, pure, clarified, and of the colour of Spanish white wine. This is a delightful liquor, but requires a more vigorous stomach than mine. It is strong; and the Abyssinians draw a brandy from it, which is as good as ours.

After the entertainment, the Empress came and paid a visit to the Emperor. She was covered with jewels, and her whole dress was magnificent. This princess is of a white complexion, and her air and gait declare her dignity. The moment she ap-

* What European monarch would permit this?

† It is nevertheless said by some travellers, that no present is more agreeable from an European to the Abyssinian monarch than some bottles of our wine.

‡ One great reason very possibly why mead or metheglin is drunk so much in this country is, because it abounds very much in honey. It is likewise said that they have liquors made of wheat and rice.

peared, the whole court withdrew out of respect; but the Emperor bid me and the friar, who served as interpreter, stay. The Empress consulted me about certain inconveniences she complained of; and afterwards asked whether the French ladies are well shaped; she likewise enquired about their dress, and what were their most usual employments*.

The palace is large and spacious, and delightfully situated. It stands in the centre of the city, on an eminence which surveys the whole country. It is about a league round†. The walls are of free-stone, flanked with towers, on which are raised great stone-crosses. There are four imperial chapels within the palace; and these are called Bait Christian, as are other churches of the empire, that is, Houses of the Christians. An hundred friars officiate in them; and these friars have likewise the direction of a college, where the officers of the palace are taught to read the Scriptures.

The Princess Helcia, sister to the Emperor, has a magnificent palace in the city of Gondar. As the princesses in Ethiopia are not allowed to marry foreigners, one of the chief lords of the Empire is her husband. She goes thrice a week to the palace to visit the Emperor, her brother, who has the greatest esteem and friendship for her. Whenever that lady appears in public, she is mounted on a mule richly caparisoned; with two of her women (one on each side) carrying a canopy. She is surrounded by four or five hundred women singing verses in her praise; and sounding tabors in a very sprightly tone. Some of the houses in Gondar are built after the European manner; but most of them are in the form of a cone‡.

Although the city of Gondar is three or four leagues in circumference, it yet has not the beautiful air of our cities, nor can ever have it, because the houses are but of one story, and there are no shops; notwithstanding which a great trade is carried on here§. All the merchants or tradesmen meet in a vastly large open place, to transact their business, and there the several commodities are exposed to sale. The market lasts from morning till night, and commodities of every kind are sold in it. Every trader has a place fit for his purpose, where the goods he sells are spread on a mat. The monies current in this country are || gold and salt. Gold is not coined with the prince's image, as in Europe, but continues in ingots, which the traders cut, as they have occasion, from an ounce to half a dram, worth thirty pence of our money; and to prevent its being debased, there are goldsmiths every where, who make an assay of it. Rock-salt (exceedingly white and hard) is used as the small money. It is taken out of the mountain Lafta, whence it is carried into the Emperor's warehouses, and there cut into large flat pieces ¶ called amooli, and into half pieces called coorman. Every amooli is a foot long, and three inches thick. Ten of these amooli are worth

* If our traveller gave the Empress a genuine account of the manner in which the French ladies pass their time, it must have appeared extremely odd to her.

† According to most relations of Abyssinia, one would not have imagined that there had been any building of the vast dimensions of this palace; nor that there were any cities in this country as large as our traveller afterwards declares Gondar to be. It is usually said that the houses of the common people are only little huts of green boughs and clay. When relations of the same thing or place are directly opposite, a thinking man is naturally apt to be a sceptic on those occasions.

‡ The French is, *à un entonnoir renversé*, i. e. to a funnel standing on the broad end.

§ The chief trade of the Abyssinians is, they barter gold, emeralds, and fine-horses, for silks, stuffs, calicoes, linen, and carpets. Very few Abyssinians travel into other countries, so that their trade is managed by Arabians, Jews, or Armenians. The Turks will not let them traffic with any other nation but themselves; and on this account maintain a strict guard upon the Red Sea, to keep out every other people.

|| It is said there are vast quantities of gold in this empire, though there are no gold mines wrought.

¶ The original says, *On le forme en tablettes*, which signifies literally, in the shape of lozenges.

three French crowns. They are broke according as the payment is greater or less; and this salt is employed not only as money, but likewise for domestic uses.

There are about an hundred churches in the city of Gondar. The patriarch, who is the head in religious matters*, and resides in a noble palace near the patriarchal church, is subordinate to the patriarch of Alexandria, who consecrates him. He nominates the several superiors of the monasteries, and has an absolute power over all the monks†, who are very numerous; there being no other priests in Ethiopia except these, as there are no other bishops but the patriarch. The Emperor pays the latter the highest regard. He ordered me to visit him; and gave me some curiosities to present him with. This prelate, whose name is Abonā Marcos, received me very civilly; when putting a stole about my neck, and holding an enamelled cross in his hand, he repeated certain prayers over my head, as a declaration that he would consider me, from this time, as one of his flock and of his sons. The priests have a great ascendant over the people, but they sometimes make an ill use of it. The Emperor Atec Basilee, grandfather to the monarch who now sways the sceptre so gloriously, caused seven thousand of them to be thrown headlong from the mountain of Balbo, for rebelling against him. The reader may form a judgment of the vast multitude there are in this empire, from what I was one day told by the predecessor of the present patriarch, viz. that he had made, in one ordination, ten thousand priests and six thousand deacons. The whole ceremony of ordination consists in this: the patriarch, being seated, reads the beginning of St. John's gospel over the heads of such as are to be ordained priests; and gives them his blessing with an iron cross ‡ weighing seven or eight pounds, which he holds in his hand. As to the deacons, he only gives them his blessing without reading the gospel.

The predecessor of the present patriarch, who had been the Emperor's tutor or governor, died, during my abode, in the city of Gondar. Though he had been removed on account of his irregular life, nevertheless the monarch, out of gratitude for the excellent education he had received from his preceptor, had always shewn him a particular affection. He fell sick at Tanket, a country seat of his. The Emperor commanded me to visit him, and desired me to preserve the life of a man who was dear to him. I accordingly staid two days with him, to enquire into his distemper; when finding it would be impossible for him to recover, I did not administer a single dose of physic, lest I should lose my reputation among an ignorant people, who possibly would have reported that I had killed him; he dying two days after.

At my return, I met with the most extraordinary accident that ever befel me. I was coming from Gondar, attended by my servants, mounted on a mule; that beast being generally used in this country for travelling. The mule took fright on a sudden, and run away with the utmost fury, though I did all that lay in my power to stop him. I crossed with dreadful swiftness three vastly deep precipices, without receiving the least hurt. I seemed, by a particular protection of heaven, as fastened to the beast, who rather flew than ran. Moorat, whom the Emperor has sent ambassador to France,

* According to the most approved travellers, the Emperor is head in spirituals as well as in temporals.

† These monks do not dwell in cloisters, but live in separate huts, a great number of which are raised near some church, where every monk officiates in his turn; and each of these villages, if I may so term them, of huts, is subject to an abbot. These monks till the ground, and support themselves by their labour, which cannot be said of many of those among the Roman Catholics. The Abyssinian monks are not allowed to marry, which possibly must be understood only of such as are in presbyter's, or priest's orders, it being said that sub-presbyters, deacons, and sub-deacons may marry once.

‡ The clergy always have a cross in their hands, which all who meet them kiss. They have no images in their churches, but many pictures.

and is now in Grand Cairo, where he waits for his orders, as well as all my servants, were eye-witnesses to this surprizing accident, which ~~father~~ Brevedent foretold me a little before he died *.

The Emperor seemed inconsolable on account of the old patriarch's death. He went into mourning six weeks ; and, during the first fortnight, bewailed him twice a day. A purple dress is used (by princes) for mourning in Ethiopia, as in France.

The Ethiopians hate the Mohammedans and Europeans much alike, the occasion of which is as follows : The Mohammedans rising to great power in Ethiopia, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, seized upon the government ; but the Abyssinians abhorring their severe and odious yoke, called to their assistance the Portuguese, who, at that time, were famous in India, where they were just settled. These new conquerors were extremely well pleased to have free access to Ethiopia. Accordingly they marched against the Mohammedans, fought, defeated them entirely, and restored the imperial family to the throne. The important service the Portuguese did on this occasion, made them considerable in the court of Ethiopia, for which reason many of them settled there, and were honoured with the chief employments. Their numbers increasing, their manners became depraved ; and they at last grew so insolent that the Ethiopians were fired with jealousy, imagined that they designed to seize on their country, and make it dependant on the crown of Portugal. This suspicion animated the common people, even to fury, against the Portuguese ; upon which they immediately took up arms every where, and made a dreadful havoc of those foreigners, at a time when they fancied themselves most strongly settled in the empire. Those who escaped the massacre obtained leave to quit the country. Accordingly seven thousand Portuguese families left it, and settled either in India, or on the coasts of Africa. However, some staid in the country ; and from these families sprang the white Ethiopians who are still seen there ; and from whom, we are told, the present Empress, mentioned above, is descended. Mohammedans are permitted to inhabit the city of Gondar, but only in the lower part of it, and in a district by themselves. They are called gibertis, that is, slaves. The Ethiopians cannot bear to eat with them ; they would not even touch any meat that had been killed by a Mohammedan, nor drink out of a cup which had touched his lips, unless a friar had first blessed it, by making the sign of the cross ; repeating prayers ; and blowing thrice over the cup, as though to drive the evil spirit from it. Whenever an Ethiopian meets a Mohammedan in the streets, he salutes him with his left hand, which is a mark of contempt.

The empire of Ethiopia is of a vast extent †, and consists of several kingdoms. That of Tigrä, the viceroy whercof, named Gorekos, presides over twenty-four principalities, which are so many little governments. The kingdom of Ago ‡ is one of the Emperor's new conquests, and was formerly a commonwealth, having its own laws and government. The Emperor of Ethiopia has always two armies on foot ; one on the frontiers of the kingdom of Nerosä, and the other on the frontiers of the kingdom of Goyäm, where the richest gold mines are found §. All the ore brought

* I am sorry to find these weaknesses in our traveller.

† Travellers whose veracity is most esteemed relate, that the empire of Abyssinia is not above a thousand miles in circumference. Writers differ very much in their accounts of the extent of this empire, one reason of which may be, that some parts of it may have been subdued and dismembered.

‡ Agau.

§ I had observed before, that most travellers affirm that no gold mines are wrought here.

from these mines is carried to Gondar, where it is refined and cast into ingots, which are deposited in the imperial treasury, whence they are never taken out, except to pay the troops and defray the expences of the court *.

The great power of the Emperor consists in this, that he is absolute master of whatever his subjects possess; he taking away, or bestowing at pleasure. Whenever the father of a family dies, the monarch seizes all his real estate, two-thirds of which he leaves to his children or his heirs. He bestows the remaining third to another person, who hereby becomes his feudatory, and is obliged to serve in the wars at his own expence, and to furnish soldiers in proportion to the estate he bestows upon him. By that means the Abyssinian monarch, who has a numberless multitude of these feudatories, can raise powerful armies in a short time, and at a small expence.

In every province is a comptroller's office, where an exact register is kept of all possessions that revert to the imperial domain, by the death of the possessor, and which are afterwards bestowed on feudatories. The manner in which persons are invested with these fiefs or possessions are as follow: The monarch sends to the person whom he has appointed his feudatory, a slip or piece of taffety, on which the following words are writ in gold letters, *Jesus, Emperor of Ethiopia, of the Tribe of Juda, ever victorious over his enemies* †. The officer who carries this order from the Emperor, fixes the piece of silk, with ceremony, on the forehead of the new feudatory; and afterwards goes, attended by trumpets, kettle-drums, and other instruments, and some horsemen, and puts him in possession of the new estate.

The Emperor's ancestors used to appear in public on stated days, but the present monarch has freed himself from that servitude; he going abroad whenever he thinks proper, either with or without splendor. When he comes forth in ceremony, he is mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, surrounded by a great body of horse, and preceded and followed by a guard of two thousand men. As the sun is so intensely hot in Ethiopia, that it flays the skin off the face, unless the utmost care be taken; to prevent this, the Emperor has a piece of thick paper, of the pasteboard kind, which being bent in a semi-circular form, and covered with a rich gold stuff, is fixed under his chin. This he does that he may not be troubled with an umbrella, but be cooled by the air both before and behind. The most usual diversion of this monarch is to exercise his troops, and shoot with a musket, in which he is so expert, that he is thought to be the best marksmen in all his empire.

The rains continue six months in Ethiopia, they beginning in April, and not ceasing till the end of September. During the first three months, the weather is serene and beautiful in the day-time; but the instant the sun sets, it falls a raining, and continues to do so until sun-rise, on which occasions there are commonly thunder and lightning. The cause of the overflowing of the Nile, which happens regularly every year in Egypt, has long been sought, and falsely ascribed to the melting of the snows, I being of opinion that no snow was ever seen in that country. We need search for no other cause of this inundation, than those rains which fall with so much violence, that they

* According to Dr. Poncet, the Abyssinian monarch is very powerful; but others relate, that the Turks have quite clipped his wings. This was owing to the civil war which the Ethiopians carried on against him, which the Turks taking advantage of, seized on all his territories lying on the Red Sea, and by that means prevented his having the least intercourse with any nation but themselves.

† It is said that every Emperor, at his accession, assumes a particular name, or rather motto, as the Beloved of God, Son of the Pillar of Zion, of the Seed of Jacob, of the Posterity of David and Solomon; they having a tradition, that they are descended, by the Queen of Sheba, from Solomon.

seem to form a deluge *. The rivers then swell in an extraordinary manner, and, with their impetuosity, carry along gold much purer than that taken out of the mines. The peasants gather it up very carefully. There is scarce any country more populous, or more fruitful, than Ethiopia. All the plains, and even the mountains, of which there are a great number, are cultivated. We see entire plains covered with cardamum † and ginger, which diffuses a very agreeable fragrantcy; and the plant which produces it is four times the size of that of India. The multitude of large rivers which water Ethiopia, whose banks are always embellished with lillies, junquils, tulips, and a vast variety of other flowers which I never saw in Europe, make this country a perfect paradise. The forests are filled with orange and lemon trees, jasnin, pomegranate, and several other trees filled with flowers of exquisite beauty, and these shed delicious odours. We here find a tree which produces a sort of roses much more fragrant than ours.

I saw an animal of an extraordinary species in this country. It is not much larger than a cat, but has the face of a man, and a white beard ‡. Its voice is like that of a person's bewailing himself. This animal keeps always upon a tree; and, as I was assured, is brought forth and dies upon it. It is so very wild that there is no taming it. If a man catches one of them, and endeavours to preserve it, though he takes ever so much pains, the creature wastes, and quite pines with melancholy until it dies. One of them was taken down before me: the creature, fixing itself to the bough of a tree, by entwining its legs one within the other, died some days after.

As soon as the rainy season is over, the Emperor usually takes the field. He makes war on the Kings of Galla and Shangalla§, who are his most powerful enemies. These princes, who were formerly tributaries to the Abyssinian empire, observing its weakness, took that opportunity to shake off the yoke, and live independent. But the present Emperor commanded them to stand to their former engagements, which they refusing, he proclaimed war against them. He defeated them in several battles, which has intimidated those nations to such a degree, that the moment the Ethiopian army appears in the field, the others retire upon inaccessible mountains, and there sell their lives very dear whenever they are attacked. This war was, at first, very bloody, a great number of brave men being cut to pieces daily, occasioned by the soldiers poisoning their arms with the juice of a fruit very much resembling our red gooseberries; so that whenever any person had the ill fortune to be wounded, he was a dead man. The Ethiopians, grieved at the numerous losses they sustained, found, not long since, an infallible antidote against this violent poison, by making a poultice of sand, which they beat up with their urine. This poultice being applied to the wound, draws forth the venom so successfully, that the wounded person is cured in a few days ||.

* The ablest geographers and travellers seem to be of this opinion; they relating, that the waters of the Nile are very muddy and thick, particularly when swelled by the violent rains which fall between the tropics in the summer season. These waters falling into the low lands, leave a prolific mud, which renders the several countries where they lie very fruitful. All rivers between the tropics swell and fertilize the lands in this manner. We are not certain that the true heads or fountains of the Nile are yet discovered, which, according to some, rise in woods, impervious to the sun-beams.

† A medicinal and very aromatic spice, contained in husks or shells brought from India and Arabia. There are three kinds of it. Cardomum is warm and dry; it is said to strengthen the vitals, dispel wind, and aid digestion.

‡ I suppose it is of the monkey kind.

§ I do not know whether this is the country called Shan Kala, or that called Sangara in our maps.

|| Some think, that the several particulars related concerning poisoned arrows are all a fiction; as likewise what we are told concerning poisons which destroy persons in a certain term of years.

The Emperor, before he takes the field, causes the day of his march to be proclaimed; and orders his tent to be pitched in a wide plain within sight of the city of Gondar. The tents are all magnificent. That of the Emperor is of red velvet embroidered with gold. Three days after, this monarch orders his two large silver kettle-drums to be carried through the whole city; mounts on horseback, and goes to Arrington, the rendezvous of the whole army. The Emperor spends three days in reviewing them, after which they enter upon action, which does not last above three months. His armies are so numerous, that I was assured that which the Emperor commanded in 1699, consisted of four or five hundred thousand men*.

The palace of Arrington is as magnificent as that of Gondar, which is almost uninhabited when the monarch is absent from it. However, four or five thousand men are left about it, to guard the crown which is deposited there. This garrison is commanded by one of the chief ministers, who is not permitted to stir once out of the palace. My ill health prevented my following the Emperor to the army. He returned from it some days before Christmas-day, which he solemnized, in his capital city, ten days later than we; neither the Ethiopians, nor the Christians of the East, having reformed their calendar, Epiphany is, in Ethiopia, one of the most solemn festivals, and is call'd Gottas, or the day of washing; the natives bathing themselves that day in commemoration of our Saviour's baptism. The Emperor, attended by his whole court, goes to Kaa, a palace near Gondar, where is a magnificent basin of water, which is employed for that pious ceremony. On solemn festivals, of which there are a great number in Ethiopia, the Emperor causes an ox to be given to each of his officers, and he sometimes bestows two thousand oxen for that purpose.

The Europeans have long been in an error in respect to the colour of the Ethiopians, which is owing to their confounding them with the blacks of Nubia, their neighbours. The natural hue of the Abyssinians is a brown, olive colour†. Their stature is tall and majestic, the features of their faces are well expressed; and they have fine large eyes, a handsome nose, thin lips, and white teeth; whereas the people of Sennar and Nubia have flat noses, thick lips, and very black faces‡.

The dress of persons of quality is a vest of silk or fine cotton, with a kind of scarf. Tradespeople are dressed after the same manner, but with this difference, that they wear no silk, and the cotton cloth they use is coarser. With regard to the common people, they wear only cotton drawers, and a scarf, which covers the rest of the body§. The manner of saluting in Ethiopia is very particular; they take one another by their right hands, and carry it mutually to their respective mouths. They also wind the scarf of the person whom they salute round him, by which means

* Either our traveller was imposed upon, or some other writers who treat of Ethiopia are mistaken; unless as I observed above, that the then Emperor should have aggrandized his power far beyond that of many of his predecessors. However, as the common people are his slaves, and every person of distinction is obliged to bring up his younger son, in order for him to serve under the Emperor in the field, this monarch may possibly be able to raise a prodigious army.

† Yet all travellers I have met with, declare them to be of a deep black colour. The rest of the description answers very well to what I have read. They are farther said to be extremely lively, to be of a very tractable disposition; and that they might make great progress in knowledge, had they opportunities for improving themselves in it.

‡ It is surprising, that the Abyssinians should be only tawny, and their neighbours of so black a hue; unless the situation of Abyssinia, or some other circumstance, should cause this alteration.

§ Some travellers relate, that the poor people have only a small piece of skin or coarse stuff wrapped round their loins; in short, that they go almost naked.

such as wear no vests, remain half naked when any person compliments him in this manner.

The Emperor's name is Jesus. Though he be but forty-one, he has many children; eight princes, and three princesses. The Emperor is possessed of great qualities; he being of a lively and sagacious genius, of an affable and sweet temper, and is a hero in stature. I did not see any man in all Ethiopia so finely shaped as himself. He delights in the polite arts and the sciences, but his favourite passion is war. He is ever brave and intrepid in battle, and always at the head of his troops. He has an extraordinary love for justice, which he causes to be exactly administered to all his subjects; but as he does not delight in blood*, it is a pain to him to order any criminal for execution. Being thus possessed of such exalted qualities, he is equally the darling and terror of his subjects, who revere him to adoration. I have been told that a Christian is not permitted to shed the blood of another Christian, without the most cogent reasons for it; and therefore the Emperor insists upon having the most strict inquiries made before a criminal is condemned to die. The executions here are hanging or beheading†. Some are sentenced to forfeit their possessions, on which occasion all persons whatsoever are forbid, upon the most severe penalties, to assist, or even so much as to give them the least sustenance, whence these unhappy creatures wander up and down like wild beasts. As the Emperor is a prince of great humanity, he is easily prevailed upon to pardon them. It is surprising, that as the Ethiopians are so very active and hasty, we yet should scarce ever hear of a murder, or of any of those enormous crimes which strike the mind with horror, committed among them. Besides the regard that is paid to religion, I am persuaded that the strict justice which is administered, and the excellent polity found in this empire, contribute greatly to the integrity and innocence of the inhabitants.

I had carried with me into Ethiopia a chest of chemical medicines, the making of which took up six or seven years. The Emperor enquired very minutely into the manner of preparing these medicines, how they were administered, what effects they had, and the several diseases to which they were applied. Not contented with this account by word of mouth, he had it taken down in writing. But the circumstance which I admired most was his comprehending, and being exceedingly well pleased with the several physical reasons I gave him concerning all these matters. I informed him of the composition of a kind of bezoar stone, which I myself had always employed very successfully in curing intermitting fevers of every kind, as the Emperor and two of the princes, his children, experienced. He also would make me shew him the manner in which oils are extracted chemically.

For this purpose he sent me to Tzemba, a monastery situated on the river Reb, half a league from Gondar. The abbot, who is revered by the Emperor, on account of his great probity and virtue, received me with the utmost civility. He is a venerable sage of ninety, and one of the most learned men in the whole empire. I set up my utensils there, and made all the necessary preparations. The Emperor came to us

* As Dr. Poncet had said above, that the favourite passion of this monarch is war, it is not very consistent to observe afterwards, that he does not delight in blood. Dr. Poncet's character of this Emperor seems all in the strain of paregryic.

† It is also said, that criminals are often stoned or beat to death with clubs, murderers excepted, who may be either killed, tortured, or made slaves of, as the friends of the murdered person think proper. Persons of quality are only banished. Adulterers are put to death; but thieves are only whipped, and obliged to make restitution. It is also related, that there are no lawyers in this country, the parties pleading their own causes.

incognito. I made many experiments before him, as well as communicated several secrets, which he attended to with surprising curiosity. I think it incumbent on me to advise all persons who would carry medicines into Ethiopia, to take none but those of a chemical kind, because electuaries and syrups are apt to corrupt under the line; whereas chemical oils and spirits may be easily conveyed without losing their virtue, heat not having the least effect on them.

As I staid three weeks with the monarch at Tzemba, he, being of a very inquisitive turn of mind, as was before observed, frequently discoursed with me upon the subject of religion; expressed a great desire to be made acquainted with our doctrine, and to be informed of those particulars wherein we differ from the religion of the Cophts*, which is professed in Ethiopia. I endeavoured to satisfy him to the best of my abilities; but confessed, that not having studied the abstruse points in divinity, I therefore had brought with me one of the ablest men both for mathematics and divinity in Europe. The Emperor then sighing, cried, I find that I have sustained a great loss. I will own that I was grievously afflicted when I called to mind that death had bereaved me of Father de Brevedent, my dear companion; because that monk, who was a person of great abilities, and a very insinuating address, would have embraced this favourable opportunity for converting this great Prince, and instructing him thoroughly in the principles of the Catholic church†.

One day when the abbot of the monastery, my interpreter, and I were together, the Emperor was very urgent with me to give my direct opinion with regard to the person of Christ. I answered, that we did not believe that Christ's human nature was absorbed and lost in his divine nature, in like manner as a drop of wine is absorbed and lost in the sea, as is the doctrine of the Cophts and Ethiopians, which the Emperor told me it was; but that our belief is, that the word, which is the second person in

* This is the name of a people, or rather of a sect of Christians of Egypt. They are great lovers of the cloistered life, and have many religious of both sexes. None can be admitted into a religious house without first obtaining leave from his bishop. These religious make a vow of perpetual chastity, bid an eternal adieu to their parents and possessions, and have no property in any thing. They live in deserts, and have no other cloathing but woollen garments; girding themselves with a piece of leather. They never touch meat, except in the most urgent necessity; and are even forced to deny themselves every kind of delicious food, and to abstain from all kinds of aliments, which are not absolutely necessary for the support of life. They pass their lives in prayer, in working, and in the study of the Scriptures. All of them, the superiors and sick excepted, sleep on mats spread on the ground. They are not allowed to pull off their cloaths to ungird themselves, nor two of them to sleep on the same mat, nor near one another. They are obliged to observe the canonical hours, and prostrate themselves every evening, an hundred and fifty times with their faces to the ground, extending their arms in form of a cross, keeping their fists clinched, and making the sign of the cross at every prostration. When they are not employed in hard work, they are allowed but one meal a day, and that in the evening. Other authors relate, that the religious Cophts of both sexes are of the dregs of the people. They subsist entirely on alms, lead a very severe and mortified life, and never eat any meat, except when on a journey. The convents of their women are properly hospitals, and most of these nuns are widows, whom their poverty brought into them. The Cophts are subject to a titular patriarch of Alexandria. They are divided into three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the plebeians. The nobles (if they may be so called) are only so many former generals in Egypt, under the Grand Seignior. These are very rich, but the rest of the Cophts are vastly poor, and both these orders of the laity are very ignorant. Some Romish writers have reduced the errors of the Cophts to six heads. They have sometimes united with the church of Rome, but never in earnest, and only when forced to it through necessity. The Coptic is the old language of the Egyptians, intermixed with Greek; and the characters of that language are like those of the Greek. The Cophts have not spoken their antient language these many years, that being found only in their books, the Arabic being the language of the country. There are versions of the Scriptures in Coptic.

† Dr Poncet talks in so religious a strain, that I should almost suspect that he himself was a friar, in the disguise of a physician.

the blessed Trinity, was really made man; so that this Man-God, whom we call Jesus Christ, had two natures; the divine, as being the Word and the second person of the blessed Trinity; and the human nature, in which he appeared truly as man, suffered really in his body, and voluntarily submitted to death, in order to save all mankind. When I had done speaking, the Emperor turned to the abbot, and, as I thought, discoursed with him concerning the particulars I had been treating of. They did not seem to express the least surprize; and it is my opinion, that they do not differ very much from the Catholic church in this article. From that time, the abbot expressed greater friendship for me than ever. During the stay which the Emperor made in Tzemba, one of his most usual diversions was to see his pages ride according to the rules of their Manege, at which they are very expert.

From Tzemba to the sources of the Nile, the distance is not above threescore French leagues. I intended to see those famous springs, concerning which so many particulars are told in Europe, and the Emperor was pleased to order a party of horse to attend me; but it was not possible for me to embrace this favourable opportunity, I being at that time grievously afflicted with a pain at my stomach, which I have felt for many years. I therefore desired Moorat, one of the Emperor's chief ministers, and uncle to the ambassador above mentioned, to give me some account of them. Moorat is a venerable old man, an hundred and four years of age, who, during upwards of threescore years, was employed in negotiations of the utmost importance at the Great Mogul's court, and those of the rest of the monarchs of India. The Emperor has so much regard for this minister, that he commonly calls him Baba Moorat, or Father Moorat. Here follows what he related to me concerning the sources of the Nile, which he had visited frequently, and enquired into with the utmost care.

In the kingdom of Goyame* is a very high mountain, at the top of which are two very large springs, the one to the east, and the other to the west. These two sources form two rivulets, which rush down with great impetuosity towards the middle of the mountain, upon a loose spongy earth, covered with rushes and reeds†. These waters appear

* It is called Gojam by some travellers, and by them reckoned as one of the nine provinces of the Abyssinian empire.

† The antients fixed the sources of the Nile in the mountains of the moon, in the tenth degree of southern latitude; but modern travellers place them about the twelfth degree of north latitude; and consequently, suppose its course to be about 300 leagues less than the antients. This river is said to rise at the foot of a great mountain in Gojam, and to issue from two fountains, or two eyes, as the natives call them, distant about 30 paces from each other, and each of the dimensions of one of our wells, or of a coach-wheel. Father Lobo, the Jesuit, who, it is said, discovered these sources about the beginning of the last century, relates, that the largest of these two sources being founded, they found a bottom at the depth of 16 or 17 feet; but that possibly the founding-line might meet in the way with the roots of briars, growing on the margins, which perhaps prevented its descending lower. The other being founded, they found 16 palms. The inhabitants, who are heathens, worship the greatest source, and sacrifice to it several oxen, the flesh of which they eat as holy, and throw the bones in a place appointed for that purpose. Herodotus mentioned the sacrifices of the oxen made at the sources of the Nile, upwards of two thousand years since. The natives about these sources are called Agaus, in the kingdom of Gojam, in twelve degrees of north latitude, and fifty-five of longitude. The sources are in a plain about three-fourths of a league round, and surrounded with mountains. After this, they fall into a small lake, next run under ground the distance of a musket-shot; then wind first north-east, and after flowing entirely eastward, enter the great lake of Dambea; and leaving this lake, they fall among rocks, which almost conceal this river from sight, whence it runs a very long way southward, afterwards turns westward, and at last runs back towards its source, which it leaves about ten leagues eastward. Thus it forms a peninsula, which possibly was that called by the antients, the island of Meroe, and by the moderns, the island Guegere. It then flows through the rest of Abyssinia, Nubia, and Egypt, most of whose cities are watered by it. I shall not take upon me to deter-

appear but ten or twelve leagues from thence, where uniting, they form the river Nile, which soon swells, by the addition of the waters of several other rivers, that empty themselves into it. A wonderful circumstance is, that the Nile runs through the middle of a lake, without blending its waters with it. This lake is so very large, that it is called Bahal Dêmbœa, or the sea of Dembea *. The country round it is enchantingly beautiful; on every side are seen towns, and delightful groves of laurel-trees: it is about an hundred leagues in length, and thirty-five or forty broad. The water of this stream is soft and agreeable, and much lighter than that of the Nile. About the middle of the lake is an island, wherein stands one of the Emperor's palaces, which, though not so large as that of Gondar, is yet equally beautiful and magnificent.

The Emperor went thither, and I had the honour of accompanying him. He himself got into a little boat, in which are three rowers, and the nephew of Moorat, with myself, followed him in another. These boats, which will not hold above six persons, are made of bulrush mats, joined together very neatly, but without pitch or tar. Though these bulrushes are joined extremely close, I yet cannot conceive how it is possible for the boats in question to keep out water.

We staid three days in that enchanting palace, where I made some chemical experiments, with which the Emperor was highly pleased. This palace is surrounded with walls; and there are two churches in it, under the care of certain friars who lead a conventual life. One of these churches is dedicated to St. Claudius, and gives the name to the island, which is about a league in circumference.

One day, whilst we were in this island, word was brought the Emperor that four hippopotamus's or river horses, appeared in the lake †. We had the pleasure to see them half an hour. They drove the water before them, and sprung forward to a great height. The skin of two of these animals was white, and that of the other two were red. Their heads resembled that of a horse, but their ears were shorter. I could not form a judgment of the rest of their bodies, I having seen them but confusedly. These hippopotami are amphibious creatures which come out of the water in order to graze upon the shore, whence they often carry off goats and sheep, and feed upon them. Their skins are highly valued, and shields are made of them, which are proof against a lance or musket-ball. The Ethiopians eat the flesh of those animals, which must certainly be unwholesome.

The way of taking them is as follows: whenever an Ethiopian spies one of them, he follows him with a drawn sabre, and cuts off his legs. The animal being by this means rendered unable to swim, makes to the shore, and there loses the rest of his blood. The Emperor ordered the cannon to be fired at these hippopotamus's; but as

mine, how much the above relation ought to be depended upon, for, whilst the Jesuits affirm that the Nile rises from two fountains, others affirm that it flows but from one, and that situated in a plain, twelve days journey from Gondar, the capital of Ethiopia. What is most to be depended upon, is the course of the Nile from its famous cataracts, the first of which is not far from the Lake Dambea.

* We find Dambea or Dembya in our maps. It is reckoned as one of the principalities or provinces of the Ethiopian empire. In our maps we find a great lake about Dembya, but it is there called Tzana Lake, and to the south of it, the head or fountains of the Nile are specified.

† Some say this animal is as large as the crocodile; that he will come out of the water, and go even upon the tops of mountains to graze; and that he is at perpetual war with the crocodile. Thevenot informs us, that he saw one in Egypt as large as a camel, and that its skin was almost musket-proof. This hippopotamus was brought to Cairo, where Thevenot saw it. Ludolf thinks this animal to be the behemoth mentioned in Job.

the marksmen were not quick enough, the animals plunged back into the water, and disappeared.

The Emperor went from the island of St. Claudius to Arrington, where there is a gar-
rison, as I before observed; and I myself went to Emfras, a league distant from Gondar.
The city of Emfras is not so large as Gondar, but more agreeable, more pleasingly
situated, and the houses are better built; they are all separated one from the other by
evergreen hedges, which are covered with fruits and flowers, and intermixed with
trees planted at an equal distance. Most of the towns in Ethiopia are in this form;
the Emperor's palace stands on an eminence which surveys the whole city.

Emfras is famous for the trade carried on there in slaves and civet. So prodigious
a number of civet-cats,* are brought here, that some traders have three hundred of
them. This animal (as its name imports) is a kind of cat, and is brought up with
great difficulty. It is fed thrice a week with raw beef, and the other days with a sort
of milk-pottage. The Ethiopians perfume this animal from time to time with odours,
and scrape or take off, once a week, an oily substance, which issues from its body with the
sweat. This excrement is called civet, from the name of the animal. This substance
is put up carefully into an ox's horn, which they stop very close.

I arrived at Emfras at the time of the vintage, which in Ethiopia is always in Fe-
bruary, and not in Autumn, as in Europe. I there saw bunches of grapes which
weighed upwards of eight pounds, the stones whereof were as big as large nuts; there are
some of all colours; the white grapes, though extremely well tasted, are not esteemed
by the Abyssinians; and asking the cause of it, I had reason to conjecture by the an-
swer, that it is because they are of the same colour with the Portuguese†. The
Abyssinian friars inspire the common people with so great an aversion for the Europeans,
who are white in comparison of them, that they cause them, to despise and even hate
every thing that resembles them in colour.

Emfras is the only city in Ethiopia where the Mohammedans are allowed the
public exercise of their religion, and where their houses are intermixed with those of
the Christians.

The Ethiopians have but one wife, but would be very glad were a plurality per-
mitted; and that some text in the gospel could be found to countenance such a practice.
Whilst I was at Tzembra with the Emperor, he asked my opinion about this matter. I
answered, that a plurality of wives was neither necessary to man, nor agreeable to God,
since he had created but one wife for Adam; and this was what our Lord hinted at,
when he told the Jews, that the only reason why Moses allowed them a plurality was
because of the hardness of their hearts; but that things had not been so from the

* According to some authors, this animal is about the size of a large polecat, and its eyes are said to
shine like those of a cat in the night. The colour predominant in this animal is black; it is very furious,
and will often break its teeth against the iron, when pent in a cage. Many think that the receptacle of
the civet is a bag below the anus; and that it does not arise from its sweat. Some imagine that it is the
hyæna mentioned by Aristotle, which was a smaller sort of hyæna; but others think the civet-cat was un-
known to the ancients. The author of *Spécacle de la Nature*, Vol. I. says that the civet-cat is peculiar to
America, and larger than the house cat; but some authors I have read, and particularly one, mentioned
below, relates that this animal is also found in Guinea. The name is said to be derived from *zibet* or
zebed, an Arabic word signifying froth, or foam, the liquid which comes from the civet-cat being frothy,
and is put into a sweat by being drove about in the cage in which it is confined, with a little stick. Mr.
John Atkins, of Plaistow, in Essex, a gentleman, I believe, of the greatest veracity, informs us in the note,
page 52, of his voyages, printed at London, 1735, "That the civet is about as large as a ram-cat, and
comes from Sherbro in Guinea; its head is like the fox's; the male only affords the perfume, at the rate
of three or four grains a day, gathered with a quill, out of a little eod or hole, near the intestinum rectum."

† This is whimsical enough.

beginning. The Abyssinian monks are vastly severe to such men as have above one, but the lay judges are much more indulgent.

The Ethiopians profess the Christian religion. They admit the holy scriptures and sacraments; they believe the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of our Saviour*; they invoke the saints as we (the Romanists) do; receive the communion under both kinds; and consecrate like the Greeks, with leavened bread; they keep four lents, as is the custom of the Easterns, viz. the great lent, which continues fifty days, that of St. Peter and St. Paul, which sometimes lasts forty days and sometimes less, as Easter falls higher or lower; that of our Lady's Assumption, which continues a fortnight, and that of Advent, which lasts three weeks. During these several lents the Abyssinians eat neither eggs, butter, nor cheese, and take no sustenance whilst the sun is up; but they eat and drink till midnight after it is set. Ethiopia not producing olives, the natives are obliged to make use of an oil they extract from a berry of that country: it is agreeable enough to the taste. They observe a no less rigorous fast every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year. They always pray before meals. The peasants an hour before sun-set leave their work to go to prayers, they never eating till after they have acquitted themselves of that duty. No person is dispensed from fasting, to which all persons, whether old or young, and even the sick, are equally engaged. Children are commonly brought to the communion when about ten years old, and from that time they are obliged to fast.

The declaration which they make of their sins is very imperfect, and is performed in manner following: they go and fall prostrate at the feet of the priest, who is seated, and there accuse themselves in general of being great sinners, and that they merit hell, without once specifying any of the particular sins they may have committed. After this declaration, the priest, holding the book of the gospels in his left hand, and the cross in his right, touches with the cross the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and hands of the penitent, repeating some prayers; he afterwards reads the gospel, makes several signs of the cross over him, enjoins him a certain penance, and dismisses him.

The Ethiopians appear with much greater modesty and awe in their churches than people generally do in Europe. They never enter them but bare-footed, for which reason the pavement of their churches is covered with carpets. No one is heard to speak, or blow his nose in them, or seen to turn his head. Every person who goes to church is obliged to put on clean linen, otherwise he would be refused admittance. When the Lord's Supper is administered, all persons, the priest and communicants excepted, withdraw; I know not whether this be done out of humility, as thinking themselves unworthy to partake of the divine mysteries.

Their churches are very neat, and adorned with pictures, but never with statues or images in relievo. Nevertheless the Emperor accepted of some crucifixes of that sort, which I had the honour to present him, as likewise several miniature paintings, which he kissed respectfully, and ordered them to be put into his closet. The paintings in miniature were images of saints, whose names he caused to be writ under them, in Ethiopic characters. It was on this occasion the Emperor told me, that we were all of the same religion, and differed only in the ceremonies. They perfume with incense almost continually during their masses and the office. Though they have no music books they yet chaunt in a just and agreeable manner, and musical instruments are sounded on these occasions. The friars rise twice in the night to sing psalms. The

* This is denied by the most approved writers on Abyssinia, as well as some other points mentioned by our traveller.

dress of their monks when out of church, is very like that of the seculars; and they are distinguished only by a yellow or purple leather cap wore on their heads. The diversity of colours distinguishes their orders. The friars in general are greatly esteemed in Ethiopia.

The Abyssinians borrowed circumcision from the Jews. A child is circumcised the seventh day after its birth; and is not baptized till afterwards, except it is in danger of dying, for then its baptism would not be deferred a moment. They do not consider circumcision as a sacrament, but merely as a ceremony, practised in imitation of our Saviour, who thought it requisite to be circumcised. I have been assured that the Popes of Rome had tolerated circumcision in Abyssinia, but with this restriction, that they were not to consider it as necessary to salvation*. I could add many other curious particulars.

Perceiving that my health decayed daily, I resolved to return to France, and to desire leave of the Emperor for that purpose. He seemed very uneasy when I told him my design, and therefore gave fresh orders to have the utmost care taken of me, he being afraid that I was dissatisfied. He offered me houses and lands, and even a very considerable establishment; but how desirous soever I might be to serve so gracious a prince, who possessed such exalted qualities; I observed to him, that ever since the grievous fit of sickness which had like to have been fatal to me at Barko, I could not recover my health, though I had tried the several powers of physic, and made use of all the precautions imaginable. That I found it would not be possible for me to recover unless I went into another climate; in short, except I returned to my native country. I declared that it was the greatest pain to me to think of leaving so gracious a King; but that I should certainly die if I continued any longer in Ethiopia. The Emperor then granted, though with the utmost reluctance, the favour I so earnestly requested; but upon this condition, that I should return to his court as soon as I had recovered my health; and in order to bind me by the most sacred of all engagements, he obliged me to swear upon the holy gospels that I would keep my word.

The esteem he entertained for our monarch, from the character I had drawn, as well as from the particulars others had told him, made the Emperor desirous of entering into an alliance with a prince whose reputation was so great in every part of the world†; and for that purpose to send an ambassador with credentials and presents. At first he

* With respect to the religion of the Abyssinians, this is what I find in the most approved writers. It was observed before that their religion is a mixture of Christianity and Judaism. Circumcision is performed by an old woman, but priests baptize. Infants are baptized by a gentle immersion and sprinkling with water, but adult persons are plunged thrice in some pond or river. They receive the sacraments under both kinds; and the liquor used on these occasions is made of the bruised stones of raisins, infused in water, which, after giving the bread, the deacon delivers to the communicant in a spoon. They likewise burn perfumes. All persons receive the sacrament once a month, or oftner if they think proper. They acknowledge the same books of scripture as we do. They admit the councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus. They use the Nicene Creed, but not that of the Apostles. They declare that the three persons in the Trinity are one God. They acknowledge but two sacraments, Baptism and the last Supper. They believe in the real presence, but not in transubstantiation. They say, that there are not two natures and two wills in Christ. Auricular confession is not practised by them. They believe the immortality of the soul, and that the souls of good men are not admitted into heaven till the resurrection. They invoke saints, angels, and the Virgin Mary. They observe Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and other Festivals; and fast the days of Lent, besides some others. The Emperor is, as was before observed, head both in spirituals and temporals. Their patriarch, who is consecrated by him of Alexandria, confers orders on their clergy, who are principally monks. The monarch, and the chief nobility take deacons orders. The people use lighted tapers at divine service. They always stand in their churches, which are kept very neat, and they never spit in them. During divine service they are allowed to lean on crutches.

† The reader may have observed, in the course of these several travels, that the French take all opportunities of exalting their country and their monarch.

pitched upon an abbot called Abona Gregorios* ; and, in that view, commanded me to teach him the Latin tongue. • As this friar was a person of very good sense, and spoke and wrote Arabic perfectly, he made, in a very short time, a very considerable progress in that language ; but as the Abyssinian monarchs employ foreigners in embassies, rather than natives, it was no difficult matter for Moorat to get his nephew appointed ambassador to France. The Emperor declared him publicly such ; and accordingly ordered his presents to be got ready, consisting in elephants, horses, Ethiopian children, &c.

As I was once waiting upon the Emperor, before he was fixed with regard to the choice of an ambassador, he sent for the princes, his children ; when directing himself to one of the youngest, who was about eight or nine years of age, he declared, that he had some thoughts of sending him into France, the finest country in the world †. The young prince answered, with a great deal of ready wit, that it would be the utmost pain to him to leave His Majesty ; however, that if he thought it proper for him to undertake this voyage, he was ready to obey his commands. The Emperor, directing himself afterwards to me, asked what treatment his son would meet with at the court of France ; to which I replied, that all those honours would be shewn him, which were due to the greatest and most powerful monarch in Africa. He is too young at present, said the Emperor ; and the voyage is too long and too hazardous ; but I perhaps may send him one of these days, when he is older, and more able to undergo the fatigues of such a voyage.

My departure being fixed, the Emperor admitted me to the audience of leave with the usual ceremonies. As soon as I came into his presence, the chief treasurer brought a bracelet of gold, and this the Emperor himself was pleased to fix round my arm, trumpets sounding and kettle-drums beating. The honour paid in Ethiopia on this occasion is equivalent to the order of knighthood in Europe. He afterwards presented me with the ceremonial mantle ; and as it was dinner time, he was so gracious as to bid me stay ; and made me dine at a table, which, though not so high as his own, stood very near it. The entertainment being ended, I took leave of the Emperor, who commanded the chief treasurer to furnish me with every thing I might want.

The 2d of May 1700 was fixed for my departure. An officer, with a guard of an hundred horse, was ordered to escort me to the frontiers of the empire, together with an interpreter who could speak the languages of the several provinces we were to pass through, every province having its peculiar tongue ‡. Several merchants who were going to Messua §, joined company with me, they being very desirous of embracing this opportunity of travelling with so much safety. Though Moorat ||, the ambassador, intreated me to set out as soon as possible, for fear of the rains, which began to fall every night ; he himself was not able to go so soon, being detained by the Emperor. We agreed upon Duvarna as the place of our rendezvous, in order that we might set out together. I was prodigiously affected at my taking leave of this monarch, who gave me all possible demonstrations of his affection, and seemed sorry to part with me. I can never think of that prince but with the deepest sense of the obligations I owe him ; and would my health have permitted I should have devoted myself entirely to him, and sacrificed the remainder of my days to his service. The chief noblemen of the court

* Our authors commonly write this word thus, Abbuna.

† Many of my readers will probably look upon this, and what follows, as a flourish.

‡ I suppose these are only so many dialects.

§ I imagine this is the island, in the Red Sea, called Matzuma in our maps, lying near the port of Erquico, which is that, as I suppose, our traveller elsewhere calls Arcouva.

|| Our traveller tells us a little above, that Moorat the minister, got his nephew appointed ambassador. This nephew must therefore have also been named Moorat, or our author must have committed a mistake.

did me the honour to accompany me two leagues, pursuant to the orders given them for that purpose.

We took the city of Emfras, which I mentioned before, in our way. The officer, our conductor, always arrived an hour before us at the place appointed for our quarters. He went and alighted either at the governor's house, or at that of the principal person of the village; and shewed him the orders of the court, written on a roll of parchment. This roll is put in a small gourd, which, being tied with silken strings, hangs about the officer's neck. The moment of his arrival, the chief persons of the town or place assemble before the governor's door, where, in their presence, he takes off his gourd, breaks it, and pulls out the little roll of parchment, called in their language, *Ati Heses*, or the Emperor's order. He afterwards presents it very respectfully to the governor; telling him, at the same time, that if he does not comply with the contents, he must answer it with his head. Every order, the disobedience to which is death, is writ in red letters. The governor, as a testimony of his respect and compliance, takes and lays it on his head; and afterwards issues a command, throughout his whole province, for defraying the expence of the officer and of all those in his retinue.

We employed one day in travelling from Gondar to Emfras, and were obliged to go over a high mountain, through very bad roads. On this mountain stands a large monastery, with a church dedicated to St. Anne. This place is famous, and pilgrims visit it from a great distance. In this monastery is a spring, the water of which is extremely clear and cool; and pilgrims drink of it out of devotion. They affirm that many miraculous cures are wrought by it, at the intercession of St. Anne, whom the Abyssinians consider as a great saint.

We arrived at Emfras the 3d of May, and took up our quarters in a fine house belonging to old Moorat, where I was entertained three days. In this city I heard a concert composed of a harp and a sort of violin which is very like ours. I also was at a kind of dramatic entertainment. The actors sing verses in honour of the person whom they are to divert, and play a thousand feats of activity. Some perform a grand dance to the sound of small kettle-drums; and being very nimble and light, they throw themselves into a thousand antic postures. Others holding a naked sabre in one hand, and a buckler in the other, represent combats in their dancing*; and leap in so surprising a manner, that no one but those who had been spectators on such occasions could think it possible. One of these dancers brought me a ring, and desiring me to hide it myself, or get some other person to hide it, said he would find it out. I took it, and hid it so cunningly that I thought it impossible for him ever to find out the place. However, I was surprised, a moment after, to see him come up, dancing in cadence, and whisper in my ear, that he had the ring, and consequently that I had not hid it artfully. Others held a lance in one hand, and a glass filled with mead in the other, and leaped to a prodigious height without spilling a drop.

From Emfras we went and lay at Coga, formerly the residence of the Emperors of Ethiopia. The city is small but delightfully situated, and the places round it are vastly agreeable. I took up my quarters at the house of the governor of the province, who paid me great honours, as did the rest of the governors and heads of villages, at whose houses I lodged in the way. At Coga, our conductor began to entrust the baggage with the lords of the several villages, who ordered them to be carried to the frontier, in the manner related above. I have not given a very accurate account of

* This seems to be something like the Pyrrhic dance of the ancients, said to be invented by Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, and performed by the dancers striking on the shields with their arms, to the sound of musical instruments.

the various places through which we travelled; I being at that time too weak and indisposed to take the notice I should otherwise have done.

We employed seven or eight days in crossing the province of Ogara, where the heats are less violent than in other places, which is owing to the many very high mountains in that neighbourhood. I was told, that ice is found on them at certain seasons of the year, but I dare not assert this for a truth. Some houses, on these mountains, are cut in the rock; and I was shewed a place, where certain young folks hiding themselves in order to carouze, were all petrified. Those who informed me of this particular, declared that these young debauchees are seen to this day in the several postures they were in when this sad accident happened. I am of opinion, that these are some of the petrifications in which nature is sometimes pleased to sport herself*. There are so great a number of houses in these mountains, that the whole seem one continued city, and they are built in an orbicular form. The roofs, which are in the figure of a cone, are made of bulrushes, and supported by walls raised about ten or twelve feet from the ground. The houses are very neat within, and adorned with Indian reeds artfully disposed. On all sides we see markets, where cattle and provisions of every kind are sold. The place in question is prodigiously populous.

* Our traveller's mentioning these petrifications, (which no doubt are fictitious,) puts me in mind of a relation published in one of our newspapers some years since (1), and which was greatly taken notice of at that time, as containing some amazing particulars. The article, as transcribed from that paper now before me, is as follows:

“ London.

“ Caffem Aga, the present envoy of Tripoli to His Britannic Majesty, having received an account of the discovery of a petrified town in Africa, where the inhabitants, cattle, trees, and every thing are turned into stone; it was given to the interpreter to His Majesty for the oriental languages (2), who has translated it from the Arabic of the Envoy's own hand-writing, into French, which in English is as follows:

“ Praise to God alone.

“ A friend of mine having desired me to tell him in writing, what I have heard concerning the petrified town, I shall give himself a relation thereof, as I had it from several persons, and particularly from one man of credit, who went on the spot, purposely to satisfy himself concerning the truth of it; and the account he gives is as follows.

“ That the town lies two days journey south from Ouguela, which is distant from Tripoli S. E. seventeen days march with the caravans. That when he came to the town, which is large and of an orbicular form, wherein are several spacious as well as narrow streets, full of shops, and defended by a very large and magnificent castle, he saw many petrified trees, in and about the town, most of them olives and palms, but all turned into stone of a blue or ash colour.

“ That the inhabitants are also petrified: The men whilst following their several occupations; some with fluffs or silks in their hands, others with bread. In short, all of them in some action; and the women with their infants at the breast; and others in strict embraces with men, all turned into stone. That he entered the castle by three different gates, but that there are more; and that he saw, in the castle, a man petrified, lying on a bed of stone, as were the very centinels standing at the gates, with their pikes and javelins in their hands.

“ That he also saw several sorts of animals, such as camels, oxen, horses, asses, sheep, and birds, all turned into stone of the colour above-mentioned.” This romantic story seems to be copied from a relation of M. le Maire, who travelled at the expence of Count de Toulouse, and is inserted in Lucas's *Voyages*, Tom. II. pag. 97. Amsterdam 1714, 12mo.

(1) In November, 1728.

(2) This was Mr. Dadichi, born in Aleppo, and educated at Paris; a gentleman famous for his uncommon skill in the eastern languages; in those of Greece and Rome; in the several polite modern ones, and in every part of literature; all which were set off by a very communicative disposition, of which I was so happy as to receive many testimonies.

This relation of the petrified town I myself translated into English, from the MS. given me by Mr. Dadichi. During my stay in Paris, the ingenious and learned M. de Bremond, a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, and of our Royal Society in London, and translator of our Philosophical Transactions into French, promised to favour me with a profert refutation (in MS.) of this Tripoline story: but he being afterwards extremely ill, I was obliged to leave France without it.

From

"of China" we entered into that of Siry, where the language of
the country was Chinese. Siry, the capital of the province, we
found very beautiful because of its fertility. It is
situated in boats, there being no bridge
across the river. I met with in all Abyssinia. We
were surrounded with springs, and interspersed
with fig trees, and jellamin trees. These trees are
very common here and flourish without the least culture or
assistance of man. With tulips, ranunculuses, pinks, lilies;
and many other sorts of flowers, and a thousand other sorts of flowers
which have such a stronger and more delicious fragrance,
than any European flower. The officer who conducted us,
staid in the city, and I was entertained a week at it. I began
to feel ill, and my stomach had in the office of my stomach grew
weak, and the company gave me an appetite, and had a good effect
on my health. In the country fear I received the visit which the
Emperor's order. He caused a
letter to be sent to the ambassador was to carry into France,
in which were the import of his orders inclosed in the small

The first we went into that of Adsoa †, the capital whereof is called
 Adsoa. This province is one of the seven chief ministers of
 the king, and he has his daughters in marriage on the son of
 the governor of each of our lesser government or principalities.
 The first day I arrived I made splendid treat to be set up in his palace.
 He lodged me in a very noble apartment, and entertained me fix-
 edly, as becometh his dignity and rank. This governor was the
 first to furnish me with all things necessary for my embarking
 here, and did so in the most obliging manner possible. Here I eat some
 of the wild king's flesh, which is thought a dainty in this country, and indeed
 it is so, and delicious. The wild Abyssinian even have no horns, and
 are as tame as France.

in all Ethiopia, and the imperial stable
 was ordered to protect the horses he was
 to send for the transfer of the several provinces of the Abyssinian Empire
 to the emperor who had wrote on the country. The provinces, as specified
 by the emperor, are 1. Agamestry. 2. Dambel. 3. Abes. 4. Gojam
 5. Wadish. The chief city in Ethiopia, as those authors, is called
 Gondar. It is called Gondar by our traveller, as the reader may have seen
 in the map of Ethiopia, or removed to Gondar of late years.



to take into France. These animals, which are full of fire, and of the size of those of Arabia, always carry their heads aloft. They are not shod; the Ethiopians never shoeing their horses, or any other beasts of burden.

From Saravi we arrived at last at Duvarna, the chief city of the kingdom of Tigras*. There are two governors in this province, but for what reason I know not, nor their several jurisdictions. They are called Barnagas, or Kings of the Sea, probably because of their being in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea.

Duvarna is divided into two cities, the upper and the lower, the latter of which is inhabited by the Mohammedans. All commodities that come into Ethiopia, by the Red Sea, pass through Duvarna. This city, which is about two leagues round, is, as it were, the general storehouse of all the commodities of India. All its houses are built of square stones, and the roofs are so many terraces. The river of Moraba, which flows at the foot of this city, empties itself into the Tekesel†. It is not broad, but vastly rapid, and cannot be crossed without danger. We were two months and a half in travelling from Gondar to this city, where I was to wait for Moorat.

Soon after my arrival an express came to the two governors with the sad news of the death of Prince Basilus, the Emperor's eldest son, and presumptive heir to the crown. This youth, who died at about nineteen years of age, was master of all the qualities that can distinguish a prince. Abstracted from his exterior graces, he possessed the several virtues that can adorn the human mind, he being a person of good sense, brave, just, and generous, which made him the delight of the whole court. He was smitten at a violent fever, at his return from a campaign made under the Emperor against the Galla, in which he had signalized himself; he pursuing the enemy with so much courage that eight fell by his hand. This prince had a tender regard for the people, whose parent he would have been, had Heaven indulged him a longer course of years, a proof of which he gave the night before his death. The monarch being come to pay him a visit, attended by the chief noblemen of the court, the prince said that he had but one request to make: it is this, sir, said he; comfort your subjects, who are grievously oppressed by the insatiable avarice of your ministers and governors. The Emperor was so affected with these words, that he could not forbear shedding tears; promising, at the same time, to look carefully into the matter. I was told this particular by the person who brought the news of his death to Duvarna, with the order for offering up prayers for the deceased prince, and weeping for him, as is the usual custom. The circumstances related concerning his virtues are worthy of everlasting remembrance. The Emperor happening to fall into an ambuscade of the enemy, the young prince rode with all imaginable speed to his assistance; rushed among the thickest of the foe; charged them on all sides; and behaved so gallantly, that he saved his father's life at the hazard of his own.

The Emperor, either out of policy or for diversion sake, sometimes disguises himself, and withdraws, with two or three confidants, so that none else know what is become of him. He once absented himself during two months, which made the prince, his son, prodigiously uneasy, it being supposed that the Emperor was dead.

Some of the most considerable noblemen of the court, who were very desirous of raising themselves, by flattering the ambition of the young prince, advised him to assume the helm of government, and to cause himself to be declared Emperor; observing it might naturally be feared, that in the then present posture of affairs, some of his brothers

* I find a province called Tigra, in Moll's maps. In all probability this is what is here called Tigras though it does not then seem to be near the Red Sea, as Dr. Poncet places it.

† The Tacaze, I suppose, as it is called in our maps.

might anticipate him, and stir up certain provinces. They promised, at the same time, to be faithful to him; and declared that they were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his sake.

The prince, who was extremely fond of his father, and inviolably attached to his interest, rejected with indignation the proposal made him by those venal courtiers; and declared that he would never ascend the throne till such time as he saw his father's body. The monarch returned some days after, and was informed by a faithful courtier, of the several pernicious counsels which had been given his son. As he is a very wise and discreet monarch, he made no stir upon this occasion; however, the flatterers disappeared, and have never been seen since. The presumptive heir to the crown has a principality annexed to his person. I travelled through this principality in my way to Duvarna. The city is called Heleni, and we there see a very noble monastery, and a most magnificent church. It is the finest and largest in all Ethiopia, and dedicated to St. Helena, which, probably, is the reason why the city is called Heleni. In the centre of the large square or court before the church, are three spires, in a pyramidal form, made of granite*, and covered with hieroglyphicks. Among these figures, I observed, on every face, a lock cut, which is something extraordinary, as the Ethiopians do not employ locks, nor so much as know the use of them. Though these spires have no pedestals, they seem as high as the obelisk, placed on its pedestal, before St. Peter's in Rome. This country is thought to have been that of the Queen of Sheba †; several villages in the jurisdiction of that principality being called Sabaim to this day. In the mountains is dug marble, no ways inferior to that of Europe; but a more considerable circumstance is, the people find a great deal of gold, even in ploughing the ground; and some pieces of gold, which I thought very pure, were brought me privately. The friars belonging to this church wear garments of yellow skins, of which their skull-caps are also made.

Upon the arrival of the courier which brought the sad news of Prince Basilus's death, the barnagas's caused it to be published, by sound of trumpet, in the several towns under their jurisdiction. All persons mourned, which is performed by shaving the head; and this is done by men, women, and children, throughout the whole empire. On the morrow the two governors, followed by the soldiery and a numberless multitude of people, went to the church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, where a solemn service was performed in commemoration of the deceased prince; after which they returned to the palace in the same order. The two barnagas's set down in a spacious hall, seating me between them; afterwards the officers and persons of distinction of both sexes placed themselves round the hall. Women with tabors, and men having none, placed themselves in the middle of the hall, and began to sing a sort of song in honour of the prince, and this in so very mournful a tone, that I could not forbear weeping. The ceremony lasted about an hour. Some, as a token of their grief, scratched their faces till the blood came, or burnt their temples with wax-tapers ‡. None but persons of quality were in this hall; the common people being in the courts, where they vented cries in so doleful a strain, as must have moved the most stony hearts. These ceremonies lasted three days, as is the usual custom.

I am to observe, that whenever an Ethiopian dies, dreadful cries are heard on every side. All the neighbours meet in the house of the deceased, and weep with the relations

* A kind of marble.

† It is said that the Abyssinian monarchs fancy themselves to be descended from Maqueda, (or Nizaule, according to Josephus) Queen of the South, or Sheba.

‡ This must be a very odd manner of expressing grief.

who come there for that purpose. The dead body is washed with peculiar ceremonies; and after being wrapped in a winding-sheet of new cotton, it is laid in a coffin standing in the middle of a hall, where wax-tapers are burning. They then redouble their wailings and tears, tabors sounding all the time. Some address themselves in prayer, to Heaven for the soul of the deceased; others repeat verses in his praise; tear their hair, scratch their faces, or burn their flesh with torches as an indication of their grief. This ceremony, which is prodigiously affecting, lasts till the friars come and take up the body. After singing certain psalms, and making the several perfumings with incense, they begin to walk, holding an iron cross in their right hand, and a prayer-book in their left. They themselves carry the body, and sing psalms all the way: the relations and friends of the deceased follow after, still continuing their lamentations, tabors beating all the way. All have their heads shaved, which is the indication of mourning, as I observed before. When they pass before any church, the procession halts: then they offer up certain prayers, and afterwards proceed forward till they come to the place of burial. Here they again begin the perfumings with incense; sing psalms for some time in a mournful tone, and lay the body in the ground. Persons of some consideration are buried in the churches, and the vulgar in common church-yards, where a great number of crosses are set up, much after the same manner as in the convents of the Carthusians. The company then return to the house of the deceased, where a feast is made. They meet there morning and evening, during three days, in order to weep; and all this time they take no sustenance except in that place. The three days being ended, they separate till the eighth day after the interment; and assemble in order to weep for two hours once a week, which custom they observe the whole year round; and this is their anniversary*.

When a prince, who is heir to the crown, or some other person of very great distinction dies, the Emperor does not concern himself, for three months, with public affairs, unless they are extremely urgent. As this monarch intended to send an ambassador into France, he commanded Moorat to come to him; gave him his orders and credential letters for the King; and after investing him with the ceremonial mantle, in a public audience, bid him set out. However, his journey was no ways fortunate, the horses which he was to present to our monarch dying on the road; and as Moorat was obliged to send to court for a fresh supply, this accident retarded our progress so much, that I resolved to go before to Matzuma† to give orders for our embarkation, and wait for him there.

The evening before my departure, the barnagae's, after sending away the forces which had conducted me as far as Duvarna, ordered an hundred foot soldiers, armed with lances, and headed by an officer on horseback, to be in readiness to march on the morrow, to guard me to Matzuma. I dismissed part of my servants, and kept only thirty. I set out from Duvarna the eighth of September 1700, and with great difficulty and danger crossed Moraba‡, a very rapid river.

From Duvarna the lords of the several villages do not cause their vassals to carry the baggage; but employ, for that purpose, certain oxen, called bers, which are of a

* All writers on Ethiopia that have fallen into my hands agree that the Abyssinians make great howlings at the death of their relations and friends; that the corpse, after being washed and perfumed, is wrapt in a cloth; and being carried on a bier by some of the clergy, (as is the custom among the Romanists) these read certain psalms over it, they having no express funeral service. It is farther said that the Abyssinians never wear collars; and that the relations and friends mourn some time in tattered garments.

† Messua in the original.

‡ I find a river called Mareb in Moll.

different kind from those called *frida* *, these being the common oxen. These beasts, whose flesh is not eaten, will go a prodigious way in a short time. I employed twenty, part of them carrying our most considerable provisions for the voyage, and the rest our tents; we, ever since the rainy season was ended, lying during the night, in the fields.

The inhabitants of this country, who are partly Mohammedans and partly Christians, bring provisions to the caravans which pass that way. Being told, that within a day's journey of our road stood a famous monastery; I was determined to go and see it, and for that purpose left the great road; taking with me twenty of the soldiers, with their commanding officer, for the greater security. We were above half a day in ascending a very steep mountain, which is quite covered with trees. Being got to the summit of it, we found a cross and the monastery sought after.

This religious house stands in the middle of a forest, in a dreadful solitude. It is well built, and has a very extensive view, we thence discovering the Red Sea, and a vast extent of country. In this monastery are an hundred friars, who lead a life of very great austerity, and are cloathed after the same manner with those of Helleni. Their cells are so very small, that a man can scarce lie down at full length in them. They, like the rest of the monks of Ethiopia, eat no flesh. They are perpetually fixed in contemplation on God and holy things, which is their whole employment. I there saw a man of about threescore and six years of age, who, during seven years, had subsisted on nothing but the leaves of the wild olive-tree, which extreme mortification made him spit blood in a violent manner. I gave him some physic, and prescribed a regimen not quite so severe as that he had hitherto observed. He was a very handsome, affable man, and brother to the governor of Tigra. The abbot of the monastery gave us a most affectionate reception. The instant we arrived, he washed and kissed our feet, during which the friars said certain prayers. This ceremony being ended, we proceeded, in procession, to the church, the friars still singing; and then we went into an apartment, where a repast was brought us, which was only bread dipped in butter, and some beer, neither wine nor mead being drunk in that convent; nor is any wine ever used except for the solemnizing mass. The abbot was always in our company, but did not eat with us.

Taking leave, on the morrow, of the abbot and friars, who did me the honour to accompany me a great way, I returned to our caravan, and pursued my journey, but did not meet with any thing remarkable in it. A week after our setting out from Duvarna, we arrived at Arcoova, a little town standing on the Red Sea, and which the geographers erroneously call Arequies†, where he staid but one night. On the morrow we crossed in a boat an arm of the sea, and went to Messua‡, a small island, or rather a barren rock, on which a fortress stands. It belongs to the Grand Signior, and is the residence of a bassa.

This fortress is a very trifling place, and might easily be taken by a man of war well manned. During my stay there an English ship came and cast anchor before it, which threw all the people of the island into the utmost consternation. They were going to quit it, when the captain of the ship put his long-boat ashore, to assure the commandant that he needed not be under any apprehension from the English, they being friends to the Grand Signior. The bassa of Messua appoints the governor of Suaquem§,

* Or Freeda.

† I suppose, as was before observed, this to be what is called Erquiko or Arquika in our maps

‡ Or Matzuma.

§ Saquem.

a town subject to the Turkish empire, and standing on the Red Sea. Here is the fishery for pearls and tortoises, of which a great trade is carried on; and this is a considerable addition to the Grand Signior's revenues. The bassa of Messua shewed me the highest civilities, at the recommendation of the Emperor of Ethiopia, who is much dreaded in that country, and with great reason, since the Abyssinians might easily seize upon that place *, which they formerly possessed, by starving it out, and refusing water to the inhabitants of Messua, who are forced to fetch all they want from Arcoova, there not being any in the island. .

During my stay at the Ethiopian court, I was told, that the Dutch had endeavoured more than once to trade with the Ethiopians; but whether it be owing to the difference of their religions, or that the mighty power which the Dutch have gained in India gave them umbrage, it is certain that the Ethiopians do not care to be concerned with them: and I have often heard them say, that they will never put any confidence in Christians who neither fast, invoke the saints, nor believe in transubstantiation †.

The English likewise are desirous of trading with the Ethiopians; and I myself know that one Agapyri, an Armenian merchant, had agreed to introduce them into this country, the trade of which would be advantageous to the English, since, besides gold, civet, elephants' teeth, &c. they might draw from Abyssinia aloes, myrrh, cassia, tamarinds, and coffee, which is not much esteemed by the Ethiopians. I was told that coffee was formerly transplanted from Abyssinia into Yeman, or Arabia Felix, which now supplies it; the Ethiopians in this age, never raising the plant which produces it, except merely out of curiosity.

The plant which produces coffee ‡, is very like the myrtle-shrub. Its leaves are always green, but larger, and more tufted. It bears a fruit like a pistachio-nut, having a husk containing two berries, and this is what we call coffee. This husk is green at first, but grows brown as it ripens. Coffee is not put into boiling water, to prevent its sprouting, as some have asserted; it being taken out of the husks, and sent away without any farther preparation.

I was uneasy at the ambassador Moorat's stay, being afraid of losing the opportunity of the monsoons. I therefore wrote word to inform him, that I was resolved to go to Gedda §, and wait for him in that town; to which he answered, I might do as I judged proper, and that he would endeavour to meet me there, in which he had been prevented by the death of Prince Basilus, and the many difficulties he had met with in the journey. I then dismissed all my servants, and rewarded them in so liberal a

* How much does this differ from what is declared by other writers, who tell us that the Grand Signior has quite curbed the power of the Abyssinian monarchs. Possibly this may be owing to the Jesuits, who, after they were drove from Abyssinia, endeavoured to make the Emperor of it appear inconsiderable to the Europeans.

† This very possibly may be only a flourish of our physician's, as the most approved writers on Ethiopia agree that the Abyssinians do not believe in transubstantiation; and disclaim most other points of the Popish doctrine, as purgatory, service in an unknown tongue, image-worship, auricular confession, extreme unction, celibacy of the clergy, &c.

‡ Coffee was first drunk in England in 1652. The coffee-shrub grows to about the height of eight or ten feet, and its bark is grey; the twigs rise by pairs, and the leaves on the twigs in the same manner; the leaves are about four inches long and two broad in the middle; they are shaped much like the bay-leaf; the fruit hangs to the twig, sometimes one, two, or more in the same place. The natives plant these shrubs in a rich soil, which is watered by artificial channels; and as, after three or four years, the shrubs begin to decline, new ones are planted. The berries are dried in the sun, and the outward husks are afterwards taken off by hand-mills, which husks, roasted, the Arabians use instead of coffee-berries. When the berries are roasted, the best way of keeping them is in some warm place, damps taking off the briskness of their flavour.

§ Siden, or Jedda.

manner, as could not but give them an esteem for the French nation. They all melted into tears, and would fain have followed me, but I did not think proper to take them any further. This being done, I took leave of the *bassa* of *Messua*; and, the 28th of October, went on board a bark built at *Surat*.

I did not care to trust myself in any of the ships of the country, they appearing to me crazy and very unsafe. The boards, though pitched over, are tied together only with ropes, that are far from strong, any more than the sails, which are only of mats made with the leaves of the *domi*. However, these vessels, though so badly equipped, and worse steered, carry a considerable lading; and though there are not above seven or eight men to manage them, they are of great service in every part of this sea.

Two days after our leaving *Messua*, we came to a little island called *Dehelec*. The ships which come from *India*, take in fresh water and provisions here, of which there is great abundance, except bread, the inhabitants themselves often wanting it, they subsisting usually on fish and flesh. We staid a week in this island, on account of the contrary winds; but the instant a favourable gale sprung up, we sailed to another island, called *Abugafar*, or *Father of Pardon*. The captain went ashore, and carried a torch to the sepulchre of this *Abugafar*. The *Mohammedans* would be afraid of being cast away, were they to omit this ceremony; and even frequently go out of their course to visit this pretended saint. We afterwards sailed, in the high sea, amidst shelves and banks of sand, of which there are great numbers, and almost upon a level with the top of the water, which makes the sailing this way very dangerous; but as the pilots are very well acquainted with them, they sail through them without being under the least apprehensions, though this part of the sea is filled with them. We arrived, the sixth day, at *Kotumbul*, a very high rock standing in the sea, within half a league of the continent of *Arabia*. We cast anchor between the bank and the land, and spent the night there. The next day we coasted along *Arabia*, and cast anchor before *Ibrahim Merfa*, or *Abraham's Anchoring-place*. We continued our course; and, after sailing a week, landed at *Consita**, a pretty town, subject to the King of *Mecca*, and the first sea-port in his dominions, southward. People are glad to go ashore here, they paying but one duty, whereas they are forced to pay two in other places. There are very fine warehouses in this city; and there the goods brought ashore are stored, after which they are sent by land on camels to *Judda*, which is five or six days journey from it. We lay at anchor a week before *Consita*, expecting a wind, and in order to rest ourselves. A great trade is carried on in this city, it being frequented by a vast number of *Mohammedan* merchants, *Arabians*, and *Indians*. Such *Indians* as are idolaters are not admitted into it. Provisions are more plentiful and cheaper here than at *Judda*, where we arrived the fifth of December 1700. From *Kotumbul* to *Judda*, we sailed only in the day-time, and cast anchor every night, for fear of the banks of sand.

Judda or *Siden* is a large city, on the sea-shore, within half a days journey from *Mecca*†. The port or rather the road, is safe enough, though the north-west wind blows into it. The bottom is pretty good in certain places, and there is depth of water enough for small ships, but ships of a large burden are obliged to keep within a league of it. I went ashore, and took up my quarters in an *Okel*‡, which is com-

* I do not meet with this name, or that of any of the islands above in our maps.

† It is the port town of *Mecca* where the pilgrims usually land, and it belongs to the *Grand Signior*. The country round it is very barren. The *Arabians* bring vast quantities of coffee hither.

‡ *Oquel*.

posed of four ranges of houses, three story high, with a court in the middle. The lowest story consists of warehouses, and the other stories are for travellers. There are no other inns in this country, nor in Turkey: and there are a considerable number of Okels in Judda. The instant a traveller is arrived, he enquires for rooms and warehouses that may suit him; paying, to the owner, a certain price, which is ever fixed. I gave four crowns a month for two rooms, a terrace, and a kitchen. These Okels are as so many asylums and consecrated places, where a traveller needs not fear being insulted or robbed. One great inconvenience is, the landlords never provide a single thing; so that a lodger is obliged to purchase his own furniture, and buy and dress all his own provisions, unless his servants do this.

Two days after my arrival in Judda, the King of Mecca * came thither with an army of twenty thousand men †. He caused his tents to be pitched, and encamped before the gate of the city which leads to Mecca. I saw him. He is about threescore; of a majestic stature, and has an aspect that strikes terror. The right side of his lower lip is divided. He is not applauded either by his subjects or his neighbours, for gentleness or clemency. He forced the bassa who commands in Judda, by order of the Grand Signior, to give him fifteen thousand gold crowns; threatening to divest him of his government, in case he did not comply instantly. He likewise oppressed all such merchants, subjects of the Grand Signior, as are settled there for carrying on their traffic, making them pay thirty thousand gold crowns. These two sums he distributed among his soldiers, who are ever very numerous, by which means he is ever master of the field. Caravans come yearly from India and Turkey, in pilgrimage to Mecca. Some of them are vastly rich; the merchants going in these caravans, for the convenience of transporting their Indian goods into Europe, and those of Europe into India. When these caravans arrive at Mecca, a great fair is held in it, to which resort a numberless multitude of Mohammedan merchants, who bring the most precious commodities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, which are there bartered. The King of Mecca plundered the caravans of India and Turkey in 1699, and 1700. This prince is called Xerif, or Supremely Noble ‡, because he pretends to be descended from the prophet Mohammed. The Grand Signior used, during a long course of years, to give the investiture of this kingdom; but the present Xerif, who is a very haughty prince, will not submit to his authority, but calls him, out of contempt, Elon Mamluc, or Son of a Slave.

Medina § is the chief city of his kingdom. It is famous for being the seat of Mohammed's tomb, as Mecca is for giving birth to him. The monarch does not reside much

* Mecca stands in a valley, almost surrounded with mountains. It is twice the bigness of Medina, and the houses, which are low, are built of brick. In the center of the town stands the Kaaba, or House of God, which the Mohammedans declare to have been built by Abraham. Here pilgrims perform their devotions, but are not allowed to enter the Kaaba. Though this city is so much revered by the Mohammedans, it yet has been several times besieged, plundered, and burnt.

† The inland parts of Arabia are subject to a great variety of petty princes who wander from place to place, and encamp wherever they find pasture, and water for their cattle. The boundaries of these petty princes can scarce be fixed; but those who govern near the sea coasts may be better ascertained. Such Arabians as inhabit towns, are very few in number compared to those who live in tents, and rove from place to place. The sovereign of Mecca is one of the most powerful princes in Arabia. His dominions, which extend along the shores of the Red Sea, are said to be two hundred and sixty leagues in length, and about fifty in breadth.

‡ This Xerif, and some others, are also called Emirs, both which are said to signify the sacerdotal and regal office, as, before them, (the Kâlif) among the Saracens.

§ The Arabians called it Médina Al-nabi, or City of the Prophet. It consists of about a thousand houses of brick and stone. There are many mosques in this city, the chief whereof is called the Most Holy. In a tower in this temple stands Mohammed's tomb, which it is said the pilgrims are not permitted

much in Medina, he being generally at the head of his armies. The Turks, upon their arrival at Medina, undress themselves out of respect, keeping on nothing but a scarf which covers the middle of their body; and travel in this geer, three or four leagues. Those who do not care to submit to this, pay a sum of money, in order to make a sacrifice to God in honour of Mohammed.

The Christians, and particularly the Franks, cannot settle in Judda because of the neighbourhood of Mecca, the Mohammedans never permitting them to do it. Nevertheless a great trade is carried on here; such ships as return from India casting anchor before it. The Grand Signior commonly keeps thirty large ships in these seas for the conveying of merchandize*. These ships have no cannon, though they are large enough to carry an hundred. All things are dear at Judda, not excepting water, because of the vast resort of such numbers of different nations; a pint of water, of Paris measure, costing two-pence or three-pence†, and that because it is brought four leagues. The walls of this town are very weak; the fortress which stands towards the sea, is a little better; but it could not be able to sustain a siege, though there are some pieces of cannon for its defence. Most of the houses are of stone; and the roofs are so many terrasses, after the manner of the Easterns.

There was shewn me, on the sea-shore, within two musket-shot of the city, a sepulchre which my guides declared to be that of Eve. The country round Judda is quite disagreeable; nothing being seen but barren rocks, and uncultivated places full of sand. I would gladly have visited Mecca, but no Christian is permitted to go thither upon pain of death. There is no river between Judda and Mecca, as some have falsely asserted; there being only a spring whence the water drank in Judda is drawn.

After staying a month in this town, I received advice that it would be some time before Moorat the ambassador arrived in it; and also that he would be obliged to stay a year longer in Abyssinia, should he neglect the opportunity of the monsoons. For this reason I resolved to embark in the ships which were now preparing to sail for Suez; and to visit Mount Sinai, whither Moorat had appointed me to go, in case he did not come to Judda.

Accordingly I embarked, the 12th of January 1700, in one of the ships which the Grand Signior had ordered to be built in Surat. Though these ships are of very great burden, they yet have but one deck‡. The sides are so high, that the tallest man could not reach up to them. The ropes of these ships are very thick and hard, and their masts and sails differ but little from ours. One thing very particular in these vessels is, a kind of cisterns, which are so capacious, that they contain water enough to supply an hundred and fifty men during five months. These cisterns are so well varnished within, that they preserve the water very pure and clean, and much better than the hogheads used in Europe. It was with great difficulty we got from among the sand-banks which lie about Judda, and are found in every part of that sea; and for this reason we kept as near as possible to the shore, which lay on our starboard-side. We cast anchor every evening, for fear of running on one of these banks, which

to see. The story of Mohammed's coffin being suspended by a loadstone is a fiction. Pilgrims commonly visit this tomb at their return from Mecca. The place of this sepulchre is called, by way of eminence, the Meadow, or Garden.

* The Red Sea was prodigiously frequented before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope; but we are told that, of late years, few ships go higher than Mocha, except the Turkish galleys, and the vessels which convey the Mohammedan pilgrims to Mecca.

† About three-half-pence, English money.

‡ I suppose these are galleys.

the pilots avoid very skilfully. They are seen every where rising to the surface of the water; and the pilots pass boldly through them, which is owing to their great experience of these seas from their infancy; many of them being born on board these ships, which may be considered as so many floating warehouses. After sailing five or six days, we cast anchor before the island of Hassama, within two leagues of the continent. This island is not inhabited, but we took in very good water there. From that place, to Suez ships drop anchor every night near the shore; on which occasions the Arabs never fail to bring refreshments.

Twelve or thirteen days after our departure from Hassama, we came to the road of Yamboe. This is a pretty large town, defended by a castle standing on the sea-side, the fortifications whereof are in a very poor condition*. It belongs to the King of Mecca. I did not visit it, because the Arabs, who are hovering up and down every where thereabouts, rob travellers, and abuse such as go ashore. We were stopped a week in this road by contrary winds. Two days after our leaving Yamboe, we cast anchor between two sands, where there arose so furious a storm, that two of our cables broke, so that we had like to have perished; but, very happily, the storm did not last long.

We went ashore at Meeula†, a town about the same extent as Yamboe, which also has a castle, but it is weak. From thence we sailed to Chiurma, a very good harbour, where ships are secured from storms. Here we meet with no town or village, but only tents inhabited by Arabs. We did not arrive at Chiurma till the 22d of April, occasioned by the contrary winds. The monsoons being far advanced, I thought it would be impossible to proceed any farther by sea, for which reason I landed at Chiurma, where I procured camels, which in six days carried me to Tor‡. Tor is subject to the Grand Signior. There is a garrison in the castle, with an aga who commands in it; and a great number of Greek Christians are found in the village. They have a monastery agreeably to their worship, which is subject to the great one of Mount Sinai. I was here told that the Archbishop of the monastery of Mount Sinai, who was paralytic, hearing of my arrival at Judda, had sent to Tor, to invite me to go and see him. Accordingly I set out for that famous monastery; and it was three days before I reached it; the roads being vastly troublesome, we were obliged to travel over very steep mountains. The monastery of Mount Sinai stands at the foot of the mountain; and the gates of that religious house are always walled up, on account of the incursions of the Arabs. I was drawn up into it § by ropes fastened to a pulley, and my baggage after the same manner ||.

I immediately paid my compliments to the Archbishop, who is a venerable man, aged ninety-three years. One side of him was struck with the palsy, a sight which grieved me very much, I having known him some years before; and had recovered him at Grand Cairo, when labouring under a fit of sickness. On this occasion I was so fortunate, as to enable him to celebrate mass, pontifically, on Easter Sunday, which he, till then, had not strength enough to do for a long time.

* It has a tolerable good harbour, and is now the port town to Medina. Some say that this castle is strong enough to resist the attacks of the wild Arabs, but not to stand a protracted siege in form.

† Meela.

‡ From Tor, according to a tradition of the natives, may be seen the place where the Israelites went over the Red Sea. The sea, in that part, is about five leagues over, and in the middle of the channel about 35 fathoms deep.

§ It is said that travellers are let up and down in a basket.

|| Certain travellers relate, that the monks have abandoned this monastery, on account of the wild Arabs plundering the camels which were bringing provisions to them, and that they retired to Tor.

This monastery is a very solid building, and its walls are very strong. The church is magnificent, it having been raised by the Emperor Justinian, as the friars told me. They are fifty in number, exclusive of those who go about and ask alms. They lead a very mortified life; they never drink wine, nor eat meat, even when very sick. The water they drink is excellent, it being taken from a spring rising in the middle of the monastery. Thrice a week they are allowed a small glass of brandy, made with dates. They keep a very strict fast during the four Lents observed in the eastern church; and, out of those seasons, they eat pulse and dried fish. They rise in the night to chant the office, and pass the greatest part of it in the choir. They shewed me a shrine of white marble, covered with a rich piece of cloth of gold, in which St. Catherine's body is deposited, but unseen. They only shew us one of the saint's hands, which is quite withered, but the fingers are still covered with gold rings. The Archbishop, who is likewise abbot of the monastery, has under him a prior who has little or no power, except during the abbot's absence*. I had the curiosity to go to the top of the mountain, to the spot where God delivered the two tables of the law to Moses; the Archbishop being so kind as to send some of his friars with me.

We went up, four thousand steps at least, before we got to the top of this famous mountain, where a good neat chapel is built. We afterwards had a sight of that of Elias†. We breakfasted at the spring; and then returned, heartily tired, to the religious house. The neighbouring mountain is still higher, but I had not the courage to go upon it, I being almost spent with the first day's journey. It is on this second mountain that St. Catherine's body is said to have been conveyed by angels after her martyrdom.

I waited a month in this religious house, in expectation of the ambassador Moorat. I now began to be tired, and had given him quite over, when advice was brought that he was come almost to the monastery, which gave me the highest satisfaction. I then went and met him, and presented him to the Archbishop, who received him very graciously. Moorat informed me of the several disappointments he had met with in his journey. He said that the death of Prince Basilus was the first thing which retarded him; that the Emperor, notwithstanding his grief, had admitted him to audience, and commanded him to set out; and that he made some stay in Duvarna, in expectation of new orders from his sovereign. He acquainted me with the ill treatment he had received from the King of Mecca, he having forced from him the Ethiopian children he

* It is called St. Catherine's Monastery, whither the monks pretend the body of that saint was brought, after she had been beheaded in Alexandria. The Greeks have been in possession of this monastery above 1400 years, it being first given them by some of the Grecian Emperors. There is a tradition, that Mohammed confirmed the then abbot and religious of this house, as well as all their successors, in the full enjoyment of it, and the several lands about it, upon condition that they should treat all the neighbouring Arabs hospitably; which condition the monks afterwards complied with exactly; till the Arabs plundered the caravans which were bringing provisions to the monastery, on which occasions the friars forsook it, and withdrew to Tar. This convent was surrounded by a very thick, strong, high wall, to secure it from the attacks of the wild Arabs; and being situated on the brow of a very steep rock, the friars used to let down the provisions (which were chiefly corn) they furnished the Arabs with, by a rope; and as for the pilgrims, they were taken up, and let down in a basket. The ascent from the foot of the mountain to Siuai is vastly steep.

† In the way down this mountain, a great stone is shewn, which, according to the monks, is the place where Elias rested himself, after his flying from Jezebel. A little below this the Mohammedans shew the print made by Mohammed's camel, in the rock, as he was travelling this way. This print they kiss very devoutly. Thus we have a place where both Christians and Mohammedans employ their frauds, in order to impose on the weak and superstitious. This country is said to be vastly pleasant and fruitful, which possibly might be the reason why the children of Israel continued so many years in it.

was carrying into France, and, to add to his misfortune, the vessel on board of which the presents were put, had been cast away near Tor : that nine large ships laden with coffee had stayed in this port, by their having set sail too late, and losing the season of the monsoons. This delay has made coffee very dear in Grand Cairo, as those ships were not able to reach Suez, where they unlade, and are freighted with other goods, as linens, corn, rice, and other provisions, which are brought from Grand Cairo, and bartered for those of India.

After Moorat had rested five days at Mount Sinai, we set forwards towards Tor, where his retinue waited for him. We staid but one night in this harbour, and proceeded by land, on the morrow, for Suez, travelling almost continually by the sea-side. We reached the last-mentioned town in five days.

Suez is a small city at the bottom of the gulph of the Red Sea ; and is the port to Cairo, whence it is distant three days journey. The town above mentioned is commanded by a castle built in the antient taste, and poorly fortified. There is a governor with a garrison of two hundred men ; and there are very fine warehouses*. The country is no ways agreeable, the only objects round it being deserts, interspersed with rocks and sands. This town, like that of Judda, has no water, which is brought from the adjacent parts, but then it is cheaper.

Upon my arrival at Tor, I wrote to Monsieur Maillet, the French consul at Cairo, to inform him of the ambassador's arrival. He wrote me an answer, by which I was desired to make all the haste possible to Grand Cairo. I complied with his request, and took the opportunity of the first caravan that set out, it consisting of about eight thousand camels. I mounted a dromedary, and after going three leagues with the caravan, I went on before them, and reached Grand Cairo in four-and-twenty hours. These dromedaries are smaller than camels. They go very hard, but very swift-footed ; and will travel four-and-twenty hours without halting, and are employed only to carry men. Being arrived at Grand Cairo, I informed our consul of the result of our journey ; and got ready a fine house for the ambassador, who arrived two days after.

Monsieur Maillet, the instant he heard he was come, sent him refreshments of every kind ; and then agreed, in concert with Moorat, that I should embark for France, in order to inform our court of the several particulars related above.

* I could say much more concerning Ethiopia ; could treat of the government of that mighty empire ; of its religious and civil employments, courts of judicature ; of the botany, and even physic of the Abyssinians ; but to do this, I must first enjoy the repose which is earnestly sought for, by those who undertake long and laborious travels : and the air of France must first have restored me to my health, the sweets of which cannot be tasted, except it be perfect. We physicians, who cure other people, often have not skill enough to cure ourselves.

* Suez has no water near it, by reason that the plains round are all of sand. Its inhabitants subsist wholly by trade, which is very considerable, as all the goods which come out of India into Europe, by the Red Sea, are unladed here, and carried from thence to Grand Cairo and Alexandria. Some imagine Suez to be the ancient Possidium, and others Arsinoe. The town is a little above the place where the Israelites crossed the Red Sea. The Gulph of Suez is separated from the Mediterranean, by an isthmus only fifty leagues broad, by which Asia is joined to Africa. Some Egyptian monarchs had formed a design to cut through this isthmus, in order to join the two seas, but to no purpose. The town of Suez does not now contain above 200 houses, and has a good harbour enough, which yet is too shallow for ships of burthen. It is almost a desert, when foreign vessels and the Turkish gallees are not there ; but when these are lying before it, it is full of people.

A JOURNEY TO DAR-FÛR,

A KINGDOM IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

BY MR. BROWNE.

CHAP. I.—*Design to penetrate into the Interior of Africa—Difficulties—Caravan from Soudan or Dar-Fûr—Preparations—Departure from Assiût—Journey to El-wah—Mountains—Desert—Charjé in El-wah—Bulak—Beiris—Mughes—Desert of Sheb—Desert of Selimé—Legbéa—Natrón Spring—Difficulties—Enter the Kingdom of Fûr—Sweini—Detention—Representations to the Melek—Residence—New Difficulties—Villany of Agent—Sultan's Letter—Enmity of the People against Franks—El Fasber—Illness—Conversations with the Melek Misellim—Relapse—Robbery—Cobbé—Manners—Return to El Fasber—The Melek Ibrahim—Amusements—Incidents—Audience of the Sultan Abd-el-rachman-el-rashid—His Personal Character—Ceremonies of the Court.*

MY views to the south of Egypt having been frustrated during the last year, I was reduced to the alternative of abandoning any further projects in that quarter, or of waiting for a more seasonable opportunity. As it was reported that such an one would soon offer, I did not hesitate to prefer the latter, though strongly dissuaded from it, as generally happens to those whose designs are any way analogous to mine. The Europeans in this quarter, as well as the natives, being immersed in commerce from their early years, are unable to conceive the advantages promised by voyages of discovery, to which no immediate profit is attached; and accordingly as they know the hazard great, and imagine the achievement frivolous and useless, even from the best motives they are rather inclined to discourage, than to animate, any one who undertakes them.

From conviction sufficiently clear, arising both from reading and the sentiments of those who were best informed on the subject, that the river whose source Mr. Bruce describes is not the true Nile, I thought it an object of still greater importance, that the source of the more western river should be investigated. But what might have been a matter of choice, was with me only the result of necessity. The idea of reaching the sources of this river, (the Bahr-el-abiad,) laid down in the maps apparently at about two hundred leagues farther south than Sennaar, seemed to me so hopeless, that this object alone would hardly have induced me to undertake such a voyage. I should rather have been inclined to attempt Abyssinia, and endeavoured to certify, as well as circumstances might permit, how far authentic former narratives had been, and what might offer that was new to European observation. For this purpose the obvious and most easy route was by the Red Sea to Masouah. But all accounts concurred in mag-

nifying the difficulty, and almost impossibility, of an European passing there undiscovered, and, being discovered, of his penetrating any farther.

The road from Kahira to Sennaar was the one I should have preferred; but the desolation and anarchy then prevailing in Nubia, which had prevented me from passing the former year, would not probably have allowed me better success in this. Besides, the city of Sennaar was then occupied by the slaves of the last Mecque, or King, who had deposed and put to death their master, and still continued to usurp the government. By taking the route of Dar-Fûr, I was taught to believe, that I might hope for the advantages of a regular government; and with proper management might expect every favour from the monarch. The local inconvenience of being so much farther removed from Abyssinia was indeed obvious; but, on the other hand, the choice of more than one route was, it seemed likely, thereby offered; which, in a place where progress is so uncertain, and contingencies so numerous, would be a matter of no inconsiderable importance.

At the moment of my return from Assûan to Assiût, the caravan of jelabs from Dar-Fûr, called *Cassfet-es-Soudân* *, the Soudân caravan, arrived at El-wah. It was then reported that the sale of their merchandize and slaves, of which they had no great quantity, would be completed in about two months, and that then they would return home. Their stay, however, was protracted during the whole of that winter; and in the month of March 1793 they commenced their departure from Kahira for the Upper Egypt. They were slow in collecting all that was necessary for the journey, and I made use of the time so allowed to draw information from various quarters concerning what was requisite for the voyage. From what cause I know not, but at that time the persons of whom I made enquiry gave no intimation that the treatment of Christians in their country was marked by any asperity. The late Sultan of Fûr, indeed, as I afterwards learned, had been remarkable for his mildness and liberality to all descriptions of persons. But this was not all—a native of Soudân is, in Kahira, the most obsequious and servile of the human race. He behaves towards a Christian whom he meets there nearly as to one of the true believers. In his own country he repays with interest the contempt that has been shewn him by the Egyptians.

On the 21st April 1793, I set out from Bulak, having embarked on the Nile; and on the eighth day, the wind having been often unfavourable, arrived at Assiût. The first care was to provide camels for the route, and these were unfortunately at that time scarce. Five however I at length obtained, at about 13l. sterling each. We had also made our provision of food, &c. required for the journey; and the caravan having at length assembled, after about fifty days the expected moment of departure arrived. It was the hottest season of the year, and consequently unfavourable to travelling. These merchants however, disposed as they are to indolence, and governed by present sensations, when their profit is concerned, esteem the variations of climate unworthy of a thought: and long habit has familiarized them with such degrees of heat, that what is insupportable to northern nations is with them no serious motive for the remission of labour.

The route taken by the Soudân caravan is in part the same as that traversed by Poncet, in the beginning of the present century, on his way to Abyssinia. He passed by Sheb and Selimé, and thence striking across the desert south-east, crossed the Nile at Moscho. We continued our march from Selimé, almost due south, or with a small

* Soudân in Arabic corresponds to our Nigritia, merely general words for the country of the blacks.
2 variation

variation to the west. Our party having left Assiût on the 25th May, encamped on the mountain above it till the 28th when it proceeded by short stages towards El-wah. The Jelabs commonly pay the Muggrebines for their protection, or rather for bearing to plunder them, at the rate of about a patacke for each camel. I refused them this tribute, alleging that I was not of the number of merchants who usually trade to Soudân, but a stranger who was employed on business to the Sultan; and though my refusal occasioned a slight dispute, the Arabs thought proper to relinquish their claim. The camels were heavily laden, and the Jelabs travelled slowly, and in detached parties, each consulting his own convenience, till the 31st of the same month, when we came to Gebel Rumlie, an high rocky mountain, which we were to descend. It forms the western side of the ridge, which constitutes, as it were, the wall of Egypt, and the eastern boundary of the low desert, in which lie the Oases. It consists of a coarse tufa, and is of rugged and difficult descent. The road seems in many places to have been opened by art. We were a full hour in reaching the bottom. The camels not without great pain carrying their loads on the steep declivity, and being often in danger of falling.

From the summit of this rock the view lost itself in an extensive valley, consisting chiefly of rocks and sand, but diversified by small bushes of the date tree, and other marks of vegetation, near the spring where we designed to repose. Nothing could exceed the sterility of the mountain we had passed. Having reached the plain, it became necessary to unload the camels, and allow them some rest. We were employed four hours and a half, the following morning, in passing from the foot of the mountain to Ainé Dizé, the first place where water is found, and the northern extremity of the great Oasis. An hot wind blowing during the meridian hours, the thermometer here stood during that time under the shade of the tent at 116 degrees.

In marching from Ainé Dizé to Chargé, eight hours were employed. Excepting a small space near the spring, all is waste. The chabir, or leader, chose to notify his approach to the town by beating drums, (two of which he had borne before him as marks of his office, and as occasion might require, to collect the travellers when dispersed,) and by other tokens of joy, as firing small arms, shooting, &c. One of my camels, in descending the mountain, had fallen and injured his right shoulder, which, as a cure could not suddenly have place, obliged me to change him for another.

There is a gindi or officer at Chargé, and another at Beiris, both belonging to Ibrahim-bey-el-kebir, to whom those villages appertain; and to them is entrusted the management of what relates to the caravan during the time of its stay there. We left Chargé on Friday the 7th of June, and having passed another desert space, after six hours reached another village, called Bulak. This is a wretchedly poor place, the houses being only small square pieces of ground inclosed with a wall of clay, or unburned bricks, and generally without a roof. It furnishes good water, and the people live by the sale of their dates. The caravan remained a day at Bulak, and having left it on Sunday the 9th, arrived at Beiris on Monday the 10th, after nearly fourteen hours march through a barren tract. Here the chabir thought proper to go through the same ceremony as at Chargé.

On the 13th we employed two hours in passing from Beiris to Mughess, the last village of the Oasis toward the southern desert. We left Mughess on the morning of the 15th, and on Thursday the 20th, in the morning, arrived at Sheb. At this place, by digging to the depth of a few feet in the sand, is found a supply of indifferent water. A tribe of the wandering Arabs, called Ababde, who come from the neighbourhood

of the Nile, sometimes infests it. Sheb is marked by the production of a great quantity of native alum, as the name imports. The surface, near which the alum is found, abounds with a reddish stone, and in many places is seen argillaceous earth. Having left Sheb on the 21st, we arrived at Selimé on the 23d. This is a small verdant spot, at the foot of a ridge of rocks of no great height, nor apparently extending very far. It affords the best water of any place on the route; but though there be verdure enough to relieve the eye from the dry sterility of the surrounding surface, it affords no vegetable fit for the support either of man or beast. At Selimé is a small building, which has apparently been raised by some of the tribes resting there, that place being much frequented by the roving parties passing the desert in different directions. The building consists only of loose stones, but the jelabs related many fables concerning it; as that it had of old been inhabited by a princess who, like the Amazons, drew the bow, and wielded the battle-axe, with her own hand; that she was attended by a large number of followers, who spread terror all over Nubia, &c.; and that her name was Selimé*.

On the 24th we rested, and having proceeded the following morning, employed five days more in reaching Leghea. Water there is scarce, and far inferior in quality to that of Selimé, having a brackish taste. The camels throughout the caravan began now to be excessively weak and jaded, and the chabir was at a loss for the true road; for though several persons in the caravan had traversed this desert ten or twelve times, they were not unfrequently unable to determine which was the right course. One of the party was sent forward to discover some known object that might be our guide, and after having been absent thirty-six hours he returned. While we remained here we felt much inconvenience from a suffocating wind that blew from the south, and raised the sand in clouds. On the 2d of July the caravan left Leghea; and on the eighth, after a severe and fatiguing march, reached the Bir-el-Malha, or salt spring. The vicinity of this spring is remarkable for the production of natron, which substance appears under different circumstances, and is of different quality from that of Terané. It is very white and solid; and on immersion in water becomes hot, and discharges a great portion of its air.

Small quantities of it are carried by the jelabs to Egypt, where it is sold at a high price, and is used principally in making snuff. The water found at this place is very unpalatable, being brackish.

A troop of the natives of Zeghawa met us at this well. It is their practice to station a small party there, when caravans are expected, who remunerate themselves for the fatigue of a ten days journey by supplying provisions, and what else may be wanted by travellers, at an exorbitant rate. Many of our companions at this time had great need of their assistance, as their supply had been originally insufficient, and many camels had perished on the road. The vicinity of the Bir-el-Malha is occasionally infested by the Cubba-Beesh, a wandering tribe, who, mounted on the swiftest dromedaries, rapidly traverse the desert, and live by plundering the defenceless. As they are, however, unfurnished with fire-arms, so numerous a body as ours was not in much danger from their attack.

We remained at the Bir-el-Malha till the 12th; on which day we left that place, and travelled with little interruption till the 20th, and then encamped at a spot called

* In passing the desert, partly from want of water, partly from being overloaded, (these animals being then scarce and dear in Egypt,) so many camels died, that several merchants of the caravan were obliged to bury their goods in the sand near Selimé, whither they afterwards sent for them.

Medwa, where however is no supply of water. One of my camels having fallen, we were obliged to purchase water of the Mahréa Arabs * whom we met, or to take up what had lodged in cavities on the earth, in consequence of the rains which were then beginning to fall.

On the 23^d we came to the first springs within the limits of Fûr, which are in this place called Wadi Mafrûk. The white ant, *termis*, was here exceedingly vexatious, building his covered way to every thing within the tent, and destroying all within his reach. This together with the rains, which were now increasing, and began to pour in a torrent through the valley, obliged us to abandon the tents, and take shelter in the next village, (Sweini,) where I obtained an apartment in the house of Ali-el-Chatîb, one of the principal merchants established in the country. In it I passed eight or ten days, not having arrived at Cobbé, one of the towns whither the jelabs chiefly resort, till the seventh of August.

At Sweini resides generally a melek or governor on the part of the Sultan of Dar-Fûr; and there all strangers, as well as merchants of the country, coming with the caravan, are obliged to wait, till the pleasure of the monarch in disposing of them be known.

Coming as I did under considerable exceptions from the general rule of merchants trading to that country, and, in the Arabic language, rather as *Daif-es-Sultan*, the King's stranger, in which light the people of the country had hitherto viewed me, I expected to obtain, without delay, permission to continue my journey to the royal residence. I observed to the melek of Sweini and other public officers, in one among many conversations I had with them, that "intending to visit the Sultan, I should hardly have expected to be put back with frivolous excuses, as the non-payment of duties which you dare not explicitly demand of me, and tributes under the name of presents, which have never yet been exacted of a stranger. If any duties be payable, beyond what have already been discharged, you are perfectly at liberty to detain all, or such part, of the articles I bring with me, as you judge sufficient to answer your claim; but not to refuse me permission to go to the Sultan, with whom I have business. Or if other reasons operate to prevent my request being complied with, and any suspicions prevail relative to my views in coming here, I desire, without further delay, to be furnished with the means of returning to Egypt, before I suffer, as commonly happens to strangers, from the effects of the climate, while I am yet in the habit of travelling, and while the funds are yet unexhausted which should support me in my progress farther."

The misrepresentations which had been made concerning me, and which had by this time reached the Sultan, manacled the hands of the melek, and prevented my remonstrance from having any effect. But candour and ingenuousness have no part in the character of slaves; and the antient observation is most just, that "when a man becomes a slave he loses half his virtue." I therefore remained in perfect ignorance of the reasons of my detention. Perhaps indeed, without implicating himself, the melek could not have declared them; or perhaps he was not thoroughly informed as to their nature. The plot that had been laid against me might indeed have deceived much abler heads than theirs, on whose caprices my fate depended.

* The Mahréa Arabs have the art of making wicker baskets, of so close a texture, that they carry in them milk, water, bouza. Much of the earthen ware made by the people of Dar-Fûr is glazed, I know not with what composition.

Finding no mode of advancing, till the rest of the caravan had obtained the same permission, I resolved to follow the example of the other jelabs, and wait patiently the event. The house I was in consisted of a multitude of distinct apartments, built with clay, and covered with a slanting thatched roof, but not closed by doors. The hospitality of the owner allowed all who could find place in it to lodge themselves without distinction. At length, after the expiration of about ten days, an order from the Sultan arrived, directing that all the jelabs should be allowed to proceed to their houses on paying the duties assessed on them.

The circumstances attending myself were peculiar; and many of the disadvantages I had to contend with could not be well foreseen: it is therefore necessary to mark them, that if any occasion should offer they may be serviceable to others, and for this reason they shall be detailed at considerable length.

Before leaving Kahira, I was apprised, that all commerce in Dar-FÛr was conducted by means of simple exchange. To carry on this in such a way as not to be grossly defrauded, especially having my attention engrossed by other objects, and in utter ignorance of the articles fit for bargain and sale in this country, seemed wholly impossible; I therefore sought for a person who might go through this business for me, at least with some share of probity. Such a one arose to the notice of my friends there; and knowing nothing more of the man, as indeed I could not know any thing more, than the character they gave of him, I took him on the general recommendation of being honest and understanding the business in which he was likely to be employed. The person recommended had been a slave-broker in the market of Kahira; a circumstance, which, had it been known to me earlier, would probably have prevented my employing him. Till the moment of departure I had observed in him keenness but no fraud, and in general that submissive acquiescence and absolute devotion to the will of the superior, for which the lower class of Kahirines are externally, at least, remarkable. The hour for commencing our march, however, seemed with him the signal for disobedience and insulting behaviour; and we were not yet far removed from the confines of Egypt, when this misconduct was carried to such an excess, that I once levelled my gun at him, with a view of inspiring terror. The merchants around us interfered, and for the time this passed off, but the man only sought an opportunity of revenge, which the prejudices of the people of Soudan, in direct opposition to my former information, too soon afforded him means to gratify.

The letters with which I was provided for different merchants in this district, under whose roof I might have had a safe lodging, could be of no use to me till I had seen the Sultan; for till then no person knew in what character to receive me. The object of this man therefore was to prevent my introduction to the Sultan, and to preclude me from any opportunity of representing my case. We were no sooner arrived at Sweini, than he found means to employ one of his associates, who had been some years established in the place, to go to the Monarch, and instil into his mind suspicions of me as a Frank and an infidel, who came to his country for no good purpose, and whose designs it behoved him to guard against; and to suggest to him, that it would not be proper I should remain at large, nor yet immediately come to his presence, but that some person should be commissioned to watch over and report my actions, and thus frustrate my supposed evil intentions. He added, as I afterwards found, many anecdotes, falsified or exaggerated, of the enquiries I had made, the way I had been employed, and my general behaviour on the road.

Nor was the villain himself idle during the time his coadjutor was thus laudably engaged. I have already mentioned that there were no doors to the apartments of the

house we were in. He took advantage of this circumstance, and my momentary absence, to take out of a box which had been broken on the road, a quantity of red coral, the most valuable article in my package. As the box remained locked, it was not till long after that I discovered this loss. By the help of this commodity he expected to make his way with the great. At the end of a few days this agent returned, bearing a specious letter, impressed with the Sultan's seal, ordering that no officer on the road should presume to detain me, or to take any thing from me, till I came to the house of Ibrahim-el-Wohaishi, (the name of this very agent,) in Cobbé, where I was to rest myself, till further orders should be given for my admission to his presence. I was not indeed at that time privy to the plot, yet if I could have obtained a knowledge of it, it might not have been easy immediately to counteract its influence; nevertheless, I suspected something might have been practised against me.

An order from the despot, which, while it was to protect me from his officers on the road, obliged me to confine myself to a particular spot, was a matter of surprise to me; but submission was unavoidable, as I was at that time unprovided even with the means of remonstrance. Had the machinations of my adversaries, which went much farther than my confinement, having been actually employed against my life, been at that time known to me, this severity would not have caused any astonishment, and the means of redress might have been less doubtful. But suspense filled the void of positive suffering—a suspense to which no apparent remedy suggested itself. Those who had known me in Egypt or on the road were dispersed to the east and west, and the people of the place were ill disposed to form any communication with me, being filled with religious horror of one supposed an infidel, but of yet undefined impiety, and whose colour, variously regarded as the sign of disease, the mark of divine displeasure, or at least, the unequivocal proof of inferiority of species, had averted their wonted hospitality, closed their compassion, and inflamed their personal pride and religious fury.

It was in this situation that, seeing no means of immediate relief, I began to feel impatience; which, as I continued in a state of perfect inactivity, communicated the more rapidly its pernicious influence to my state of health. On the fourteenth day after my arrival, I was attacked with a violent fever, attended with extreme pain in the head. How long it lasted I cannot precisely say, having on the second day lost my recollection. It was afterwards recalled by the effect of a dysentery, which lasted for two days, and left me too weak to assist myself. I had reflection enough to know, that of the aliments there to be procured, scarcely any could be found that would not be pernicious. After the first attack, therefore, I confined myself to the use of bark and water, which last I drank in great quantities.

A little more than a month had elapsed, when the symptoms appearing to diminish, I again pressed to be permitted to visit the residence of the Sultan. But I had reason to regret my impatience; for having at length obtained leave, I proceeded to El Fasher, only to repeat my suffering. The rainy season was almost at an end, but the air, which still continued insalubrious, fatigue and anxiety renewed the malady, which, after extreme abstinence, and having gone through the short catalogue of remedies which I had had the precaution to take with me, I found unabated. Excessive headaches, lassitude, thirst, occasional constipation, succeeded by extreme irritation of the viscera, continued for several months to shew the inefficacy of my precautions, and to incapacitate me from all personal exertion. At length the heat of the ensuing summer gradually increasing, and producing regular and continued transpiration, and the state of the air then meliorated, having removed the cause of indisposition, it was not long before I gained a certain degree of strength.

Arrived at El Fasher, I was first introduced to the Melek Misellim, one of the principal ministers. This man, when young, had been a slave, and engaged in domestic offices of the palace, but having been detected using some familiarities with one of the women, the monarch had ordered him to be deprived of the ensigns of manhood. Ignorant and uneducated, he appeared to have a certain quickness of apprehension, which, together with uncommon gaiety of humour, had rendered him acceptable at court, where he appeared more as a buffoon than a minister of state. He received me with a rude stare as an object he was unused to, which was followed by a mingled smile of contempt and aversion. He was seated with some other of the royal attendants, under a kind of awning of cotton cloth, on a mat spread upon the sand. After the common salutations, the melek and his company entered into conversation on the nature of my visit to the country; and each made his remarks on my person, and offered his conjectures as to my character and intentions.

Their conversation was partly carried on in their vernacular idiom, partly in Arabic. At length a wooden bowl of *polenta*, and another of dried meat, were set before them. My illness deprived me of all inclination to eat; and observing the company not much inclined to invite me to join them, and yet embarrassed how to avoid that ceremony, I relieved them by declining it, and desiring them to begin. When they were satiated, (and they lost no time in eating,) a great number of foolish questions were asked me about Europe, some of which I waved, and satisfied them as to others in the best manner I was able.

One of the principal questions was, whether the English paid the Jizié to the Othman Emperor? This, as is well known, is a capitation tax, paid by the Greeks and others, for liberty to worship after their own manner. I replied, that England was so remote from the Imperial dominions, that no war between the two countries could well have place, till all the rest of Europe should have submitted to the Mohammedan arms, which had not hitherto come to pass: but that, for the purposes of trade, the inhabitants of the one country frequented the other, and by mutual agreement were considered as personally secure; that presents were occasionally made by the British King to the Emperor, in token of amity, but not as a mark of subjection; and that the latter, on his part, as it did not appear that the decrees of the Almighty had fixed this as the moment of general conversion to the true faith, in virtue of his dispensing power, and swayed by the general law of hospitality to strangers, sanctioned by the authority of the prophet, judged it lawful, and even a matter of political expediency, to tolerate such Europeans as conducted themselves inoffensively in his dominions, though they did not pay the Jizié. I thought it necessary to enter into this explanation of the terms on which I conceived myself to stand in relation to them, having by this time learned how rigidly they were disposed to adhere to the letter of the Prophet's dictum, viz. that no infidels are to be spared but such as pay the capitation tax. When I observed they grew tired of asking questions, I seized the opportunity of explaining why I came there, and what favour I expected should be shewn me.

"Melek," said I, "having come from a far distant country to Misr, (Kahira,) I was there made acquainted with the magnificence, the extended empire, and, above all, the justice and hospitality of the King Abd-el-rachmân, whose dominion be eternal! Having been used to wander over various countries as a derwîsh, to learn wisdom from the aged, and to collect remedies for diseases from the herbs that spring in various soils, I grew desirous of seeing Dar-Fûr. I was told that my person and property would be secure, and that permission would be given me to go wherever I might think proper. Since my arrival within the confines, I have found that all these

assurances were fallacious; my inclinations have been thwarted, my person treated with indignity, and my property plundered, while compliance has been refused even to my most reasonable demands. I ask redress.—What I have already suffered from the officers of the Sultan is passed, and cannot now be remedied, but I desire protection for the future. I desire the punishment of the man who has robbed me, and restitution of what has been taken. Nor is this all, I particularly desire permission to go to Sennaar, in order to proceed to Haabesh. I was prevented from going there last year by the straight road. Haabesh is a Christian country, abounding in slaves and gold. There are also many herbs valuable in medicine. Being there, I may easily join my countrymen, merchants who come to Moccha, in the Bahr Yemeni. I desire the Sultan will allow me to proceed thither; and, if it be necessary, grant me his protection, and three or four persons, deserving confidence, to attend me to the frontiers of Kordofan. I have a small present to offer him, consisting of such things as my circumstances permitted me to bring; I hope he may not refuse to receive it, and to grant me the favour I ask." He answered, "Merchant, you are welcome to the Dar; the King is kind to strangers, and he will favour you in all you wish. Whatever you want you have only to demand. He has ordered a sack of wheat and four sheep to be sent you. At this time it is not possible to pass through Kordofan; the Sultan has a great army there, and when the country shall be in subjection to him you may pass unmolested. When you are admitted to his presence, you will tell him who has robbed you, and what you have lost, and he will cause it to be restored." It was now the hour of prayer, and when the company commenced their ablutions I retired.

During three or four days ensuing I suffered so violent a relapse as to be unable to perform the common offices of life; and even to suppose that it was nearly at an end. The moment any symptom of amelioration appeared, I sent word to the melek that it was my wish to be introduced to the Sultan, and then as soon as possible to be dismissed. No reply was made to this message; but the following day he came to the tent with some of his attendants, and desired to see the merchandize that I had brought with me. As to part of the articles, consisting of wearing apparel suited to the great, &c. I very readily complied; but this was not sufficient; the melek insisted also on seeing the contents of a small chest, which chiefly held articles useful to myself, but not designed for sale. There were also in it some English pistols, of which I intended to avail myself as presents at Sennaar, or wherever else I might be able to penetrate. I therefore positively refused to open the chest. He then threatened to have it broke open—I remained unmoved. At length his attendants proceeding to break it open, *Ali Hamad*, the man who was with me, with his usual villainy, took the key from its concealment and opened the box. Every thing was taken out and examined minutely—many small articles appeared no more. The pistols were reserved to be taken by the Sultan, (after a violent but fruitless altercation,) at the valuation made by his own servants; and my telescopes, books, of which they knew not the use, wearing apparel, &c. were graciously left me.

The valuation was to be made the following day, which was done quite against my consent, and in contempt of my warmest remonstrances. Some part of the articles were stated at their full value, and others far below it. The whole was estimated at thirty-eight head of slaves, being at the market price worth about eighty, exclusively of a present of value for the Sultan. A pair of double-barrelled pistols, silver-mounted, which had cost twenty guineas in London, were valued at one slave, which is commonly purchasable, by those who are experienced in that traffic, for the value of fifteen piastres in Egyptian commodities. On this I exclaimed, that if they meant to plunder,
and

and bargain and sale were not conducted in this country by consent of the parties, but by force, it would be better to take the whole gratis. No answer was made, but the day following two camels were brought me as a present.

The violent manner in which my property had been seized, and the general ill treatment I had received, much augmented the disorder, already severe. I had now been fifteen days in the tent, exposed to great variations of temperature, it being at the close of the rainy season, and so entirely disregarded, that though tormented with thirst, I could rarely obtain water to drink. I judged that the only means of restoration which remained were, to return to Cobbé, and avail myself of the shelter of a clay house, and that privacy and quiet, the want of which I had so sensibly felt. Being in possession of the greater part of my property, and having left me only so much as would supply the wants of a few months, the melek did not seem very anxious about my stay. I hired two Arabs, and with the camels that had been given me, and the property that remained, made my way on the third day to the place whence I came.

In the intervals of my illness, I visited the chief persons of the place; and as the eyes of the people became habituated to me, I found my situation growing somewhat more tolerable. Idle, as I certainly was, during this winter, with respect to the immediate objects of my voyage, I grew of course more familiar with the manners and particular dialect of the country: for the Arabic, which is spoken here, differs materially from the vernacular idiom of Egypt. I seldom, indeed, joined in the parties where merisî was introduced, because it was important not to hazard becoming concerned in the riots, which are the frequent consequence of their inebriation. But I was often diverted by the mode of conducting a bargain, which sometimes lasts for several hours; and I listened, perhaps not wholly without instruction, to their legal arguments, and the cool discussions at right, which are the consequence of often submitting disputes to arbitration. I could smile at the quibbling distinctions, by which the niceties of external observance are settled; but I had generally reason to be satisfied with their theory of morals.

It is usual for the graver men, during the heat of the day, to sit and converse under a shed erected for the purpose. When convalescent, I seldom failed to be of this party; for though the conversation contained few sallies of wit, much less profundity of observation, yet it was carried on without ill humour, with mutual forbearance, and on the whole in an equable course. Perhaps indeed the society appeared less dull, as dissipating reflections which my situation rendered unpleasant.

The following summer (1794) having in some degree recovered my strength, I determined to go and reside for a time near the Sultan, as well to have an opportunity of supplicating for redress of what I had already suffered, as to seize any moment that might offer of pressing my request for permission to advance. On leaving the house which I had inhabited at Cobbé, a dispute had arisen with the owner of it, who wanted me to sign a declaration that nothing had been lost during my residence in his house. This, which was directly the reverse of the truth, I refused to do; and in consequence he called an assembly of Fukkara or sacred judges. The result, after much contest, served to screen him from the responsibility legally attached to his conduct, without averting the charge, and determined me never to return to his roof.

On my arrival at El Fasher, my good friend the Melek Misellim being employed by his master in the south, I went under the protection of the Melek Ibrahim, one of

* A fermented liquor, called bûza or merisî.

the oldest persons in authority there, and lodged myself (as all strangers are obliged to lodge in the inclosure of some of the natives) in the house of a man named Musa, now only an inconsiderable officer, though one of the sons of Sultan Bokar. This Musa was one of the most upright and disinterested men I have known in that country, and indeed among the Mohammedans of any country. Calm and dignified in his demeanor, though poor and destitute of power, he never insulted, though his religion taught him to hate. No motive could have been strong enough to induce him to eat out of the same plate with a Caffre, but he was punctiliously observant of the rights of hospitality which that religion also dictated, and daily provided me with a portion of food from his kitchen. He often said that, as it was a precept of my faith to hate the Prophet, he was bound to encourage the same sentiment towards me; but that he was neither obliged to injure me, nor excused in doing so.

The Melek Ibrahim is a man of about sixty years of age, tall but not athletic, and characterised by the roughness rather than the expression of his features. He has no beard, and the little hair which remains either on his head or face is grey. His manners and even the motions of his body are ungraceful, and without the ease of superior rank, or the majesty of superior intellect. Yet his understanding seems clear and comprehensive, and his sagacity not unworthy the station assigned him—one of the first in the empire. He is indeed a bigot in matters of faith, but in all that concerns not the prevailing superstition, his judgment is cool, and little liable to error. He once held the reputation of integrity above the rest of his order, but his present riches render this character ambiguous. Generosity, however, holds no place among his virtues. The uniform tenor of his life is governed by mean avarice; and though the most opulent man in the empire, except the Sultan, so little does he possess of Arabian hospitality, that the man used to be regarded as unhappy who went supperless to his evening councils. He had never yet seen a Frank, and regarded me nearly as the British or French commanalty view the dwarfish Goïtres of the Alps. I could collect from his conversation that he looked on Europeans as a small tribe, cut off by the singularity of colour and features, and still more by their impiety, from the rest of mankind.

When I entered the court where he was sitting, he had me welcome, and received with complacency a present which, in compliance with custom, I brought on the occasion. He even thanked me for it; but expressed strong surprise at my journey to Dar-Fûr. I complained of the injuries done me, and he assured me of redress for the past, and protection for the future: at the same time it was clear that he esteemed the present a tribute, and conceived that personal safety was more than I could reasonably expect. His conduct afterwards was a further proof of his sentiments; for though I remained at El Fasher three entire months, I saw him only when I forced myself on his notice, and experienced no return of civility, much less any compensation for what I had already suffered.

During this time I was solicitous to attend regularly the levees of the Sultan, which are from six in the morning till ten; but could very rarely obtain admittance, and when I did had no opportunity of speaking. Whether the general prejudice against me, or the machinations of my enemies, produced this pointed disregard, which, as was said, a stranger scarcely ever experienced before, circumstances afforded no sufficient ground to decide. I suspected the former; but probably both had their share.

On returning to my temporary habitation, a shed, as was usual with me on the sun's approach to the meridian, fatigued with heat, oppressed with thirst, and not without inclination for food, my repast was commonly a kind of bread gently acid, moistened
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with water. I grew acquainted with a few of the people who attend the court, as well as with many strangers who were suitors there. Their conversation sometimes amused me, but more often I found their continued and unmeaning questions harassing and importunate, and their remarks either absurd or offensive. The tedium of solitude, unfurnished with the means to render it agreeable, was however removed. I occasionally frequented the markets, which are usually held from four o'clock in the afternoon till sunset: but my person being there still strange, the crowd that assembled inclined me to a precipitate retreat.

The Furians here seemed unacquainted with the sports of the field. I occasionally went out with a gun after the commencement of the rainy season, when the face of the country became green; but little offered itself worthy attention, either in the animal or vegetable kingdoms. During the early part of the summer the earth had been parched, and destitute of all vegetation.

After waiting in fruitless expectation at El Fasher, as the time of my departure was drawing near, an accident happened, which, though not of the most pleasing kind, contributed to make me noticed, and obtained for me at length an interview with the Sultan. — The slaves of the house used frequently to collect round me, as if to examine a strange object. I joked occasionally with them, without any other view than that of momentary relaxation. One day as I was reading in the hut, one of them, a girl about fifteen, came to the door of it, when, from a whim of the moment, I seized the cloth that was round her waist, which dropped and left her naked. Chance so determined that the owner of the slave passed at the moment and saw her. The publicity of the place precluded any view of farther familiarity, but the tumult which succeeded appeared to mark the most heinous of crimes, and to threaten the most exemplary vengeance. The man threw his turban on the earth, and exclaimed, “Ye believers in the Prophet, hear me! Ye faithful, avenge me!” with other similar expressions. “A Caire has violated the property of a descendant of Mohammed;” (meaning himself, which was utterly false.) When a number of people was collected around him, he related the supposed injury he had received in the strongest terms, and exhorted them to take their arms and sacrifice the Caire. He had charged a carbine, and affected to come forward to execute his threats, when some one of the company who had advanced farthest, and saw me, called out to the rest that I was armed, and prepared to resist.

It was then agreed among the assembly that some method of punishment might be found that promised more security and profit to the complainant, and would be more formidable to the guilty. The man whom I have already mentioned as my broker was to take the slave, as if she had really been violated*, and agreed to pay whatever her master should charge as the price. The latter had the modesty to ask ten head of slaves. He was then to make his demand on me for the value of ten slaves, and if I carried the matter before the cadi, which he supposed I should hardly venture to do, he had suborned witnesses to prove that I had received of him property to that amount.

On my removal from Cobbé to El Fasher, I had caused my small remaining property, among which were few articles of value, but many of much use to me, to be lodged in the house of Hossin (the owner of the slave) and his companion. On my

* By the law of the Proprietor, any illicit connection with the female slave of another makes the person guilty responsible for her value to the owner. Thus the personal injury is expiated. The public offence of zina, whoredom, incurs a punishment varying according to the character and circumstances of the offender; but the positive testimony of four witnesses is necessary to establish this fact.

return thither, which happened within a few days after the accident, I claimed it: they resisted, as they alleged, at the suit of my broker, and would not deliver it till the value of ten slaves should be paid to him. I had from the first considered their conduct as so violent, that if it reached the ears of the government, the claim must unquestionably be abandoned; and indeed my adversaries had only rested their expectations on the timidity which they had been accustomed to observe in Christians of the country, whose accusation and condemnation are in fact the same. I had not neglected to give the transaction all the notoriety I could, without having recourse to public authority, and those to whom I had applied were decidedly in my favour. I therefore now went to my adversaries, Hossain and his companion, and in their presence offered to Ali Hamad a promissory note for the value of ten slaves, at the market price on my arrival in Kahira. It was refused; and my chest, in which were some German dollars and other articles, was still detained by them; the rest was given up.

In the mean time much had been said on the subject, both among the natives and foreigners; and the flagrant injustice I was likely to suffer forcibly struck all that were not in a state to profit by it, but none more than the Egyptian merchants: they were indignant to see that so enormous a penalty should be forfeited to those who had no claim but effrontery to demand it; and that they had no share, and were too numerous to expect to be all rewarded for connivance; accordingly some of them were diligent in carrying the news to the monarch.

It is not to be imagined that he would have moved in the business, from any love of justice, or commiseration with the sufferings of a person to whom himself had shewn such pointed disregard, not to say manifest injustice. But he was told that the Franks enjoyed great favour with the Senjiaks, and that whatever one of their number suffered in Fûr, might be retaliated on the jelabs on their arrival at Kahira, with very little effort, by getting their property there seized by the magistrate, either as an indemnification for what should have been lost, or a security for what might happen. Add to this, he thought his own dignity compromised, should a foreigner thus be permitted to vindicate himself by force in his country. I had indeed been told that the Sultan was apprised of the transaction previously to my departure from El Fasher, and that he intended to grant me redress; but after waiting about fifteen days without hearing any thing farther of his intentions, weary of suffering, I determined to return. I had been there but a short time when a fulganawy (messenger) arrived express from the court, with orders for me to repair to El Fasher immediately. The object of the message was kept in profound secrecy, nor could I discover whether it portended good or evil. I left Cobbé the same evening, and arrived at the end of my journey the following day about noon.

I repaired as before to the Melek Ibrahim, who on the following day introduced me at the public-audience. The Sultan, as he retired to the palace after it was over, ordered all the parties to appear. Being come within the inner court, he stopped the white mule on which he was mounted, and began a short harangue, addressing himself to Hossain and Ali Hamad, my servant, in which he censured, in a rapid and energetic style, their conduct towards me. "One," said he, turning to Ali, "calls himself wakîl of the Frank; if he were a Sherîf and a Mûslîm, as he pretends, he would know that the law of the Prophet permits not a Mûslîm to be wakîl to a Caffre: another calls himself his friend; but both are agreed in robbing him of his property, and usurping the authority of the laws. Henceforth I am his wakîl, and will protect him." He then ordered all the parties to repair to the house of Musa Wullad Jelfûn, melek of the jelabs,

jelabs, under whose appropriate jurisdiction are all foreign merchants. Here it may not be improper to relate briefly how I had been before received by the Sultan.

On my first audience I was too ill to make much observation: I was seated at a distance from him; the visit was short, and I had no opportunity of opening a conversation. He was placed on his seat (*cürfi*) at the door of his tent. Some person had mentioned to him my watch, and a copy of Erpenius's Grammar, which I had with me. He asked to see both; but after casting his eyes on each he returned them. The present I had brought was shewn him, for which he thanked me, and rose to retire.

During the following summer, the first time I got admission to him, he was holding a diwan in the outer court. He was then mounted on a white mule, clothed with a scarlet benish, and had on his head a white turban; which, however, together with part of his face, was covered with a thick muslin. On his feet were yellow boots, and the saddle on which he was seated was of crimson velvet, without any ornament of gold or silver. His sword, which was broad and straight, and adorned with a hilt of massy gold, was held horizontally in his right hand. A small canopy of muslin was supported over his head. Amid the noise and hurry of above a thousand persons who were there assembled, I was unable to make myself heard, which the nature of my situation obliged me to attempt, though not exactly conformable to the etiquette of the court, that, almost to the exclusion of strangers, had appropriated the diwan to the troops, the Arabs, and others connected with the government.

On another occasion I contrived to gain admittance to the interior court by a bribe. The Sultan was hearing a cause of a private nature, the proceedings on which were only in the Fúrîan language. He was seated on a kind of chair, *سورسي*, which was covered with a Turkey carpet, and wore a red silk turban; his face was then uncovered: the imperial sword was placed across his knees, and his hands were engaged with a chaplet of red coral. Being near him I fixed my eyes on him, in order to have a perfect idea of his countenance, which, being short-sighted, and not thinking it very decent to use a glass in his presence, I had hitherto scarcely found an opportunity of acquiring. He seemed evidently discomposed at my having observed him thus, and the moment the cause was at an end he retired very abruptly. Some persons to whom I afterwards remarked the circumstance, seemed to think that his attendants had taught him to fear the magic of the Franks, to the operation of which their habit of taking likenesses is imagined by some of the Orientals to conduce. He is a man rather under the middle size, of a complexion a dusky or dry, with eyes full of fire, and features abounding in expression. His beard is short but full, and his countenance, though perfectly black, materially differing from the negro; though fifty or fifty-five years of age, he possesses much alertness and activity.

At another of my visits I found him in the interior court, standing, with a long staff tipped with silver in his right hand, on which he leaned, and the sword in his left. He then had chosen to adorn his head with the folds of a red silk turban, composed of the same material as the western Arabs use for a cincture. The melek Ibrahim presented him, in my name, with a small piece of silk and cotton, of the manufacture of Damascus. He returned answer, *Barak ulla fi!* — May the blessing of God be on him! — a phrase in general use on receiving any favour, and instantly retired, without giving me time to urge the request of which I intended the offering should be the precursor. It is expected of all persons that, on coming to El Fasher, they should bring with them a present of greater or less value, according to the nature of the business in hand. It is no less usual before leaving the royal residence, to ask permission of the Sultan for that purpose. With this latter form, which was to me unpleasant, I some-

times complied, but more frequently omitted it : but on this occasion, having been long resident there, I thought fit to make a last effort to promote my design. The day preceding that which I had fixed for my return happened to be a great public audience : I found the monarch seated on his throne (*cârî*), under a lofty canopy, composed not of one material, but of various stuffs of Syrian and even of Indian fabric, hung loosely on a light frame of wood, no two pieces of the same pattern. The place he sat in was spread with small Turkey carpets. The meleks were seated at some distance on the right and left, and behind them a line of guards, with caps, ornamented in front with a small piece of copper and a black ostrich feather. Each bore a spear in his hand, and a target of the hide of the hippopotamus on the opposite arm. Their dress consisted only of a cotton shirt of the manufacture of the country. Behind the throne were fourteen or fifteen eunuchs, clothed indeed splendidly in habiliments of cloth or silk, but clumsily adjusted, without any regard to size or colour. The space in front was filled with suitors and spectators, to the number of more than fifteen hundred. A kind of hired encomiast stood on the monarch's left hand, crying out, *a plein gorge*, during the whole ceremony, " See the buffaloe (جاموس), the offspring of a buffaloe, a bull of bulls, the elephant of superior strength, the powerful Sultan Abd-el-rachmân-el-rashîd ! May God prolong thy life ! — O Master — May God assist thee, and render thee victorious ! "

From this audience, as from those which had preceded it, I was obliged to retire as I had come, without effecting any purpose. I was told there were occasions when the Sultan wears a kind of crown, as is common with other African monarchs ; but of this practice I had no opportunity to bear testimony. When he appeared in public, a number of troops armed with light spears usually attended him, and several of his slaves were employed to bear a kind of umbrella over his head, which concealed his face from the multitude. When he passes, all the spectators are obliged to appear barefooted, and commonly to kneel—his subjects bow to the earth, but this compliance is not expected from foreigners. Even the meleks, when they approach the throne, creep on their hands and knees, which gave occasion to an Egyptian to remark, that the jarca* in Fûr was a melek, and the melek a jarea—alluding to the servile behaviour of the ministers, and the publicity of women in the domestic offices of the palace.

The Sultan Abd-el-rachmân, soon after he became possessed of sovereign authority, with the ostensible motive of testifying his attachment to the religion of the Prophet, but more perhaps with a view of obtaining greater weight among his subjects, by some mark of the consideration of the first of Mohammedan princes, thought proper to send a present to Constantinople. It consisted of three of the choicest eunuchs, and three of the most beautiful female slaves that could be procured. The Othman Emperor, when they were presented, had, it is said, never heard of the Sultan of Dar-Fûr, but he returned an highly-ornamented sabre, a rich pelisse, and a ring set with a single diamond of no inconsiderable value.

* A female slave.

CHAP. II.—*Residence with the Melek Musa—Disimulation of the Arabs—Incidents—Return to Cobbé—Endeavours to proceed farther into Africa—Necessity of exercising Medicine—Festival—Punishment of Conspirators—Art of the Sultan—Atrocious Conduct of my Kabirine Servant—At length find an Opportunity of Departure, after a constrained Residence in Dar-Fār of nearly Three Years.*

MY reception with Musa Wullad Jelfūn was very different from that which I had experienced in the house of Misellim, or Ibrahim. All the principal people saluted me, and sought my conversation. The melek, by those who knew him, was esteemed a man of consummate dissimulation, and boundless ambition; quick of apprehension, decisive, and energetic. I found him easy and dignified in his manner; and, by his communication with foreigners perhaps, more polished, and better informed, than the rest of his order. His behaviour toward myself was complacent; and he affected to seek opportunities of hearing my sentiments on such subjects as occurred. During three days we were generally seated with him, and partook of his table, which was remarkable for the abundant supply, if not for the delicacy of the food. On these occasions I was indeed frequently harassed with questions, the simplicity of which disgusted me, and was even in some instances indirectly reviled for my supposed attachment to a sect, whose tenets among Mohammedans are thought absurd and even impious. However, when they were led to imagine that the favour of the Sultan was beginning to brighten my prospects, their disposition on that head appeared much more easy and tolerant. But I was also frequently impressed with the clear intelligence, and penetrating sagacity, with which the claims of the respective suitors were investigated, and the equity and firmness with which they were terminated by this officer. Oftener than once even, during my short abode with him, the best constructed plans to disguise the truth, and elude the purposes of justice, were laid open, and rendered abortive; for it is remarkable with how much artifice the Arabs, however ignorant in other respects, defend themselves, whether right or wrong, as long as they have any profit to hope, or loss to dread. So clear is their discernment, so retentive their memory, and so firm their resolution on these occasions, that no word, no look, not even an involuntary movement, escapes them, which can in the smallest degree betray their cause; and the longest cross-examination, or questions put at the greatest distance of time, will bring to light no fact unfavourable to the interest which they are to defend.

In obedience to the Sultan's command, I gave in an exact statement of the property I had lost, and substantiated the proof by the strongest circumstantial evidence. With regard to the slave, the most complete redress was accorded me. The charge brought against me was judged absolutely futile, and she was restored to her master; while he, on the other hand, was compelled to give up the theft, &c. which had been violently withheld. The plunder which had fallen into the hands of my servant and his accomplice was not so easily restored. The melek, tired of gratuitous justice, began to think that a lucrative composition was more eligible. The offenders, who had been obstinate in the first instance, seeing how the cause relative to the jarea (female slave) had been decided, thought proper to offer to the melek marks of their gratitude for the lenity they expected from him; and the Sultan was unwilling to imagine that the sufferings of a Caffre could fall heavy on himself at the day of final retribution. In fact, his disgust at the complaints continually preferred, and jealousy and resentment against some of the Egyptians, who in this and other instances appeared

to have usurped his authority, certainly influenced him in the first part of the proceedings, rather than any love of justice.

At length the melek, who in reality was supreme arbiter of the contest, contented himself with giving me in intrinsic value about four head of slaves, instead of twenty-four or twenty-five, which at first he had unequivocally declared due to me, and promised I should receive. And thus the matter was terminated.

I a second time retired to Cobbé, with little expectation of ever leaving the country. Of the property which the King's agents had on my arrival purchased, no part of the price had yet been discharged. I had been insulted with the mockery of justice, yet obliged to thank my oppressors for the compensation with their corruption and malignity alone had rendered incomplete.

I had not indeed omitted to renew to the melek Mufa, the request which had been previously made to Misellim and Ibrahim. I explained to him in the manner least exceptionable, my intention in coming thither, completely did away all the suspicions, which my enemies had at first been assiduous to excite, and too successful in establishing; and concluded with desiring permission to go to Sennaar, or to accompany the first selatez (an armed expedition for the purpose of acquiring slaves) to the south or south-west; or finally to have a safe-conduct, and one of the Sultan's slaves acknowledged as such, to accompany me to Bergoo, (the first Mohammedan kingdom to the west). By the first route I hoped to have reached Abyssinia; or, if that had been impracticable, to have gone through Nubia to Egypt, or by Suakem to the Red Sea, and thence to Mocha or Jidda. By the second I was almost certain of settling some important points relative to the White River, possibly of tracing it to its source. And by the third, either of passing directly west, and tracing the course of the Niger, or of penetrating through Bornou and Fezzan to Tripoli.

To the first proposal, he answered in a manner which gave me no reason to doubt his sincerity, that the road to Sennaar was at present impassable, the Sultan being as yet master of but one half of Kordofan; that the natives of all that part of it which remained unsubdued, were his implacable foes, and would infallibly destroy any person who came from Dar-Fûr; that he thought, however, if I waited another year, that route might possibly be more secure; and in case it should be so, that he would use all his efforts to obtain the Sultan's permission for my departure. Of the Selatea he said, that I should only encounter certain death by attempting it, as between the jealousy of those who accompanied me, and the actual hostility of the country attacked, there would be no hope of escaping. I hinted that the Sultan might give me a few attendants, whom I was very ready to pay, and an order to enable me to pass unmolested, as his physician in search of herbs. He replied that he would propose such a measure, but did not expect it would receive the Sultan's approbation, whom he represented as very adverse to strangers, and still suspicious of me individually, in consequence of the reports that had been spread on my arrival. To the third proposal, he answered, that he had no hope of my succeeding; and if I should attempt it, would by no means be answerable for what might happen, since the utmost distrust subsisted between the monarchs of Fûr and Bergoo, and the most implacable enmity to Christians in the latter country. He concluded with strongly recommending it to me to seize the first opportunity of returning to Egypt; but assured me, that if he could accomplish either of the measures so much wished, he would not fail to inform me, and afford me the necessary aid. I left matters thus when I retired to Cobbé, dejected, and little expecting to realize even my least sanguine hopes. Not more than six weeks after this conversation had taken place, I was sent for in haste to attend the melek, who was con-

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fined by an old disorder in his lungs. I found him yet sensible, but his eyes were fixed, and the extremitities incapable of motion. In five hours afterwards he expired. Thus were blasted my returning hopes of success; for no mediator now remained between myself and the monarch, and no longer was there near the court a man, even of seeming liberality and good sense, to whom my projects might safely be opened.

The transactions I had been engaged in, and my frequent appearance in public, had given me a degree of notoriety, which I shunned rather than sought. Having learned by accident that I was in possession of a few medicines, which indeed were rather studiously concealed, all the town grew indisposed, and sought for remedies. Under various pretences, I as often as possible declined administering any; but one or two of the sick having recovered, spread the news of their supposed cure, with such additions as they thought proper. It then became necessary for me to attend at El Fasher, whither I was sent for on several occasions, in the course of the subsequent year. Soon after Musa's death, a messenger arrived requiring my presence, but, as is usual with them, without specifying the object. Judging it might possibly be something favourable to my interests, I used all possible dispatch. On my arrival I was directed to attend the faqui seradge, the principal imam, who was ill of a fistula. It appeared that palliatives could afford no relief, and I declined the responsibility attached to more violent remedies. On this occasion however the Sultan had seen me, and addressed me personally, telling me that he should give orders for the payment of what was due to me, and that he should consult my inclination in all things. I began to press my request for permission to travel; but to this he turned a deaf ear, and soon left the place of audience. Another time I was called to a melek, a man of advanced age, who had been blind of one eye for nine years, but was much displeased at being told his disorder was incurable. Many instances of the same kind occurred.

The same winter I was sent for by Misellim, to receive a part of what was due to me. He was at Gidfid, a town about forty miles from Cobbé. I was not long detained, having been permitted to return in a few hours after my arrival. But the payment was made in oxen, a commodity to me of very little value. They however afforded me subsistence for some months, which otherwise probably I should have wanted.

The first week of the month Rabîa-el-achir, this year, was distinguished by a festival which I conceive peculiar to this country — the Geled-el-Nahâs, the leathering of the kettle-drum. It lasts eight or ten days successively; during which time the meleks and great men offer to the monarch considerable presents. I have known the melek of jelabs take with him in his visit of congratulation presents of various kinds, worth sixty head of slaves. Almost all, except absolute mendicants, are obliged to come forward with some offering proportioned to their rank. In recompence of this involuntary generosity on the part of the people, a kindness almost as involuntary, but somewhat cheaper, is exhibited on the part of the Sultan — his kitchen during the time is devoted to the public service. But as too great a number of animals is frequently slaughtered on the first day, the meat often remains to be devoured in a corrupt state; which gave occasion to some one to remark, that the festivals of Fûr resembled those of the leopard*. The celebrity is also marked by a review of the troops. But as

* It is not usual with Mohammedans to eat meat in such a state. It is reported in Soudan, I know not how truly, that the leopard after he has seized his prey, leaves it till it become putrid before he eats of it.

their equestrian exercises are no more than a clumsy imitation of those of the Mamlûks, a more particular description of them would afford nothing new. They serve however to characterise the mode of warfare, where victory is always the effect of personal exertion. The monarch and his chief officers have fine horses of Dongola, which they mount without skill, carrying in one hand five or six javelins, in the use of which they are adequately expert.

During the summer of 1794, five men, who had exercised considerable authority in some of the provinces, were brought to El Fasher as prisoners. It was said that they had been detected in treasonable correspondence with the hostile leader (Hassem) in Kordofân. They did not undergo any form of trial, but as the Sultan chose to give credit to the depositions that were made against them, his command issued for their execution. Three of them were very young men, the youngest not appearing to be more than seventeen years of age. Two of them were eunuchs. A little after noon they were brought, chained and fettered, into the market-place before one of the entrances of the palace, escorted by a few of the royal slaves, armed with spears. Several of the meleks, by the monarch's express order, were present, to witness, as he termed it, what they might expect to suffer if they failed in their fidelity. The executioner allowed them time only to utter some short prayer, when he plunged the knife in the neck of the oldest of them, exactly in the same manner as they kill a sheep. The operation too is marked by the same term (*dhebbab*). He fell and struggled for some time: the rest suffered in their turn. The three last were much agitated, and the youngest wept. The two first had borne their fate with becoming firmness. The crowd that had assembled, had scarcely satiated itself with the spectacle of their convulsive motions while prostrate in the dust, when the slaves of the executioner coolly brought a small block of wood, and began mangling their feet with an axe. I was surprised at this among Mohammedans, whose decency in all that concerns the dead is generally worthy of applause. Nor did it diminish my astonishment, that having at length cut off their feet, they took away the fetters which had been worn by the criminals, in themselves of very inconsiderable value, and left the bodies where they were. Private humanity, and not public order, afterwards afforded them sepulture.

It happened this year that some excesses had been committed by persons in a state of inebriation, and the Sultan having had cognizance of the fact, could find a remedy only in force. He ordered search to be made in all houses throughout the country for the utensils for making *merisé*; directed that those who should be found in a state of intoxication should be capitally punished; and the women who made it should have their heads shaved, be fined severely, and exposed to all possible ignominy. The Furians had however been habituated to *merisé* before they had known their monarch, or the Islam. The severity of the order, therefore, and the numbers trespassing against it, defeated the Sultan's purpose. It was indeed put in execution, and a few miserable women suffered unrelenting torture, and innumerable earthen jars were indignantly strewed piccemeal in the paths of the faithful; but the opulent, as is usual, escaped with impunity, and some were bold enough to say, that the eyes even of the Sultan's women were still reddened with the voluptuous beverage, while priests and magistrates were bearing the fulminating edict from one extremity of the empire to the other. It is certain that, subsequent to this new law, the minds of the troops were much alienated from the monarch, and it is thought that no other cause than this was to be sought. The monarch who admits of no licence will never reign in the hearts of the soldiery; and he must give up the hope of their affections, who is disposed to become an impartial censor of the public morals.

Innumerable reports had been propagated at different times, that the jelabs would be allowed to depart. But none was well authenticated; nay, as afterwards appeared, all were false. It is probable they were artfully circulated by order of the Sultan, with a view to cajole the foreign merchants, who, having now collected the intended number of slaves, were at a heavy expense for their daily sustenance, and of course ill bore the unexplained delay, while his own merchandize was sold at a prodigious advance in Egypt. In effect, two small caravans found their way thither, between the time of my arrival at Fûr, and that of my departure; but they consisted only of the Sultan's property, and that of one or two individuals, whom he particularly favoured. For a great quantity of merchandize having accumulated in his hands, he was determined to dispose of it to advantage, before the other merchants should be permitted to produce theirs for sale.

They were therefore restrained by the strong arm of power, to favour the monarch's pernicious monopoly; while the latter, with singular effrontery, gave out, that he had sent to negotiate with the beys the reception of the commodities of Soudân, on more advantageous terms than they had been before admitted.

The man whom I had brought with me from Kahira as servant had availed himself of the property he had plundered to purchase several slaves. He still continued to live in an apartment within the same inclosure with myself, and I occasionally employed one of his slaves to prepare my food.

He knew too much of me to imagine that I should lose any opportunity that might offer of punishing him, and accordingly was desirous of anticipating my design. I had received warning of his views, and was cautious, sleeping little at night, and going always armed; not that I much expected any thing would be attempted by open force, though in effect two men had been employed by him, under promise of a reward, to strangle me. Finding that measure unsuccessful, he obtained some corrosive sublimate, and put it into a dish that one of the slaves was dressing. She was honest and generous enough to inform me of it, or the scheme would probably have taken effect, as I had certainly then no suspicion. The villain on returning, after a few hours, and finding that the poison had not produced its effect, vented his rage on the slave, and had nearly strangled her with a cord, when I interfered, and forced him to leave her. The next scheme was an accusation of debauching his slaves, which after a tedious investigation before the civil judge, and then the melek of jelabs, I was able to refute. Other attempts, planned with sufficient art, were made against my life, which, however, I had equal good fortune in escaping.

In the summer of 1795, I received the second payment for the property in the Sultan's hands, which consisted of female camels (naka). The same injustice operated on this occasion as before. After all the other creditors of the monarch had been satisfied, I was directed to choose from what remained: two of which, as usual, were allotted as equivalent to a slave, though of so inferior a kind, that three would not have been sufficient to purchase one.

After having received these, I was preparing to return to Cobbé, when a message came to require my attendance on a sick person. The patient was brother of the melek of the jelabs. He was in the last stage of a peripneumony, and I immediately saw the case was desperate; but was forced to remain there with the sick man, administering such remedies as his situation permitted the application of, till he expired. Two guides were sent to accompany me home, but coming to a torrent that crossed the road, (it was the middle of the harîf, or wet season,) they were fearful of passing it,

The time I was constrained to devote to this patient afforded me an opportunity of remarking the true believer's practice of physic. No mummary, that ever was invented by human imbecility to banish the puny fears of mortality, was forgotten to be put in practice. The disease was sometimes exorcised as a malignant spirit, at others deprecated as the just visitation of the Deity: two or three thousand fathas were to be uttered, and numbered at the same moment on a chaplet; and sentences of the Koran were then written on a board, which being washed off, the inky water was offered to the sick man to drink, when he was no longer able to open his mouth. But though this puerile anxiety prevailed so long as the man remained alive, the moment he was dead, all sunk into undisturbed composure, except a few of the women, who officiously disquieted the living, with vociferations of affected sorrow for the dead.

Near the end of the year 1795, a body of troops was mustered and reviewed, who were to replace those that had died of the small pox in Kordofân, which it was said amounted to more than half the army. The spoils which had been taken from Hassem, were also on this occasion ostentatiously displayed. They consisted of eighty slaves, male and female, but the greater proportion of the latter, many of them were very beautiful, nor the less interesting, that though the change in their situation could not be very important, their countenances were marked with despondency. To these succeeded five hundred oxen and two hundred large camels; the whole procession concluded with eighty horses, and many articles of less value borne by slaves. Shouts rent the air, of "Long live el Sultan Abd-el-rachmân el rashid! May God render him always victorious!"

A short time after I caused a petition to be drawn up, which was presented by Ali-el-Chatib to the Sultan, in which I stated my sufferings, requested payment of what yet remained due to me, and permission to proceed on my journey to Kordofân. Though the person who presented it was a man of considerable weight, no answer was given. I therefore followed it up by a visit in person, which I had resolved should be my last. My arrival was no sooner known, than I was directed as before to attend some sick person. This I positively refused to do; and it was many days before I could be admitted at court, for Fowaz, the melek of Jelabs, was grown tired of his office. I therefore accompanied (11th December 1795) the chaïb to the monarch's presence, and shortly stated what I came to request, which the former seconded, though not with the zeal that I might have wished. To my demand of permission to travel no answer was returned. But the generous and hospitable monarch, who had received from me the value of about 750 piasters in goods, and notwithstanding that my claim was well supported, condescended to give me twenty meagre oxen, in value about 120 piasters! The state of my purse would not permit me to refuse even this mean supply, and I bade adieu to El Fasher, as I hoped for ever.

Another accident happened at this time, which awaked my attention to personal security. Being retired at night to a small distance from my apartment, a spear was thrown over the fence, grazed my shoulder, and stuck in the ground near me. I ran to the place whence it came, but saw no one, and in vain endeavoured to discover the owner of it.

Having applied the value of the oxen to preparatives for the journey to Egypt, the report of the caravan's departure growing daily stronger, I lost no time in joining the

chabîr who was then encamped at Le Haimer, (3d March 1796,) a small village about three days' journey north of Cobbé, where was a tolerable supply of water, but no other requisite for living.

Two nights previously to leaving Cobbé I received a letter, impressed with the seal of Fowas, melek of jelabs, importing that he (Fowas) had obtained from the Sultan for me the permission I had so often earnestly sought, viz. of passing through Kordofan to Sennaar, and that nothing remained but to repair to El Fasher, and set out from that place. My astonishment was great at finding that what had so constantly and contumeliously been refused, should now be spontaneously offered. I therefore immediately went to some of the merchants, in whom I had the greatest confidence, to inquire their opinion. All of them strongly dissuaded me from paying any attention to the melek's letter, hinting at the same time that they understood what it meant. I acquiesced, notwithstanding my earnest desire of going eastward; and it afterwards was proved to me in a way sufficiently clear, that this letter was the result of a scheme concerted between the melek and my servant Ali, by which it was contrived that I should reach the eastern confine, and there perish by the hands of my attendants.

During my residence at El Fasher and Cobbé, I had been repeatedly assured, and that from those persons who were best informed, that the Sultan never meant to permit my departure; and the imperfect compensation he had directed for what had been brought him confirmed that opinion. But as I knew much is done among persons of that description by whispers, I took care to spread them thickly in his way. To the chabîr I promised an ample recompence for his assistance, and set before him the consequences of his appearing in Kahira without me. I also offered proofs that I had been able to dispatch letters to Egypt, unknown to the government here. The chabîr did not neglect to use his interest with the Sultan; and whether the latter was really intimidated by these vain insinuations, whether he had begun to hold a more favourable opinion of me, from my having been so long in the country without attempting any thing improper, or whether he was not in reality much more tranquil and indifferent on the subject than we at that time imagined, I cannot even now with certainty affirm.

We arrived at Le Haimer about a month before Ramadan, and it was not till the sixth day of El Hedge, the second month after that fast, that we actually commenced our journey to Egypt. In the mean time, having pitched the tent under a great tree, where we were sheltered from the rays of the sun, and in tolerable security, I fed on polenta (*as-cidé*) and water with the camel-drivers. I had collected eight camels for the journey, but the best of them was stolen while grazing. Another died, and to supply his place I was obliged to seek one on credit, for my whole exchangeable property at that time amounted only to about eight piasters.

While the caravan was assembling, an incident happened which may deserve mention. The Muggrebins of Elwah, having passed by Selimé crossed the desert (a route of three or four days) to Dongola, where they carried off goods and captives. Among these was a Dongolese girl, of fourteen years of age, who was sold in Upper Egypt, and carried to Kahira, where she was bought by an Arab, who had afterwards returned to Dar-Fûr with his property. The girl being recognized by some Dongolese, of her own tribe, resident in Fûr, the question came before the melek of the district, and was referred to the monarch. Her master pleaded the purchase at a valuable consideration; but it was decided that having been free, she was not a subject of sale, and she was restored to her friends.

This pretext of an accusation for purchasing free persons is often used to extort money from rich merchants, and an instance happened, within my knowledge, in which

the purchaser was condemned, not only to forfeit two females, but to pay a fine of seven slaves for each. Such is the sole attention which the government pays to the freedom of the subject.

Our voyage, once commenced, was continued with little remarkable, except the violent heat. We returned by the only caravan route, Bir el malah, Leghea, Selime, Sheb, and Elwah. Our provisions were indifferent, and in small quantity. The camel-drivers regaled themselves with the flesh of those animals, when they chanced to be disabled on the road. When we came to Beirîs we were met by a *cashef*, who welcomed the *jelabs* with an exhibition of fire works; on this occasion he treats the chief merchants with coffee, and presents to each a *benîsh* of coarse cloth, worth about a guinea, expecting, however, in return, a slave from each, worth at least ten guineas. When I arrived at Affiût it was four months since I had eaten of animal food. The hard living, heat, and fatigue, occasioned a diarrhœa which much weakened me; but before leaving Affiût, where I passed about twenty days, it was considerably abated.

CHAP. III.—*Topography of Fûr, with some account of its various Inhabitants.*

THE town called Cobbé, as being the principal residence of the merchants, and placed almost in the direct road from the north to the south extremity of the country, shall, for the sake of perspicuity, though not centrally situated, be considered as the capital of Dar-Fûr.

I found it to be in lat. $14^{\circ} 11'$ long. E. G. $28^{\circ} 8'$. This town is more than two miles in length, but very narrow, and the houses, each of which occupies within its inclosure a large portion of ground, are divided by considerable waste. The principal, or possibly the only view of convenience by which the natives appear to have been governed in their choice of situation and mode of building, must have been that of having the residence near the spot rented or inherited by them for the purpose of cultivation. The town is full of trees of several kinds, among which are the palm, *deleib*, &c. but chiefly the *heglig* and the *nebbek*, which give it an agreeable appearance at a small distance, for being situated in a plain, it is not distinctly visible more than four or five miles in any direction.

During the rainy season, the ground on which it stands is surrounded by a wadi or torrent. Fronting it to the east, (for the town extends from north to south,) is a mountain or rock, distinguished by the same appellation. It is not memorable for its height, nor indeed for any thing but as being the resort of hyenas and jackals; yet it forms part of a ridge of hills or rocks, for there is little earth on them, which runs from north to south for many leagues.

The inhabitants are supplied with water from wells, of small depth, which are dug within the inclosure of many of the houses; but the best of them are those which are in or near the bed of the torrent. The water is generally turbid, and though not apparently possessing any injurious quality, has often an ungrateful flavour. The quantity too is not always equal to the public consumption, which sometimes throws the people into difficulties before the periodical return of the rains. Their manner of digging is so unskilful, that the soil often collapses; and the same well is seldom useful for more than three or four months successively.

There are some villages, at small distances, in various directions from Cobbé, which are dependent on it, and increase its apparent population. To the N.E. by N. Hellet

Haffan, inhabited altogether by the people of Dongola. It has been * governed many years by the Chabîr Haffan wullad Nafr, one of the oldest of them, who had been formerly once, or more than once chabir (leader) of the jelabs on their journey to Kahira, and a man, as I have generally understood, respectable for his talents and his virtues. North and north-west, Nûkti and Hellet-hummâ. South, Hellet-el-Atamnê and Hellet Jemîn-Ullah. South-west and west, Hellet-el-Fukkara and Bweri. There are some other smaller ones, the names of which I have either never learned or have forgotten.

On all sides Cobbé is surrounded by a plain. To the west and south-west it extends to the foot of Kerda and Malha, two rough mountains or rocks, at about twenty miles distance in that direction. South it is bounded by Gebel Cufa, at near twelve miles distance, near which are seen some villages. South-east it extends to Barbogé, and is there bounded, on the north-east, by Gebel Wanna, and on the east-south-east by a wadi or torrent, which bears its name, and the sands (goze) beyond it. But to the east there is no extent of level ground; the whole road from Sweini north, to Gidîd south, being bounded in that direction by a mountain, first under the name of Téga, and then under that of Wanna. Gebel Cobbé stands almost insulated, and is placed west of the latter. In Cobbé there are very few houses, perhaps none, inhabited by natives of Fûr. The people are all merchants and foreigners. The other more noted towns of the empire are, Sweini, Kûrma, Cubcabiâ, Rîl, Cours, Shoba, Gidîd, Gellé. Sweini is situated almost north of Cobbé, at the distance of more than two days diligent travelling. Kûrma, a small town, west by south, at the distance of four and a half or five hours — twelve or thirteen miles. Cubcabiâ, a more considerable one, it was not in my power to visit, but it is described as nearly due west, at the distance of two days and a half. The road is rocky and mountainous, and of course may be supposed somewhat circuitous. Cours, a place of little note, north-west by west, at five hours and a half travelling from Cobbé. Rîl is something more than three days removed from it, in the direction south-south-east; and as the road is good and lies through a plain, this cannot be estimated at much less than sixty miles. Shoba is two days and a half from Cobbé.

Gidîd is nearly south-east, and about one day and a half from Cobbé. Gellé is not far from Cubcabiâ, but some hours further removed to the south. Sweini is the general resort of the merchants trading to Egypt, both in going and returning, and thence derives its chief importance. Provisions, of most kinds which the country affords, are found there in plenty, and while the jelabs remain there, a daily market is held. The Chatib, and some other of the principal merchants have houses there, for the convenience of lodging their property, as the caravans pass and repass. A melek, with a small number of troops, is always stationed there to receive them. The town therefore may be considered as in some measure the key of that road, though not entirely so, as there are two others which lead from the center of Dar-Fûr towards Egypt, without going to Sweini.

The poorer people who constantly live there, are either of the province called Zeghawa, or Arabs.

In Kourma, the merchants who occupy almost the whole of the place; are called the Jeiâra, most of them born in the Upper Egypt. Exclusively of them and their dependents, the number of people in that town is inconsiderable. Twice in the week a market is held there for meat and other provisions, as at Cobbé.

* Here is one among many instances of tacit submission to the authority of the head of a tribe, though unfurnished with any express deputation from the government.

Cubcabîa is a considerable town, and its inhabitants various and numerous. It forms the key of the western roads, as Sweini of the northern; and is the depôt of all the merchandize that is brought from that quarter. A market is held there twice a week, in which the chief medium of exchange for articles of small value is salt, which the inhabitants make by collecting and boiling the earth of those places where horses, asses, or other animals have been long stationary. This market is celebrated for the quantity of tokens, and for the manufacture, if so it may be called, of leather, which they are very dextrous in stripping of the hair, tanning, and then forming into large and durable sacks for corn, (gerauts,) water, (rag,) and other purposes. The tokens are cotton cloths, of five, six, or eight yards long, and eighteen to twenty-two inches wide: they are strong but coarse, and form the covering of all the lower class of both sexes. The inhabitants are partly Fûrians, who speak their own language, in part Arabs, and partly from some of the western countries, as Bergoe, &c. There are also some of the race called Felatîa, and other descriptions.

In Cours are found some merchants from the river; the remainder are Fukkara, who affect extraordinary sanctity, and are distinguished for their intolerance and brutality to strangers. Rîl is inhabited partly by Fûrians; but there are also some foreign merchants. During the reign of Sultan Teraub there appear to have been many more there; for he had built a house, and made the town his usual residence in time of peace. But Abd-el-rachmân has abandoned it, probably from the fear attendant on usurpation. Rîl* is the key of the south and east roads, as Cubcabîa of the west, and Sweini of the north; and therefore a melek with a body of troops commonly resides there, as a guard to the frontier, and to keep the Arabs, who abound in that neighbourhood, in subjection. It is a place eminently fitted for the imperial residence, being abundantly supplied with fresh water from a large pool, which is never completely dry, with bread from Saïd †, with meat, milk, and butter from the Arabs, who breed cattle, and with vegetables from a soil well adapted to horticulture; nor are they without a kind of tenacious clay, which, with little preparation, becomes a durable material for building. In Shoba, another town of some note, was an house of Sultan Teraub. The place is said to be well supplied with water, and there are some chalk pits near it, from which that material was drawn at the time I was in the country. These pits were then almost exhausted, for the purpose of adorning the royal residence, and some others, with a kind of white-wash. In Shoba reside some jelabs; the rest of the people are Fûrians, and occupied in other pursuits.

Gidîl has also a competent supply of water, and is near the road from Cobbé to Rîl. Its bearing from the former is south-east. It is a town of Fukkara, who are reported to be so little famous for hospitality, that they will hardly furnish to a traveller water to allay his thirst. In this town are many houses, and some of them belong to merchants who derive their origin from the eastward.

Gellé was esteemed less flourishing than most other towns of Dar-Fûr, being under the galling tyranny of a priest. The Faqui Seradge, one of the two principal Imams of the Sultan, a man of intrigue and consummate hypocrisy, had gained an ascendancy over his master, and distanced all competitors at court. Gellé was his native place, and the people of the town were become his dependents. His unsated

* Sultan Teraub used always to reside at Rîl, but the present monarch, or usurper, is induced by his fears to wander from place to place. The first place I saw him at was Heglig; the next was Tini; the third was Tendelti, where he passed about a year.

† The Fûrians, it may be remarked, distinguish the south part of their empire by this term, as well as the Egyptians.

avarice left them neither apparel nor a mat to lie on ; and his immortal malice persecuted them for having no more to plunder. The greater part of the people are either Corobâti or Felatîa (two tribes) ; of the latter sort is the faqui.

The greater part of the people inhabiting Cobbé consists, as hath been already observed, of merchants. The generality of them are employed in trading to Egypt, and some of them are natives of that country ; but the greater number come from the river. The latter class, if from circumstances a conjecture may be hazarded, seem first to have opened the direct communication between Egypt and Fûr. For many years their native countries, Dongola, Mahas, and all the borders of the Nile as far as Sennaar, which, according to report, are in all the gifts of nature much superior to Dar-Fûr, have been the scene of devastation and bloodshed, having no settled government, but being continually torn by internal divisions, and harassed by the inroads of the shaikié and other tribes of Arabs, who inhabit the region between the river and the Red Sea. Such of the natives as were in a condition to support themselves by traffic, or by manual labour, in consequence emigrated, and many of them retired to the west. These people, accustomed in their native country to a short and easy communication with Egypt, and impelled by the prospect of immense profit, which a farther attempt of the same kind promised them, opened the route which the jelabs now pursue. But to return to Cobbé.

Some Egyptians, chiefly from Said, a few Tunisines, natives of Tripoli, and others, come and go with the caravans, only remaining long enough to sell their goods. Others have married at Dar-Fûr, and are now perfectly naturalized, and recognized as subject to the Sultan. The Fathers being no more, the children are in many instances established in their room, and are engaged in the same occupations.

The remainder of them consists of foreigners, coming from Dongola, Mahas, Sennaar, and Kordofân, who are generally remarked as indefatigable in commerce, but daring, restless, and seditious, which consideration has induced the present Sultan to use some efforts to banish them from his dominions, and the offspring of those whose parents have emigrated, and who are themselves born in Dar-Fûr. The latter are often people of debauched manners, and not remarkable for the same spirit of enterprise as the actual emigrants. Gradually formed to the despotism which coerces their external deportment, and seeks to crush and sterilize even the seeds of energy, somewhat of the spirit of their progenitors yet remains : the affections indeed are turned askance, but not eradicated. The passions that should have been made *ad aures æthereas*, opposed revert to Tartarus. The luxuriance of mental vigour, though repulsed and forcibly inverted, still extends its ramifications. Its pallescent shoots pierce the dunghill, when not permitted to open themselves to the influence of the sun. The active mind may descend to brutal sensuality, when it can no longer expand itself in a more sane exercise.

The people first mentioned commonly among themselves use the language of Barabra, though they also speak Arabic. The latter are generally unacquainted with any language but the Arabic. They usually intermarry with each other, or with the Arabs. Some of them avoid marrying, and cohabit only with their slaves, seldom taking to wife a Fûrian woman. Both these descriptions of men are easily distinguishable from the natives of the country *, being usually of a more olive complexion, and having a form

* On the east of Fûr there is a particular tribe of Arabs, who curl their hair, as it were, in a bushy wig, resembling that of the antient figures in the ruins of Persepolis. It is probable that many fragments of ancient nations may be found in the interior of Africa. Carthaginians expelled by the Romans, Vandals by Belisarius, &c. &c.

of visage more nearly resembling the European, with short curly black hair, but not wool. They are a well-sized and well-formed people, and have often an agreeable and expressive countenance, though sometimes indicating (if so much faith may be given to physiognomy) violent passions, and a mutable temper. Such are the inhabitants of Cobbé. South-east of the town, in a large open space adapted to the purpose, a market* is held twice in the week, (Monday and Friday,) in which are sold provisions of every kind, and, in short, all the commodities which the country produces, or which are derived from Egypt and other quarters. Slaves however, though sometimes brought to the market, are now commonly sold privately, which is not unfrequently complained of as an evil, inasmuch as it facilitates the sale of such as have been stolen from other quarters. The people of Barabra and Kordofân cannot relinquish their favorite liquor, and as all who drink persist in drinking till they are completely inebriated, the natural violence of their temper is increased, and gives occasion to continual disputes, which frequently are not decided without blows, and occasionally terminate in bloodshed.

There are in the town four or five medsebs, where boys are taught to read, and, if they wish it, to write. Such of the Fukkara as fill the office of lecturer, instruct gratuitously the children of the indigent; but from those who are in easy circumstances they are accustomed to receive a small remuneration. Two or three lecture in the korân, and two others in what they call *elm*, theology.

There was, at the time of my arrival, only one small mosque, a little square room, formed by walls of clay, where the Fukkara were accustomed to meet thrice in the week. The Cadi of the place was a certain Faqui Abd-el-rachmân, a man much in the decline of life, originally of Sennaar. He had studied at the Jama-el-azher in Kahira, and was much reputed in the place for the justice and impartiality of his decisions, and the uniform sanctity of his life. He sunk under the weight of years and infirmity, during the second year after my arrival, and the charge of Cadi was committed by the monarch to another, who was almost incapacitated from executing the duties of it, as well by a painful disorder as by his great age. The more active part of the office, therefore, was discharged by his son, who was as remarkable for corruption as the Faqui Abd-el-rachmân had been for integrity. Whether from indignation at this man's unworthiness, or envy of his pre-eminence, is uncertain, a division ensued among the Fukkara, and part of them united under Haffan, part under Bellilu, a man said to be learned in the laws, but of a forbidding and ungracious deportment. The former, with the countenance and assistance of the Sultan, had commenced building a mosque more spacious than that above mentioned; but I observed it went on slowly, though the material for building was nothing better or more costly than clay. The area inclosed was about sixty-four feet square, and the walls were to be three feet thick.

* In the market held at Cobbé, there are slaughtered ordinarily from ten to fifteen oxen, and from forty to sixty sheep; but all the villages, six or eight miles round, are thence supplied.

It is usual for the people of the town to lay in their annual stock of grain when cheapest, which is commonly about the month of December. At that time two, sometimes three mids (pecks) of millet (donk) may be had for a string of beads, worth about one penny sterling in Kahira.

CHAP. IV.—*On the Mode of travelling in Africa—Seasons in Dar-Fûr—Animals—Quadrupeds—Birds—Reptiles and Insects—Metals and Minerals—Plants.*

ONE mode of travelling, with small variations, obtains through all the north of Africa. I mean by caravans (from *karu*, to wander from place to place). When the inhabitants have occasion to pass the boundaries of their respective states, they form themselves into a larger or smaller body, united under one head. Their association is produced by considerations of mutual convenience and security, as even the most easy and safest of the roads they are to pass, would yet be difficult and dangerous for a single traveller.

Three distinct caravans are employed in bringing slaves, and other commodities, from the interior of Africa to Kahira. One of them comes straight from Murzûk, the capital of Fezzân, another from Sennaar, and the third from Fûr. They do not arrive at fixed periods, but after a greater or less interval, according to the success they may have had in procuring slaves, and such other articles as are fitted to the market, the orders of their respective rulers, and various other accidental circumstances.

The Fezzân caravan is under the best regulations. The merchants from that place employ about fifty days in their passage from Murzûk to Kahira; which city they as often as possible contrive to reach a little before the commencement of Ramadan, that such as find themselves inclined to perform the pilgrimage, may be prepared to accompany the Emir of Misr. The sale of their goods seldom employs them in the city much more than two months; after the expiration of which, those who have no design of visiting Mecca return to their native country. The arrival of this caravan is generally annual.

The other two are extremely various in their motions; sometimes not appearing in Egypt for the space of two or even three years, sometimes two or more distinct caravans arriving in the same year. The perpetual changes in their several governments, and the caprices of their despots, are in a great degree the occasion of this irregularity. The road also between these two places and Kahira, is often infested by bodies of independent Arabs, as that of Sennaar, by the Ababde and Shaikié, and that of Fûr by the Cubba-Beeb and Bediât: the latter is however for the most part much safer than the former. The departure of a caravan from Dar-Fûr forms an important event. It engages the attention of the whole country for a time, and even serves as a kind of chronological epocha.

The period of their arrival in Kahira is as uncertain as that of their departure; for they travel indifferently either in winter or summer. The journey from Assûan to Sennaar requires much less time than that from Assûit to Dar-Fûr.

Many obstacles exist to the erection of any permanent marks by which the roads of the desert might be distinguished. Yet I have observed that the people of our caravan, in such places as afforded stones for the purpose, used to collect four or five large ones, thus raising small heaps at proper distances from each other. This affords them some satisfaction at their return; but in many places, where the sand is loose and deep, it becomes impracticable. They are then obliged to rely on the facility acquired by habit, of distinguishing the outline and characteristic features of certain rocks, as they are perfectly ignorant of the compass, and very little informed as to the fixed stars. Though the names of the constellations be little known to them, yet they distinguish such as may guide them in their course during the night. With all these aids
however

however their deviations from the true line are not infrequent. Three times, in the course of our journey, the whole caravan was quite at a loss for the road, though some of the members of it had made ten or twelve different journeys to and from Dar-Fûr. During the whole of my route I had reason to suspect that the accounts in books of travels, which have generated such terrific notions of the moving sands of Africa, are greatly exaggerated. While we remained at Leghea, indeed, a violent gale sprang from the north-west, and raised a cloud of sand. At that time I placed a wooden bowl, capable of containing about two gallons, in the open air. Thirty minutes had elapsed when it appeared completely filled with sand. Our companions indeed affected to relate various stories of caravans that had been overwhelmed. But as neither time nor place were adduced, it would seem not unreasonable to doubt the truth of the assertion.

If caravans have been thus buried on their road, it may be presumed that accident can only have happened after they have been deprived of the power of moving, by the influence of a hot wind, want of water, and other causes. A number of men, and other animals, found dead, and covered with sand, would be sufficient ground for succeeding native travellers to believe, as they are strangers to ratiocination, or, though not entirely persuaded, to relate, as they delight in the marvellous, that the persons they had found had been overwhelmed on their march; when in fact this accumulation had not happened till they were already dead. But perhaps the matter scarcely merits this discussion.

Our company consisted of nearly five hundred camels. This exceeds the number usually employed by the jelabs on their return from Egypt, which is often not more than two hundred. In passing from Dar-Fûr to Egypt, they esteem two thousand camels, and a thousand head of slaves, a large caravan. Of persons of other countries, but particularly Egyptians, trading for themselves, there were not more than fifty, including five or six Coptic Christians, whose admittance in Dar-Fûr the monarch of that country has since forbidden. Several of this number were Muggrebines, or Occidental Arabs; the remainder, amounting to one hundred and fifty or two hundred, including the chabîr, or leader, were subjects of Fûr. Few particulars of other caravans are known to me but by report.

The Arabs and jelabs find the camel too indispensable to their long and fatiguing voyages, not to employ much care in nourishing him. This ship of the land, (البري مركب) as he is called, is exclusively the bearer of their fortunes, and the companion of their toils. Much care is observed in rearing him, and not unfrequently the merchant pays nearly as much for the camels to carry his merchandize, as he did for the commodities themselves; what then must be the profit that covers his expenses, his fatigue, indemnifies him for accidental losses, and yet leaves him a gainer? But if this patient and enduring animal be thus rendered subservient to their wants, or their avarice, he is not at least tortured for their caprice.

Horses are very little used by the jelabs. They generally furnish themselves with Egyptian asses, which alleviate the fatigue of the way, and are afterwards sold in Soudân at an advanced price. The strength and spirits of this animal are recruited with a small quantity of straw and water; the horse has not the same recommendation; and these people, though not averse from parade in cities, find the labour and hazard of these voyages too enormous, not to augment their profits by all possible economy.

The provisions they use are scanty and indifferent, and by no means testify any fore-sight for the necessities of the sick, or for the procrastination of the voyage by those innumerable accidents that may befall them.

I did not observe that any of them were furnished with dried meat, as is common with the Fezzanners. But few used coffee and tobacco; and the rest contented themselves with a leathern bag of flour, another of bread baked hard, a leathern vessel of honey or treacle, and another of butter. The quantity of each was regulated by the number of persons, and seldom exceeded what is absolutely necessary. In travelling from Dar-Fûr to Egypt another article is much in use, especially for the slaves, which Egypt itself does not afford, or produces in no quantity. The grain chiefly in use among the Fûrians is the small kassob, called among them dokn (millet). Of this, after it has been coarsely ground, they take a quantity, and having caused it to undergo a slight fermentation, make a kind of paste. This will keep a long time, and when about to be used, water is added to it; if properly made, it becomes a tolerably palatable food. But the natives are not very delicate. From its acidity they esteem it a preventive of thirst. The fermentation gives it also a slight power of incrusting, and it has a narcotic tendency. The substance so prepared is called ginscia. The want of materials for fire on the road prevents the use of rice, and other articles that would require cookery.

Experienced travellers, among every ten camels laden with merchandize, charge one with beans, and straw chopped small, which, sparingly given, serves them during the greater part of the voyage. Those with whom I travelled were not so provided, these articles being then very dear in Egypt; and in consequence numbers of camels perished. In coming from Dar-Fûr, they use for the same purpose the dokn, and coarse hay or the country, but not altogether with the same salutary effect.

The water, in leaving Egypt, is commonly conveyed in goat skins artificially prepared; but no skill can entirely prevent evaporation. On their march from Soudân to Egypt, the jelabs oftener use ox hides, formed into capacious sacks and properly seasoned with tar or oil. A pair of these is a camel's load. They keep the water in a better state for drinking than the smaller; and these sacks are sold to great advantage throughout Egypt, a pair of the best kind being sometimes worth thirty piastres. They are the common instruments for conveying water from the river to different parts of each town. The camels are not allowed to partake of this store, which, after all the care that can be taken of it, is often very nauseous, from the tar, the mud which accompanies the water in drawing, heat, &c. Six of the smaller skins, or two of the larger, are generally esteemed sufficient for four persons for as many days.

The Cubba-Beesh, and the Bedeiât, the latter of whom seem to me not of Arab origin, when they make any attempt on the caravans, commonly shew themselves between Leghea and the Bîr-el-Malha. But this road is so ill provided with any thing that is necessary for the sustenance of man or beast, that neither the wandering tribes, nor the ferocious animals, which infest other parts of the continent, are commonly found there. The Egyptians and other whites therefore, though they commonly carry fire-arms with them from the north, generally take advantage of the market of Fûr, and return without any. The natives of Soudân are furnished with a light spear, or spears, the head of which is made of unhardened iron of their country. They have also a shield of about three feet long, and one foot and a half or three-quarters broad, composed of the hide of the elephant or hippopotamus, very simple in its construction.

Intercourse with Mecca.

NO regular caravan of Hadgîs leaves Dar-Fûr, but a number of the natives make their way to Mecca, either with the caravan of merchants trading to Egypt, or by way

of Suakem and Jidda. The present King was about to establish his attorney (waquf) at Mecca, but some obstacles had prevented his reaching that place when I came away. Fear of the sea, or I know not what other cause, prevents them from choosing the route by Suakem, though it be so much shorter and less expensive than that by the way of Egypt; but the territory between Fûr and Suakem is not subject to any settled government, and those who have travelled with property have frequently been plundered there. The Tocrûri, however, who come from various parts, and somewhat resemble the Derwishes of the north, travelling as paupers, with a bowl to drink out of, and a leathern bag of bread, frequently take that route and pass in safety.

Seasons, &c.

THE perennial rains, which fall in Dar-Fûr from the middle of June till the middle of September, in greater or less quantity, but generally both frequent and violent, suddenly invest the face of the country, till then dry and sterile, with a delightful verdure. Except where the rocky nature of the soil absolutely impedes vegetation, wood is found in great quantity, nor are the natives assiduous completely to clear the ground, even where it is designed for the cultivation of grain.

As soon as the rains begin, the proprietor, and all the assistants that he can collect, go out to the field, and having made holes at about two feet distance from each other, with a kind of hoe, over all the ground he occupies, the dokn is thrown into them, and covered with the foot, for their husbandry requires not many instruments. The time for sowing the wheat is nearly the same. The dokn remains scarcely two months before it is ripe; the wheat about three. Wheat is cultivated only in small quantities; and the present Sultan having forbidden the sale of it, till the portion wanted for his domestic use be supplied, it is with difficulty to be procured by purchase. The mahric, or greater kassob, which is a larger grain than the dokn, is also common, and a small supply of sesamum, (*simfim* in Arabic) is sown. What they term beans is a species of legumen different from our bean. In what are called gardens are bamea, meluchia, lentils, (adis) kidney beans, (lubi) and some others. The water-melon, and that called in Kahira Abd-el-awi, together with some other kinds, abound during the wet season, and indeed before if they be watered. Sultan Teraub was solicitous to procure every thing the gardens of Egypt produce, and caused much care to be taken of the culture of each article brought: but the present prince does not turn his thoughts to that kind of improvement, and little of the effect of his predecessor's laudable anxiety is at this moment distinguishable. There are several species of trees, but none that produces fruit worth gathering, unless it be the tamarind (tummara * Hindi). The date-trees are in very small number, and their fruit diminutive, dry, and destitute of flavour. That tree seems not indigenous in the country, but to have been transported from the neighbourhood of the Nile, Dongola, Sennaar, &c. The inhabitants appear not well to understand the management of this useful production; and perhaps the great drought will never admit of its flourishing, whatever diligence or care may be used to increase the number or improve the kind.

Animals. — Quadrupeds.

OF animals the list found in Dar-Fûr with which my own knowledge furnishes me, is not very extensive; nor will it be interesting so much as containing any thing new,

* Fruit of India.

but as it will shew the peculiar circumstances of the country, as distinguished from other neighbouring regions, and somewhat indicate the present state of the people.

The horse is used, but not in great number, nor are the natives very solicitous as to the breed. The only good horses they possess are bred in the country of Dongola, and by the Arabs to the east of the Nile. These are generally larger than we are accustomed to find the Egyptian horses. They are perfectly well formed, and full of fire, yet tractable. Their action is grand beyond what I have observed in any other species; but it is said they are not remarkable for bearing fatigue. The Arabs, who breed them, are in the habit of feeding them with milk. They rarely, if ever, castrate them. Horses and mares are indiscriminately used for the saddle. The horses of Soudân are none of them shod.

Two or three distinct breeds of sheep, *ovis aries*, exist in Soudân, not however very materially differing from each other. The large tailed sheep, which are found elsewhere, I believe are here unknown. The meat is inferior to that of the Egyptian sheep. They are covered with coarse wool, resembling hair, and apparently wholly unfit for any manufacture. The goats, *capra cervicapra*, are much more numerous than the sheep, and the flesh of the former is somewhat cheaper than that of the latter. The goats grow perhaps rather larger, but otherwise differ not from those of Egypt. It is not uncommon to castrate both these animals, but neither is it a very general practice.

The ass here is of the same appearance, and the same indocile nature, with that of Great Britain. The only good ones are what the jelabs bring with them from Egypt: yet the animal is much used for riding; indeed few persons mount an horse but the military, and those who are in immediate attendance at court. An Egyptian ass fetches from the value of one to that of three slaves, according to the weight he is able to bear. A slave will purchase three or four of the ordinary breed; yet they are not anxious to improve them. Perhaps the animal degenerates: but it is certain that his external appearance undergoes a great change.

The bull is sometimes castrated. Yet of the animals slaughtered in the market I have generally observed that the emasculated are fewest in number; nor is any preference given to the one over the other for food. Indeed, the character of animals in the entire state appears materially to differ from what is remarked of the same animals with us. The horned cattle, fed by the tribes in the vicinity of the rivers, amounts to a very considerable number, and the tribute paid out of them to the monarch forms a valuable part of his revenue. Thence they are brought to the several towns for slaughter. The beef is good: the Egyptians dislike it, but with the natives it is a constant article of food. Cows are also in abundance, but their milk is not very palatable: some of the settlers make it into a kind of cheese, but the inhabitants are not generally acquainted with that process; they have, however, a mode of giving it an acerb taste, and in that state it may be kept a few days, and is neither disagreeable nor insalubrious.

The camels of Fûr are of a mixed breed, and they are found of all colours and sizes. Those which come directly from the west or south are large, smooth-haired, and most frequently of a colour approaching to white, or light brown. Those which are brought from Kordofân are many of them black, and are remarked to be less docile than the others. There are few countries where the animal abounds more than in Dar-Fûr. They are remarkable for enduring thirst, but not for bearing great burthens. The camels in this country are particularly subject to the mange, (gerab) which

which attacks them chiefly in winter, and in some pastures much more than in others. This malady is very contagious. It is cured by the application of a kind of tar, procured by distillation per deliquium, from the seeds of the water-melon. When the male camel is found unruly, they sometimes deprive him of one or both testicles. It is a cruel operation, as immediately after having incised with an ordinary knife, they sear the wound with an hot iron till the hemorrhage be stopped. It may be doubted whether this practice be permitted by the law of the Prophet; but, however bigotted their minds, where advantage is hoped for, their faith is ductile. The flesh of the camel, particularly of the female, (naka) which is fattened for the purpose, is here much used for food. It is insipid, but easily digested, and no way unpleasant. The milk also is much in esteem. The camels bred in Fezzân, and other countries to the west, as well as those of Arabia, are for labour reckoned superior to those of Fûr, and fetch an higher price. The former are larger and able to carry a heavier burthen, but not so capable of enduring thirst. In Soudân they seldom carry above five hundred weight, and oftener three or three and a half; while in Egypt they are frequently obliged to toil under eight, ten, or even more. From these are selected the camels which bear the sacred treasure to the tomb of the Prophet. Soudân affords many fine dromedaries, but those of Sennaar are most celebrated. Incredible stories are told of the long and rapid journies performed by them; as that they will hold out for four-and-twenty hours, travelling constantly at the rate of ten miles per hour: however this be, they are indisputably swift, and perform long journies almost without refreshment.

The dogs of Dar-Fûr are of the same kind as those of Egypt, and live on the public like the latter. I have understood that there is in some parts of the country a species of dog, used in hunting the antelope, (ghazâl, Ar.) and another sort to guard the sheep; of the sagacity of the latter wonderful tales are told, as well as of the courage and fidelity of both. Experience has not enabled me to confirm the report. The common house-cat is scarce; and if I am rightly informed, there are none but what have been originally brought from Egypt. They are of the same kind as with us.

The wild or ferocious animals are, principally, the lion, the leopard, the hyena, (Fûr. murfain, dubba, Ar.) the wolf, the jackal, canis aureus, the wild buffaloe: but they are not commonly seen within the more cultivated part of the empire, at least that which I have visited, excepting the hyena and the jackal; the former come in herds of six, eight, and often more, into all the villages at night, and carry off with them whatever they are able to master. They will kill dogs and asses, even within the inclosure of the houses, and fail not to assemble wherever a dead camel or other animal is thrown, which, acting in concert, they sometimes drag to a prodigious distance; nor are they greatly alarmed at the sight of a man, or the report of fire-arms, which I have often discharged at them, and occasionally with effect. It is related, that upon one of them being wounded, his companions instantly tear him to pieces and devour him; but I have had no opportunity of ascertaining this fact. The people of the country dig pits for them, and lying in ambuscade, when one is entrapped, stun him with clubs, or pierce him with their spears. The jackal is harmless, but his uncouth cry is heard far off, and wherever there are rocks to shelter them, their howling community dwells undisturbed.

In the countries bordering on the empire of Fûr, where water is in greater abundance, the other animals mentioned are very numerous, and much dreaded by travellers, particularly

particularly on the banks of the Bahr-el-Ada. To those already enumerated, may be added, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the camelopardalis, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile.

The elephant is seen, in the places he frequents, in large herds of four or five hundred, according to report. It is even said that two thousand are sometimes found together; but I do not suspect the Arabs of extreme accuracy in counting. These people hunt him on horseback, having singled out a straggler from the herd; or aim at him with spears from the trees; or make pits into which he falls. His hide is applied to many useful purposes. The African elephant is smaller than the Asiatic, and probably of a different species. The meat is an article of food in great esteem with them. The fat forms a valuable unguent, and the teeth, as is well known, supply the merchants with immense profits.

The buffalo is not found tame in Soudán. The wild one is hunted by the Arabs, and serves them for food. The hippopotamus is killed for his skin, (which being remarkably tough, makes excellent shields, and whips not wholly unlike our horsewhips); and for his teeth, which are much superior to ivory. The horn of the rhinoceros, to which animal the Arabs have applied a term somewhat less appropriate than the Greek, but still characteristic, (*abu-kurn*, father of the one horn,) makes a valuable article of trade, and is carried to Egypt, where it is sold at an high price, being used for sabrehilts, and various other purposes. The more credulous attribute to it some efficacy as an antidote against poison.

The antelope and the ostrich are extremely common throughout the empire. The civet-cat is not seen wild in the quarter which I visited, but is frequent enough farther to the south. Many are preserved in cages in the houses of the rich. The women apply the odour extracted from them to add to their personal allurements; and what is not thus disposed of becomes an article of trade.

The lion and leopard, though common in a certain district, are not found near the seat of government. The Arabs hunt them, strip off the skin, which they sell, and often eat the flesh, which they conceive generates courage and a warlike disposition. They occasionally take them young, and bring them for sale to the *jelabs*, who sometimes carry them as presents to the great men in Egypt. I purchased two lions: the one was only four months old when I bought him. By degrees, having little else to employ me, I had rendered him so tame, that he had acquired most of the habits of a dog. He satiated himself twice a week with the offal of the butchers, and then commonly slept for several hours successively. When food was given them they both grew ferocious towards each other, and towards any one who approached them. Except at that time, though both were males, I never saw them disagree, nor shew any sign of ferocity towards the human race. Even lambs passed them unmolested. The largest had grown to the height of thirty inches and a half over the shoulders.

The ennui of a painful detention, devoid of books and rational society, was softened by the company of these animals; and the satisfaction was not small, even from this species of diversion. At length, towards the end of my stay, after they had been with me more than two years, finding it impossible, under the circumstances I then was, to carry them with me, I shot the one; and the other, either from disease or the loss of his companion, died a few days afterwards. The Sultan had also two tame lions, which, with their attendant, came into the market to feed.

The remaining quadrupeds may be classed more briefly; for being all known, they will require no particular description.

Ar.

Mus jaculus — Jerboa.*Simia Æthiops* — Abelang.*Histria cistria* — Porcupine.*Simia cynamolgos* — kurd, Ar.

Birds.

1. *Charadrias Kerwan* — Oriental dotterel.
2. *Numida Meleagris* — Guinea fowl.
3. *Tetrao Coturnix* — Egyptian quail.
4. *Vultur Percnopterus* — White-headed vulture.
5. *Psittacus Alexandri* — Green peroquet.
6. *Columba domestica* — Common pigeon.
7. *Tetrao rufus* — Red partridge.
8. Owls (not common).
9. *Columba turtur*, very common.

No. 4. This bird is of surprising strength, and is said by the natives to be very long-lived, *sed fides penes auctores*. I have lodged a complete charge of large shot, at about fifty yards distance, in the body of this bird: it seemed to have no effect on him, as he flew to a considerable distance, and continued walking afterwards. I then discharged the second barrel, which was loaded with ball: this broke his wing, but on my advancing to seize him, he fought with great fury with the other. There are many thousands of them in the inhabited district. They divide the field with the hyena: what carrion the latter leaves at night, the former come in crowds to feed on in the day. Near the extremity of each wing is a horny substance, not unlike the spur of an old cock. It is strong and sharp; and a formidable instrument of attack. Some fluid exudes from this bird that smells like musk, but from what part of him I am uncertain.

No. 2. This beautiful bird is found in great numbers in Fŭr, of which the common fowl, though it now abounds, is not a native. The voice of the Guinea fowl, when apparently related, is very peculiar. No external difference, even in this their native climate, is to be observed between the male and female of this bird. They are carried as a profitable commodity to Kahira, where, however, in a domestic state, it is said they seldom or never breed.

5. These birds, in the beginning of summer, fill the trees in the vicinity of the town I lived in. They are caught unfledged, and brought up in the houses, till they become quite domestic; are then carried to Egypt, and taught a kind of speech, which being acquired, they are sold at a high price.

Of fish I saw none but what were too much disguised by drying to be recognised.

The fish in the river Ada, I am told, consist of nearly the same species as those of the Nile in Upper Egypt. They are caught in wicker baskets, and used for food. — The natives have also a way of drying them, but it does not prevent their being so offensive to the smell, as to be useless to any but themselves. Numerous huts built of reeds are found on the bank of the river, as well for the use of the fishermen, as of those who ensnare the ferocious animals that come to drink its waters.

The chameleon abounds in Dar-Fûr; the viverra ichneumon, nims, and almost all the species of lizard are also seen there.

Of serpents, the coluber hayé of Egypt, the coluber vipera, and the anguis Colubrina, were the only ones I saw: and no more than one or two of each; though it was represented to me that in some places they are numerous. The Fûrians have not the art of charming them, like the Egyptians and Indians. I exposed myself to much ridicule by collecting a number of chameleons in my apartment, to observe their character and changes; the people there think them impure, and relate many foolish stories concerning them.

A great number of insects and reptiles, which I had taken care to conserve, accident has deprived me of, and I cannot now furnish a catalogue. The scorpion is small, of a brown hue, and his venom not extremely violent. The natives cure the sting by immediately applying to the part a bruised onion, which is renewed till the pain subsides.

The white ant, or termites, is found in vast numbers, and is exceedingly destructive, eating through every thing within its reach, whether vegetables, cloth, leather, paper, provisions, &c. A bull's hide, if not newly covered with tar, is no defence against it. The apis mellifera (common bee) abounds; but they have no hives, and the wild honey is commonly of a dark colour, and unpleasant taste. I have observed a beetle, not very large, which is characterized by burying its eggs in a small ball of horse's or other dung, and then rolling the ball from place to place in the sand or clay, till it attains a size greatly exceeding that of the animal itself. Great quantities of cochineal are visible; which, if the natives, or the Egyptians who visit them, had any reflection or spirit, it might be thought would be applied to some useful purpose.

The locust of Arabia, gryllus, is very common, and is frequently roasted and eaten, particularly by the slaves. The scarabeus ceratonix; the culex Egypti, namûs in Ar. (mosquito), is particularly vexatious in the rainy season.

Metals and Minerals.

OF metals, the number found in the district known to me, is small. But in its neighbourhood, to the south and west, if I have been rightly informed, almost all descriptions are to be met with. The copper brought by the merchants from the territories of certain idolatrous tribes bordering on Fûr, is of the finest quality, in colour resembling that of China, and appears to contain a portion of zink, being of the same pale hue. The large rings into which it is formed (of ten or twelve pounds weight each) are very malleable: of the ore I never was able to procure a specimen. Iron is to be found in abundance, and the Pagan negroes, on whom the Mohammedans look with contempt, are the artists that extract it from the ore; an art of which the former, as far as I have seen, are ignorant. Though their iron, through the stupidity of the inhabitants, never acquire the more useful character of steel, its effects in the form of knives and javelins are yet commensurate with the malign dispositions of mankind. And though soft and perishable, with increased trouble in renewing the edge, the tools formed of it answer all the purposes of their rude workmanship.

The method by which I observed a workman supply the defect of a furnace for fusing metals appeared worth noticing. He had a leathern bag, which, on compression, forced the air through a wooden pipe for bellows, and placed over the fire, made in a small hole in the earth, the remains of a water jar, with which simple apparatus the effect was rapid and not inconsiderable.

Silver,

Silver, lead, and tin, I have never heard mentioned here, but as coming from Egypt. Of gold, in the countries to the east and west, the supply is abundant. Little comes to Dar-Fûr, except by accident. What is produced in the west reaches the northern markets by means of other caravans. The monarch occasionally obtains a small quantity for his own use from the east.

Alabaſter, and various kinds of marble exiſt within the limits of Fûr. The rocks chiefly conſiſt of grey granite, but of ſtone adapted to building, or convertible into lime, either there is none, or the quantity muſt be extremely ſmall. The granite ſerves for hand-mills without being cut, for the metal of which their tools are compoſed is too ſoft to be employed for that purpoſe.

Foſſile ſalt is common within a certain diſtrict; and there is a ſufficient ſupply of nitre, of which however no uſe is made. A quantity of ſulphur is brought by the Arabs, who feed oxen (bukara) from the ſouth and weſt. But of the place where it is found I have heard no deſcription. It muſt alſo exiſt on the mountain called Gebel Marra; as it is related there are hot ſprings there, which animals, particularly birds, are obſerved not to approach; this, if true, may be the effect of ſulphureous vapours.

Plants.

THOUGH my reſidence in Dar-Fûr was ſo much protracted, I feel myſelf able to furniſh only a very imperfect catalogue of its vegetable productions.* Theſe are to be ſought chiefly in the diſtrict of the ſouth, where water abounds, and where the extreme reſtraint under which I found myſelf prevented me from ſeeking them.

During ſeven or eight months in the year the whole ſurface of the earth to the north is dried up by the ſun, and the minute plants which ſpring and flouriſh during the Harif *, are mingled in the general marceſcence, as ſoon as that ſeaſon is paſſed. Even the trees, whoſe fibres pierce more deeply into the ſubſtance of their parent ſoil, loſe the diſtinctive marks of their proper foliage, and exhibit to the diſtant obſerver only the ſharp outline of their groſſer ramifications.

Of the trees which ſhade our foreſts or adorn our gardens in Europe, very few exiſt in Dar-Fûr. The characteriſtic marks of thoſe ſpecies which moſt abound there, are their ſharp thorns, and the ſolid and unperishable quality of their ſubſtance. 1. The tamarind is not very common in the quarter I frequented; but thoſe which were viſible to me were of great height and bulk, and bore a copious ſupply of fruit.

2. The plane, *platanus Orientalis*, *Deleib*, is found, but ſeems rather to have been brought from Egypt, than indigenouſ.

3: Sycamore of Egypt, *ficuſ Sycomoruſ*, *Gimmeiz*, a few near Cobbé; ſaid to be much more common to the ſouthward. I did not obſerve that it produced any fruit.

4. *Nebbek Ar.* *paliuruſ Athenzei*. Of this there are two ſpecies in Dar-Fûr. They term the largeſt *Nebbek-el-arab*. There is a difference in their fruit, as well as in their external appearance. The one is a buſh, with leaves of dark green, not very different from thoſe of the ivy, but much thinner. It appeared to be the ſame I had ſeen in the gardens of Alexandria. The other a tree growing to conſiderable ſize, but having both the leaves and fruit ſmaller, and the fruit of darker colour, and ſome-what different flavour; both of them equally thorny. The natives eat the fruit freſh

* Seaſon of the rains.

or dry, for it dries on the tree, and so remains great part of the winter months. In that state it is formed into a paste of not unpleasant flavour, and is a portable provision

5. *Heglij* or *Hejlij*, Ar. This tree is about the same size as the one last mentioned, and is said to be a native of Arabia, though I have seen it only in Fûr. The leaf is small, and the fruit it bears is of an oblong form, about the size of a date, colour brown, tinged with orange, dry, and of a viscous quality. The nucleus is large in proportion to the fruit, which adheres to it with great tenacity. This is also formed into a paste, but of no agreeable flavour. It is however eaten by the Arabs, and by some esteemed efficacious as a remedy for certain diseases. It seems a slight diuretic. The wood is hard, and of a yellowish colour; it grows in great abundance, and is very thorny. This, together with the nebbek, chiefly furnish thorns for the fences.

6. *Enneb*, a small tree, to the fruit of which they have given the name of grapes. It bears leaves of light green hue, and the fruit, which is of a purple colour, is attached not in bunches, but singly to the smaller branches, and interspersed among the leaves. The internal structure of the fruit is not very unlike the grape, which it also resembles in size, but the pulp is of a red hue, and the taste is strongly astringent.

7. *Shaw*, Ar. a shrub about the size of the arbutus, having like it, a leaf of strong texture, of oval form, pale green, wider at the lower and narrower at the upper extremity than the arbutus. The leaf has the pungency and very much the taste of mustard. This shrub I saw chiefly in Wadi Shaw, a place we passed in going and returning, between Sweini and Bîr-el-malha. The natives cut off the smaller branches which they use to rub their teeth, alleging that the acrid juice of this plant has the property of whitening them.

From an exact correspondence as to the place of its growth, viz. near the salt springs, the camels not eating it, and some other circumstances, I take this to be the Rack of Bruce, vol. v. p. 44. though unable to recognize it in the figure there given.

8. *Ceratonia Siliqua*, *Charôb*.

9. *Solanum sanctum*, nightshade, *Beidinjan* or *Melingân*, brought originally from Egypt, and used for food.

10. *El Henne*, from Egypt, growing into use.

11. *Sophar*, Ar. *Cassia sophora*, wild fenna, native, and grows in plenty after the rains.

12. *Sünt*, *Mimosa Nilotica*, in great quantity. It is from this tree, which is also called *Seidîl*, that the gum brought to Egypt by the caravans, is chiefly gathered. There are also found the trees called by Bruce *Ergett Dimmo*, and *Ergett-el-Kurân*, and the *Farek*, *Bauhinia Acuminata* of the same writer.

13. A kind of legumen called *Fûl*, bean. It is not much used for food, but as an ornament by the women, being strung in the form of beads when quite dry, at which time it is very hard. It is also used as a weight of four or five grains.

14. A beautiful legumen of a scarlet colour, with a black spot at the point of attachment to its cyst. It is called in Dar-Fûr *Shûsh*; is about the size of a small pea, hard and polished, grows on a plant resembling tares, is strung and used as an ornament by the women.

15. The common onion, *Allium cepe*, *Bassal*, Ar. is abundantly supplied in Dar-Fûr, but inferior in size, taste, and colour, to that of Egypt.

16. Garlick, *Allium sativum*, *Tûm*, Ar. cultivated and used for food.

17. Water-melon, *Cucurbita, citrullus*, *Butteik*, Ar. This grows wild over almost all the cultivable lands, and ripens as the corn is removed. In this state it does not

attain a large size. The inside is of a pale hue, and has little flavour. As it ripens, the camels, asses, &c. are turned to feed on it, and it is said to fatten them. The seeds, as they grow blackish, are collected to make a kind of tar, *Kutrân*. Those plants of the melon which receive artificial culture grow to a large size, and are of exquisite flavour.

18. Common melon, *Cucumis melo*, *Kawûn*, Ar. is occasionally cultivated, but rarely brought to perfection.

19. Cucumbers, *Cucumis sativus*, *Cheiar*, Ar. of which the jelabs have introduced the culture, as well as of the preceding.

20. Gourd, *Cucurbita Lagenaria*, *Karra*, Ar. This serves for drinking-vessels and other purposes. It is found in abundance. When fresh, it is used for food, and being properly dressed with meat is very palatable. Grows to a large size.

21. *Colocynthis*, *Handal*, Ar. very common.

22. *Momordica Elaterium*, *Adjûr*, Ar. also very common.

23. *Ufbar*. This plant abounds so much as to cover whole plains. No other use is made of it than to spread its branches and leaves under mats and goods, which it is said guards them from the *Termis* or white ant.

24. Nightshade, *Solanum foliis hirsutis*, *Enneb-el-dîb*.

25. Hemp, *Cannabis vulgaris*, *Hasbîsh*, Ar. is now become an article of regular culture, being used in various ways as an aphrodisiac, and in different proportion as a narcotic. *Hasbîsh* is a general name for green herbs, but chiefly appropriated to this: it is chewed in its crude state, inhaled by means of a pipe, or formed, with other ingredients, into an electuary, *maïjun*. In Egypt the consumption of this article is much greater than in Dar-Fûr, but the best is that of Antioch in Syria.

26. Rice, *Oryza*, *Oruzz*, Ar. is brought in small quantities by the wandering Arabs, who find it growing wild in the places they frequent. It is little used or esteemed, and indeed has no quality to recommend it.

27. Cayenne pepper, *chetti* or *Tchetti*, in the language of the country, is extremely common in one district, whence it is dispersed over the country and used with food.

28. Kidney-bean, *Lubi*, Ar.

29. *Meluchia*.

30. *Bamla*, in great abundance.

31. A plant of the same size with the *Meluchia*, of very dark green, strong smell and taste. It grows in great quantity, and with the natives forms a principal article of food. They call it *Cowel*.

32. *Sesamum*, *Simsim*, Ar. From this an oil is extracted. It is also bruised in a mortar, and mixed with the food. It is even used by the great to fatten their horses.

33. *Mabreik*, and *Dokn*, the *holcus dochna*, of *Forskâl*, as has been already mentioned, are the basis of their provision, but chiefly the latter.

34. Tobacco is produced in abundance in Fertî and Dar Fungarô. It seems to be unquestionably of native growth.

CHAP. V.—Government—History—Agriculture, &c.—Population—Building—Manners and Customs—Revenue—Articles of Commerce, &c.

Government.

THE magistracy of one, which seems tacitly, if it be not expressly favoured by the dispensation of Mohammed, as in most other countries professing that religion, prevails

in Bar-Fûr. The monarch indeed can do nothing contrary to the Korân, but he may do more than the laws established thereon will authorize : and as there is no council to control or even to assist him, his power may well be termed despotic. He speaks in public of the soil and its productions as his personal property, and of the people as little else than his slaves.

When manifest injustice appears in his decisions, the Fukkara, or ecclesiastics, express their sentiments with some boldness, but their opposition is without any appropriate object, and consequently its effects are inconsiderable. All the monarch fears is a general alienation of the minds of the troops, who may at their will raise another, as enterprising and unprincipled as himself, to the same envied superiority.

His power in the provinces is delegated to officers who possess an authority equally arbitrary. In those districts, which have always or for a long time formed an integral part of the empire, these officers are generally called meleks. In such as have been lately conquered, or perhaps, more properly, have been annexed to the dominion of the Sultan, under certain stipulations, the chief is suffered to retain the title of Sultan, yet is tributary to and receives his appointment from the Sultan of Fûr.

In this country, on the death of the monarch, the title descends of right to the oldest of his sons : and in default of heirs male, as well as during the minority of those heirs, to his brother. But under various pretences this received rule of succession is frequently infringed. The son is said to be too young, or the late monarch to have obtained the government by unjust means ; and, at length, the pretensions of those who have any apparent claim to the regal authority, are to be decided by war, and become the prize of the strongest.

It was in this manner that the present Sultan gained possession of the Imperial dignity. A preceding monarch, named Bokar, had three sons, Mohammed, surnamed Teraub, el-Chalife, and Abd-el-rachmân. Teraub the eldest (which cognomen was acquired by the habit of rolling in the dust when a child) first obtained the government. He is said to have ruled thirty-two lunar years, one of the longest reigns remembered in the history of the country. The sons he left at his death being all young, the second brother, under pretence that none of them was old enough to reign, which was far from being the fact, and in some degree favoured by the troops for the generosity by which he was eminently distinguished, under the title of chalife, viceroy of the realm, assumed the reigns of government. His reign was of short duration, and characterised by nothing but violence and rapine. He had been only a short time seated on the throne, when a discontented party joining with the people of Kordofân, in a war with whom his brother Teraub had perished, found employment for him in that quarter. Abd-el-rachmân, who, during the life of his brother, had assumed the title of Faquir, and apparently devoted himself to religion, was then in Kordofân. He took advantage of the situation of the chalife, and the increasing discontent of the soldiery, to get himself appointed their leader. Returning towards Fûr, he met his brother in the field, and they came to an engagement, which, whether by the prowess of Abd-el-rachmân, or the perfidy of the other's adherents, is unknown, was decided in favour of the former. The chalife was wounded ; and while one of his sons parried the blows that were aimed at his life, they perished together, covered with wounds. The children of Teraub, the rightful heirs, were in the mean time forgotten, and are now wandering about, scraping a miserable subsistence from the parsimonious alms of their usurping uncle. Abd-el-rachmân thought fit to sacrifice but one of them, who being of mature age, and, according to general report, endowed with talents greater than the rest, was the chief object of his suspicion and his fears.

The usurper, after the victory, found himself in peaceable possession of the throne; yet judging it right to maintain for a time the show of moderation and self-denial, he employed that dissimulation for which his countrymen are famous, in persuading them that his affections were fixed on the blessings of futurity, and that he was indifferent to the splendour of empire. He refused even to see the treasures of his deceased brother, in gold, slaves, &c. and as he entered the interior of the palace, drew the folds of his turban over his eyes, saying the temptation was too great for him, and invoking the Supreme Being to preserve him from its effects. For a certain time too he confined himself to the possession of four wives (free women) allowed by the law of the Prophet. At length, finding his claim unquestioned, and his authority firmly established, the veil of sanctity, now no longer necessary, was thrown aside, and ambition and avarice appeared without disguise. He now wastes whole days in misanthropic solitude, gazing in stupid admiration on heaps of costly apparel, and an endless train of slaves and camels, and revels in the submissive charms of near two hundred free women. Abd-el-rachmân assumed the Imperial dignity in the year of the Hejira 1202, of the Christian æra 1787. The discontent of the people however, and particularly of the soldiery, in consequence of the severity of his regulations, and his personal avarice, were (1795) very much increasing, which made me imagine his reign would not be long.

History.

MOHAMMED Teraub, already mentioned, was preceded by a King named Abd-el-Casim; Abd-el-Casim by Bokar; Bokar by Omar. Some of the earlier Kings are yet spoken of under the names of Solyman, Mohammed, &c. But as the people of the country possess no written documents, I found those of whom I enquired often at variance, both with regard to the genealogy and the succession of their monarchs. In all countries these are points of small import; but especially in one of which so few particulars are known to us. It may yet be remarked, that they commonly mention the reign of Solyman, as the epocha when Islamism began to prevail in the country. Describing this Sultan, at the same time, as of the Dageou race, which swayed the sceptre long before that of Fûr became powerful. Circumstances have inclined me to believe, that the reign of this prince must have been from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty years ago.

On what the natives relate of their early history, little dependence can be placed; but it seems that the Dageou race came originally from the north, having been expelled from that part of Africa now, nominally at least, under the dominion of Tunis*.

Harvest, Food, &c.

IN that part of the country where I resided are found neither lakes, rivers, marshes, nor any other appearance of water but the wells which are dug for domestic consumption, except during the rainy season. At that period torrents, of greater or less dimensions, intersect the country in all directions. The rainy season lasts from before the middle of June to the middle or end of September. This season is called Harif†.

* I remember to have borrowed, while at Damascus, a small quarto volume, written in easy Arabic, without either title or conclusion, which contained a kind of history of the progress of the (*qhab*) early propagators of Mohammedism, and which enumerated, if I mistake not, a tribe under the denomination of Fûr, among their adversaries, after the taking of Bahaeß in Middle Egypt, and their consequent invasion of the more southern provinces.

† If but a small quantity of rain fall, the agricultors are reduced to great distress; and it happened, about seven years before my arrival, that many people were obliged to eat the young branches of trees pounded in a mortar.

I have observed that the rain, which is generally very heavy, and accompanied with lightning, falls most frequently from three P. M. till midnight.

The changes of the wind are not periodical but instantaneous. It is with a southerly wind that the greatest heat prevails; and with a south-east that the greatest quantity of rain falls. When the breeze is from the north or north-west, it is most refreshing, but does not generally continue long in that quarter. The hot and oppressive winds which fill the air with thick dust blow constantly from the south.

One day, while I was sitting in the market-place at Cobbé, I observed a singular appearance in the air, which soon discovered itself to be a column of sand, raised from the desert by a whirlwind. It was apparently about a mile and a half distant, and continued about eight minutes; this phenomenon had nothing of the tremendous appearance of the columns of sand described by Bruce as rising between Assuân and Chendi, being merely a light cloud of sand.

The harvest is conducted in a very simple manner. The women and slaves of the proprietor are employed to break off the ears with their hands, leaving the straw standing, which is afterwards applied to buildings and various other useful purposes. They then accumulate them in baskets, and carry them away on their heads. When threshed, which is awkwardly and incompletely performed, they expose the grain to the sun till it become quite dry; after this an hole in the earth is prepared, the bottom and sides of which are covered with chaff to exclude the vermin. This cavity or magazine is filled with grain, which is then covered with chaff, and afterwards with earth. In this way the maize is preserved tolerably well. In using it for food, they grind it, and boil it in the form of polenta, which is eaten either with fresh or sour milk, or still more frequently with a sauce made of dried meat pounded in a mortar, and boiled with onions, &c. The Kurians use little butter; with the Egyptians and Arabs it is an article in great request. There is also another sauce which the poorer people use and highly relish: it is composed of an herb called cowel or cawel, of a taste in part acescent and in part bitter, and generally disagreeable to strangers.

As a substitute for bread, cakes of the same material are also baked on a smooth substance prepared for the purpose, which are extremely thin, and if dexterously prepared not unpalatable. These are called kissery (fragments or sections); they are also eaten with the sauce above mentioned, or with milk, or simply water; and in whatever form the grain be used, the rich cause it to be fermented before it be reduced to flour, which gives it a very agreeable taste. They also make no hesitation in eating the dokn raw, but moistened with water, without either grinding or the operation of fire.

The Sultan here does not seem wholly inattentive to that important object, agriculture. Nevertheless, it may be esteemed rather a blind compliance with ancient custom, than individual public spirit, in which has originated a practice adopted by him, in itself sufficiently laudable, since other of his regulations by no means conduce to the same end.

At the beginning of the harif, or wet season, which is also the moment for sowing the corn, the King goes out with his meleks and the rest of his train, and while the people are employed in turning up the ground and sowing the seed, he also makes several holes with his own hand. The same custom, it is said, obtains in Bornou, and other countries in this part of Africa. It calls to the mind a practice of the Egyptian Kings, mentioned by Herodotus. Whether this usage be antecedent to the introduction of Mohammedism into the country, I know not; but as it is attended with no superstitious observance, it would rather seem to belong to that creed.

Population.

THE number of inhabitants in a country in so rude a state as this is at present, it must necessarily be extremely difficult to compute with precision. Possibly the levies for war may furnish some criterion. The Sultan, for about two years, had been engaged in a very serious war with the usurper of Kordofân. The original levies for this war I have understood consisted of about two thousand men. Continual reinforcements have been sent, which may be supposed to amount to more than half that number. At present the army does not contain more than two thousand, great numbers of them having been taken off by the small-pox, and other causes. Even this number is very much missed, and the army is still spoken of as a very large one. It seems to me from this and other considerations, that the number of souls within the empire cannot much exceed two hundred thousand. Cobbé is one of their most populous towns; yet from the best computation I have been able to make, knowing the number of inhabitants in the greater part of the houses, I cannot persuade myself that the total amount of both sexes, including slaves, much exceeds six thousand. Of these the greater proportion are slaves.

The houses are separated from each other by wide intervals, as each man chooses for building the spot nearest to the ground he cultivates; so that in an extent of about two miles on a line, not much more than one hundred distinct inclosures, properly to be termed houses, are visible. The number of villages is considerable; but a few hundred souls form the sum of the largest. There are only eight or ten towns of great population.

The people of Dar-Fûr are divided into those from the river, of whom I have already spoken, some few from the west, who are either Fukkara, or come for the purposes of trade. Arabs, who are very numerous, and some of whom are established in the country, and cannot quit it; they are of many different tribes, but the greater number are those who lead a wandering kind of life on the frontiers, and breed camels, oxen, and horses. Yet they are not, for the most part, in such a state of dependence as always to contribute effectually to the strength of the monarch in war, or to his supplies in peace. These are Mahmîd, the Mahréa, the beni-Fesâra, the beni-Gerâr, and several others whose names I do not recollect. After the Arabs come the people of Zeghawa, which once formed a distinct kingdom, whose chief went to the field with a thousand horsemen, as it is said, from among his own subjects. The Zeghawa speak a different dialect from the people of Fûr. We must then enumerate the people of Bégo or Dageou, who are now subject to the crown of Fûr, but are a distinct tribe, which formerly ruled the country. Kordofân, which is now subject to Fûr, and a number of other smaller kingdoms, as Dar Berti, &c. Dar Rugna has a King, who is however dependent, but more on Bergoo than on Fûr. What are the numbers of each is very difficult to say, as there are few or no data whence any thing satisfactory can be deduced.

Building.

THIS art, in which more refined nations display so much ingenuity, and consume so much of their property, is here limited by the necessity that produced it. A light roof shelters the Fûrian from the sun and rain, and he fears not to be crushed by the mass which he has raised for his security. The conflagration may desolate his abode, but his soul is not appalled, for he has raised no monument of vanity to become its prey.

prey. The walls, wherever that material is to be procured, are built of clay; and the people of higher rank cover them with a kind of plaster, and colour them white, red, and black. The apartments are of three kinds, one is called a donga, which is a cube commonly formed in the proportion of twenty feet by twelve. The four walls are covered with a flat roof consisting of light beams laid horizontally from side to side; over this is spread a stratum of ushar, or some other light wood, or, by those who can afford the expense, coarse mats; a quantity of dried horse's or camel's dung is laid over this; and the whole is finished with a strong and smooth coating of clay. They contrive to give the roof a slight obliquity, making spouts to carry off the water. The roof thus constructed is a tolerable protection from the rain, and the whole building is in a certain degree secure from robbers, and the other inconveniences which are there to be expected. The donga is provided with a door, consisting of a single plank, hewn with the axe, as the plane and saw are equally unknown. It is secured by a padlock, and thus constitutes the repository of all their property. The next is called a kournak, which is usually somewhat larger than the donga, differing from it in being without a door, and having no other roof than thatch, shelving like that of our barns, composed of kas, the straw of the maize, and supported by light rafters. This however is cooler in summer than the more closely covered buildings, and is appropriated to receiving company, and sleeping. The women are commonly lodged, and dress their food in another apartment of the same kind as the last, but round, and from fifteen to twenty feet in diameter: this is called sukteaia. The walls of the donga are often about twelve or fifteen feet high; those of the other buildings seldom exceed seven or eight, but this depends on the taste of the owner. The floor of each, by persons who are attentive to neatness, is covered with clean sand, which is changed as occasion requires. An house in which there are two dongas, two kournaks, and two sukteias, is considered as a large and commodious one, fitted to the use of merchants of the first order. A rukkûba (shed) is frequently added, which is no more than a place sheltered from the sun, where a company sit and converse in the open air. The interior fence of the house is commonly a wall of clay. The exterior universally a thick hedge, consisting of dried branches of acacia and other thorny trees, which secures the cattle, and prevents the slaves from escaping; but which, as it takes no root, is never green, and has rather a gloomy aspect. The materials of the village houses require no particular description; they are commonly of the form of the sukteaia, when they rise above the appellation of hut, but the substance is the straw of the maize, or some other equally coarse and insecure. Tents are not used, except by the meleks and great men, and these are ill-constructed. In time of war materials to construct huts are found by the soldiers, and applied without great difficulty; and the sarcina belli of each man is a light mat adapted to the size of his body.

Manners.

THE troops of the country are not famed for skill, courage, or perseverance. In their campaigns much reliance is placed on the Arabs who accompany them, and who are properly tributaries rather than subjects of the Sultan. One energy of barbarism they indeed possess, in common with other savages, that of being able to endure hunger and thirst; but in this particular they have no advantage over their neighbours. On the journey, a man whom I had observed travelling on foot with the caravan, but unconnected with any person, asked me for bread. "How long have you been without it?" said I. "Two days," was the reply. "And how long without water?" "I drank

drank water last night." This was at sun-set, after we had been marching all day in the heat of the sun, and we had yet six hours to reach the well. In their persons the Fûrians are not remarkable for cleanliness. Though observing as Mohammedans all the superstitious formalities of prayer, their hair is rarely combed, or their bodies completely washed. The hair of the pubes and axillæ it is usual to exterminate; but they know not the use of soap; so that with them polishing the skin with unguents holds the place of perfect ablutions and real purity. A kind of farinaceous paste is however prepared, which being applied with butter to the skin, and rubbed continually till it become dry, not only improves its appearance, but removes from it accidental fordes, and still more the effect of continued transpiration, which, as there are no baths in the country, is a consideration of some importance. The female slaves are dexterous in the application of it, and to undergo this operation is one of the refinements of African sensuality. Their intervals of labour and rest are fixed by no established rule, but governed by inclination or personal convenience. Their fatigues are often renewed under the oppressive influence of the meridian sun, and in some districts their nightly slumbers are interrupted by the dread of robbers, in others by the musquitoes and other inconveniences of the climate.

An inveterate animosity seems to exist between the natives of Fûr and those of Kordofân. From conversations with both parties I have understood that there have been almost continual wars between the two countries as far as the memory of individuals extends. One of the causes of this hostility appears to be their relative position; the latter lying in the road between Dar-Fûr and Sennaar, which is considered as the most practicable, though not the direct communication between the former and Mekka. Nor can caravans pass from Suakem to Fûr, as appears, but by the permission of the governors of Kordofân. The jealousy of trade therefore is in part the origin of their unvaried and implacable animosity.

Nothing resembling current coin is found in Soudân, unless it be certain small tin rings, the value of which is in some degree arbitrary, and which alone obtains at El Father. In that place they serve as the medium of exchange for small articles, for which in others are received beads, salt, &c. These rings are made of so many various sizes, that I have known sometimes twelve, sometimes one hundred and forty of them, pass for a given quantity and quality of cotton cloth. The Austrian dollars, and other silver coins, brought from Egypt, are all sold for ornaments for the women, and some little profit attends the sale of them, but the use of them in dress is far from general.

Gold not being found within the limits of Fûr, is seldom seen in the market; when it appears there, it is in the form of rings of about one-fourth of an ounce weight each, in which state it comes from Sennaar. The Egyptian mahbûb, or other stamped money, none will receive but the people of that country. The other articles chiefly current, are such as belong to their dress, as cotton cloths, beads, amber, kohhel, rhéa, and on the other hand, oxen, camels, and slaves.

The disposition of the people of Fûr has appeared to me more cheerful than that of the Egyptians; and that gravity and reserve which the precepts of Mohammedism inspire, and the practice of the greater number of its professors countenances and even requires, seems by no means as yet to sit easy on them. A government perfectly despotic, and at this time not ill administered, as far as relates to the manners of the people, yet forms no adequate restraint to their violent passions*. Prone to inebriation,

* The inhabitants of a village called Bernoo, having quarrelled with those of another hamlet, and some having been killed on both sides, all the property of both villages was forfeited to the King, the inhabitants being abandoned to poverty.

but unprovided with materials or ingenuity to prepare any other fermented liquor than *bûza*, with this alone their convivial excesses are committed. But though the Sultan hath just published an ordinance (March 1795) forbidding the use of that liquor under pain of death, the plurality, though less publicly than before, still indulge themselves in it. A company often sits from sun-rise, to sun-set drinking and conversing, till a single man sometimes carries off near two gallons of that liquor. The *bûza* has however a diuretic and diaphoretic tendency, which precludes any danger from these excesses.

In this country dancing is practised by the men as well as the women, and they often dance promiscuously. Each tribe seems to have its appropriate dance: that of Fûr is called *Secondari*, that of Bukkara *Beñdala*. Some are grave, others lascivious, but consisting rather of violent efforts than of graceful motions. Such is their fondness for this amusement, that the slaves dance in fetters to the music of a little drum; and, what I have rarely seen in Africa or the east, the time is marked by means of a long stick held by two, while others beat the cadence with short batons.

They use the games of *tab-u-duk* and *dris-wa-talaité*, described by Niebuhr, which however appear not indigenous, but to have been borrowed of the Arabs.

The vices of thieving, lying, and cheating in bargains, with all others nearly or remotely allied to them, as often happen among a people under the same circumstances, are here almost universal. No property, whether considerable or trifling, is safe out of the sight of the owner, nor indeed scarcely in it, unless he be stronger than the thief. In buying and selling the parent glories in deceiving the son, and the son the parent; and God and the Prophet are hourly invoked, to give colour to the most palpable frauds and falsehoods.

The privilege of polygamy, which, as is well known, belongs to their religion, the people of Soudân push to the extreme. At this circumstance the Musselmans of Egypt, with whom I have conversed on the subject, affect to be much scandalized: for whereas, by their law they are allowed four free women, and as many slaves as they can conveniently maintain, the Fûrians take both free women and slaves without any limitation. The Sultan has more than an hundred free women, and many of the Meleks have from twenty to thirty. Teraub, a late king, contented himself with about five hundred females as a light travelling equipage in his wars in Kordofân, and left as many more in his palace. This may seem ridiculous, but when it is recollected that they had corn to grind, water to fetch, food to dress, and all menial offices to perform for several hundred individuals, and that these females (excepting those who are reputed *Serrari*, concubines of the monarch) travel on foot, and even carry utensils, &c. on their heads, employment for this immense retinue may be imagined, without attributing to the Sultan more libidinous propensities than belong to others of the same rank and station.

This people exceeds in indulgences with women, and pays little regard to restraint or decency. The form of the houses already described secures no great secrecy to what is carried on within them, yet even the concealment which is thus offered, is not always sought. The shade of a tree, or long grass, is the sole temple required for the sacrifices to the primæval deity. In the course of licentious indulgence father and daughter, son and mother are sometimes mingled. The relations of brother and sister are exchanged for closer intercourse; and in the adjoining state, (Bergoo,) the example of the monarch countenances the infraction of a positive precept, as well of Islamism, as of the other rules of faith, which have taken their tincture from the Mosaic dispensation.

But however unbridled their appetites in other respects may be, pæderasty, so common in Asia and the North of Africa, is in Soudân little known or practised. The situation, character, and treatment of women is not exactly similar, either to that which marks the manners of Asia, and other parts of Africa, or to that which is established in Europe. In contradistinction to the women of Egypt, in Soudân, when a stranger enters the house, one of the more modest indeed retires, but she is contented to retire to a small distance, and passes and repasses executing the business of the house in the presence of the men. In Egypt, a veil is invariably the guardian of real or affected modesty. In Dar-Fūr none attempt to conceal their faces but the wives of the great, whose rank demands some affectation of decency — who from satiety of indulgence become coquets, or whose vanity induces them to expect that concealment will ensnare the inexperienced with the hope of youth which has ceased to recommend them, or beauty by which they could never boast to be adorned. The middle and inferior rank are always contented with the slight covering of a cotton cloth, wrapped round the waist, and occasionally another of the same form, materials, and size, and equally loose, artlessly thrown over the shoulders. They never eat with the men, but shew no hesitation at being present when the men eat and drink. The most modest of them will enter the house, not only of a man and a stranger, but of the traders of Egypt, and make their bargains at leisure. On such occasions, any indelicate freedom on the part of the merchant is treated with peculiar indulgence. The husband is by no means remarkable for jealousy, and provided he have reason to suppose that his complaisance will be attended with any solid advantage, will readily yield his place to a stranger. Nothing can shock the feelings of an Egyptian more than to see his wife in conversation with another man in public. For similar conduct, individuals of that nation have been known to inflict the last punishment. A liberty of this kind has no such effect on a Fūrian.

Defendit numerus, junctaque in umbone phalanges.

The universality of the practice prevents its being esteemed either criminal or shameful.

Some of the most laborious domestic offices in this country are executed by women. They not only prepare the soil and sow the corn, but assist in gathering it. They alone too are engaged in the business of grinding and converting it into bread. They not only prepare the food, in which (contrary to the practice of the Arabs) it is esteemed disgraceful for a man to occupy himself, but fetch water, wash the apparel, and cleanse the apartments. Even the clay buildings, which have been mentioned, are constructed chiefly by women. It is not uncommon to see a man on a journey, mounted idly on an ass, while his wife is pacing many a weary step on foot behind him, and moreover, perhaps, carrying a supply of provisions or culinary utensils. Yet it is not to be supposed that the man is despotic in his house: the voice of the female has its full weight. No question of domestic œconomy is decided without her concurrence, and, far from being wearied with the corporeal exertions of the day, by the time the sun declines, her memory of real or imaginary injuries affords matter for querulous upbraiding and aculeate sarcasms.

Whoever, impelled by vanity, (for no profit attends it,) receives to his bed the daughter of a King or powerful melek, (women of this rank are called Mîram,) finds her sole moderatrix of his family, and himself reduced to a cipher. Of his real or reputed offspring he has no voice in the disposal, government, or instruction. The princess, who has honoured him with the limited right over her person, becomes not the part-

ner, but the sole proprietor, of all that he possessed; and her most extravagant caprices must not be thwarted, lest her displeasure should be succeeded by that of the monarch.

The man cannot take another wife with the same ceremonies or dowry; and if any dispute arise concerning inheritance, the right is always decided in favour of the Mîram. Finally, he is almost a prisoner in the country, which he cannot leave, however distressed, and however he may be inclined to retrieve his fortune by trade, without special permission from the Sultan, and the immediate and unqualified forfeiture not only of the dowry he gave, but of all the valuables he received in consequence of the honourable alliance.

Previously to the establishment of Islamism * and kingship, the people of Fûr seem to have formed wandering tribes, in which state many of the neighbouring nations to this day remain. In their persons they differ from the negroes of the coast of Guinea. Their hair is generally short and woolly, though some are seen with it of the length of eight or ten inches, which they esteem a beauty. Their complexion is for the most part perfectly black. The Arabs, who are numerous within the empire, retain their distinction of feature, colour, and language. They most commonly intermarry with each other. The slaves, which are brought from the country they call Fertî, (land of idolaters,) perfectly resemble those of Guinea, and their language is peculiar to themselves.

* In most of the towns; except Cobbé, which is the chief residence of foreign merchants, and even at court, the vernacular idiom is in more frequent use than the Arabic; yet the latter is pretty generally understood. The judicial proceedings, which are held in the monarch's presence, are conducted in both languages, all that is spoken in the one being immediately translated into the other by an interpreter (Tergimân).

After those who fill the offices of government, the Faquî, or learned man, *i. e.* priest, holds the highest rank. Some few of these Faquîs have been educated at Kahira, but the majority of them in schools of the country. They are ignorant of every thing except the Korân. The nation, like most of the north of Africa, except Egypt, is of the sect of the Imâm Melek, which however differs not materially from that of Shafei.

Revenues of Dar-Fûr.

1. ON all merchandize imported the King has a duty, which in many instances amounts to near a tenth; as for instance, on every camel's load of cotton goods brought from Egypt, and which commonly consists of two hundred pieces, the duty paid to the King by the merchants of Egypt is twenty pieces: the Arabs who are under his government, and the natives pay more; some articles however do not pay so much.

2. In addition to this, when they are about to leave ~~Dar~~ Fûr on their return to Egypt, another tax is demanded on the slaves exported, under pretence of a voluntary *douceur* to be exempt from having their slaves scrutinised. This, on our caravan, which comprised about five thousand slaves, amounted to 3000 mahbubs, between 6 and 700l. to be paid to the chahîr on their arrival in Egypt.

3. All forfeitures for misdemeanors are due to the King; and this is a considerable article, for in case of a dispute in which blood is shed, as often happens, he makes a

* About a century and a half ago.

demand of just what proportion he thinks right of the property of the village in which the offence was committed, of the whole, of an half, of a third of every species of possession, and this most rigorously estimated.

4. In addition to this, every one who is concerned in a judicial proceeding before him, must bring a present according to his rank and property: this is another considerable source of revenue.

5. Of all the merchandise, but especially slaves, which are brought from the roads, as they call it, that is, from all quarters except Egypt, the King is entitled to a tenth; and in case of a *selatēa*, that is, an expedition to procure slaves by force, the tenth he is entitled to becomes a fifth, for the merchants are obliged to wait six weeks or two months before they can sell any of their slaves, and then are obliged to pay in kind one-tenth of the number originally taken, one half of which is by that time generally dead.

6. At the time of leathering the kettle drum, which happens every year on the 27th of the month *Rabia-el-awil*, all the principal people of every town and village, nay, as I have understood, every housekeeper is obliged to appear at *El Fasher*, with a present in his hands, according to his rank and ability. This is another considerable source of revenue. The present of the *melek* of the *jelebs* on one of these occasions, I have known to be valued at 900 *mahbûbs*, or about 200l. sterling. At this solemn festival, all the troops not in actual service, are obliged to be present, and as it may be called, reviewed; that is, every man who has or can procure a horse, mounts and shows him in the public meeting.

7. A number of presents are daily and hourly received from all the great people of the country, as well as from the merchants who come on business, and those who solicit offices. The merchants generally present some kind of manufacture for clothing, such as light woollen cloth, carpets, arms, &c. and the people of the country, camels, slaves, male and female, *tokēas*, oxen, sheep, &c.

8. But one of the most considerable articles of revenue is the tribute of the Arabs who breed oxen, horses, camels, sheep. Those who breed horses should bring to the monarch all the males which are yearly produced by their mares; but this I am told they often contrive to avoid. The customary tribute of the Arabs who breed oxen, or *Bukkara*, as they are called is one-tenth*. But when I was there, they having neglected paying it for two years, the Sultan sent a body of troops, who seized all they could lay hands on, to the number of twelve thousand oxen. If the tribute were regularly paid, it might amount to four thousand oxen per annum: but these Arabs live in tents, and consequently change their habitations frequently, and when they feel themselves united, are not much inclined to pay tribute. Those who breed camels should also pay a tenth of their property yearly; and I have understood that they acquit themselves of the obligation with more regularity than the former. These also however are sometimes rebellious, and then nothing is received from them. Two tribes, *mahrîa* and *mahmid*, were at war during my residence in *Fûr*, and a battle took place between them, in which many fell on both sides: the monarch, to punish them for their contumacious behaviour, sent a *melek* with a detachment of about sixty horsemen, who seized on one half of the camels of every Arab, and where they found five took three, as the fifth could not be divided. The owners of sheep and goats pay a tenth.

* A great tribute is also paid in butter.

9. Every village is obliged to pay annually a certain sum in corn, Dokn, which is collected by the King's slaves. The monarch has also lands of his own, which are cultivated by his slaves, and which serve to supply his household; for, though a merchant, he does not sell corn. The whole of the district of Gebel Marra, to the west, is entirely appropriated to his use, and the wheat, wild honey, &c. which are abundantly produced there are all reserved for his table.

10. The King is chief merchant in the country, and not only dispatches with every caravan to Egypt a great quantity of his own merchandise, but, also employs his slaves and dependants to trade with the goods of Egypt on his own account, in the countries adjacent to Soudan.

Articles of Commerce.

GOLD rings are sometimes worn in the nose by women of distinction. Sea-shells (Cowries) are among other female ornaments, but not very current. The red legumen, called Shûsh, is much worn in the hair.

Commodities brought by the jelabs from Egypt are:

1. Amber beads.
2. Tin in small bars.
3. Coral beads.
4. Cornelian ditto.
5. Pale Cornelian ditto.
6. Beads of Venice.
7. Agate.
8. Rings, silver and brass, for the ancles and wrists.
9. Carpets, small.
10. Blue cotton cloths of Egyptian fabric.
11. White cotton ditto.
12. Indian muslins and cottons.
13. Blue and white cloths of Egypt called *Melayés*.
14. Sword blades, strait, (German) from Kahira.
15. Small looking-glasses.
16. Copper face-pieces, or defensive armour for the horses' heads.
17. Fire arms.
18. Kohhel for the eyes.
19. *Rhéa*, a kind of moss from European Turkey, for food, and a scent.
20. *Shé*, a species of absinthium, for its odour, and as a remedy: both the last fell to advantage.
21. Coffee.
22. *Mableb*, *Krumphille*, *Symbille*, *Sandal*, nutmegs.
23. *Dufr*, the shell of a kind of fish in the Red Sea, used for a perfume.
24. Silk unwrought.
25. Wire, brass and iron.
26. Coarse glass beads, made at Jerusalem, called *Her/h* and *Munjûr*.
27. Copper culinary utensils, for which the demand is small.
28. Old copper for melting and re-working.
29. Small red caps of Barbary.
30. Thread linens of Egypt — small consumption.
31. Light French cloths, made into benîshes.

32. Silks of Scio, made up.
33. Silk and cotton pieces of Aleppo, Damascus, &c.
34. Shoes of red leather.
35. Black pepper.
36. Writing paper, (*papier des trois lunes*) a considerable article.
37. Soap of Syria.

Transported to Egypt :

1. Slaves, male and female.
2. Camels.
3. Ivory.
4. Horns of the rhinoceros.
5. Teeth of the hippopotamus.
6. Ostrich feathers.
7. Whips of the hippopotamus's hide.
8. Gum.
9. Pimento.
10. Tamarinds, made into round cakes.
11. Leather sacks for water (*ray*) and dry articles (*geraub*).
12. Peroquets in abundance, and some monkies and Guinea fowl.
13. Copper, white, in small quantity.

CHAP. VI. — *Miscellaneous Observations on Dar-Fûr, and some of the adjacent Countries.*

THE preceding chapters concerning Dar-Fûr, contain mostly facts of which I was an eye-witness, or received from undoubted authority. But as every information, however minute, may either conduce to facilitate farther progress in this part of Africa, or may perhaps interest the curious reader, as relating to regions little known, I shall now proceed to some matters, related to me on the spot, but the accuracy of which I cannot pretend to vouch.

The people of Fûr are represented as using many superstitious ceremonies at the leathering of the kettle-drum, a ceremony before mentioned. Among others, it is said, they put to death, in the form of a sacrifice, a young boy and girl. Even to this day, many idols are worshipped by the women of the Sultan's harem. The mountaineers offer a kind of sacrifice to the deity of the mountains, when they are in want of rain.

Several superstitious notions prevail among the slaves. One of them having died suddenly, it was imagined that he had been possessed by the devil, and none of them would wash the body. It was with difficulty that they could be prevailed on even to carry it to the place of interment.

The people of Dageou, a country on the west, represented as not far from Bergoo, it is said, conquered the country now called Fûr, and retained it till they were exhausted by mutual contentions: upon which the present race of kings succeeded, but from what origin I have not been able to discover. Probably, Moors driven from the north by the Arabs. The race of Dageou is said to have come from the vicinity of Tunis. It is reported, that they had a custom of lighting a fire on the inauguration of their King, which was carefully kept burning till his death. At present there is a custom in Fûr, of spreading the carpets on which the several deceased Sultans

Sultans used to sit, before the new prince, and from the one he prefers, it is judged his character will be analogous to that of its former possessor.

The Sultan Omar, one of the predecessors of Teraub, carried on a long and destructive war with the neighbouring country of Bergoo, in which he exhausted his treasures and people, and at the same time greatly weakened the adverse country.

The families between which the pretensions to authority now lie, are those of Abdel-Casim, Teraub, and Chalife, his brother. Each of them has a number of warm partizans among the soldiery, who would never be faithful to any of the other families. The competitors are so numerous that much confusion is expected to follow the death of the present Sultan; and it is inferred, that the kingdom will be divided.

I shall now proceed to state some relations that were made to me concerning Kordofân and other adjacent countries.

A King, of the name of Abli-calik, is the idol of the people of Kordofân, where he reigned about fourteen years ago, and is renowned for probity and justice. The Kings of Kordofân had been deputed by the Mecque of Sennaar, till after the death of the son of Abli-calik, when it was usurped by Fûr, in consequence of the weakness and dissensions of the government at Sennaar.

The people of Kordofân are reported to be not only indifferent to the amours of their daughters and sisters, but even attached to their seducers. The father or brother will even draw the sword against him who offends the refik, or companion of his daughter or sister. Very different is the mode of thinking in Sennaar, where immodesty is only permitted among the female slaves. The chief merchants have companies of these slaves, and derive great profit from their prostitution.

Afnou, a country beyond Bornou to the westward, is said to produce such abundance of silver, that the natives construct defensive armour of that metal. The coats of mail are jointed, and represented as very beautiful. Of the same material, it is reported, are made pieces to protect the head and breast of their horses, the former having the chaffron, or horn, known in our days of chivalry.

Among the southern countries, whither the jelabs of Bergoo and Fûr sometimes journey to procure slaves, is Dar Kulla. The chief article they carry to Kulla is salt, twelve pounds of which are estimated as the price of a male slave, sedasé, about twelve or fourteen years of age. A female brings three pounds more, whimsically computed by the natives, as, a pound for the girl's eyes, another for her nose, and a third for her ears. If copper be the medium, two rotals are esteemed equal to four of salt. Hoddûr, a large sort of Venetian glass beads, and tin, are in great esteem. Of the latter they make rings and other ornaments.

The natives of Kulla are represented as partly negroes, partly of a red or copper colour. Their language is nasal, but very simple and easy. It is said they worship idols. They are very cleanly, to which the abundance of water in their country contributes: and they are remarkable for honesty, and even punctilious in their transactions with the jelabs.

They have ferry-boats on the river, which are impelled partly by poles, partly by a double oar, like our canoes. Slaves are obtained in Dar Kulla either by violence, selatêa, or by the following method. In that country the smallest trespass on the property of another, is punished by enslaving the children or young relations of the trespasser. If even a man's footstep be observed among the corn of another, the circumstance is attended by calling witnesses, and application to a magistrate, and the certain consequence of proof is the forfeiture of his son, daughter, nephew, or niece, to the person

person trespassed on. These accidents are continually happening, and produce a great number of slaves. A commission to purchase any thing in a distant market, not exactly fulfilled, is attended with a like forfeiture. But above all, if a person of note die, the family have no idea of death as a necessary event, but say that it is effected by witchcraft. To discover the perpetrator, the poorer natives, far and near, are obliged to undergo expurgation by drinking a liquor which is called in Dar-Fûr kilingi, or something that resembles it; and the person on whom the supposed signs of guilt appear, may either be put to death, or sold as a slave.

The people of Kulla are strangers to venereal complaints, but are subject to the small-pox. In that part of the country which is visited by the jelabs there is a King; the rest is occupied by small tribes, each of which is ruled by the chief who happens to have most influence at the time. The kumba, or ~~imento~~-tree, is found there in such plenty, that a rotal or pound of salt will purchase four or five mid, each mid about a peck.

The trees are so large, from the quantity of water and deep clay, that canoes are hollowed out of them sufficiently capacious to contain ten persons.

It was related to me by jelabs who have visited that country, that the inhabitants of Dar Bergoo make war by sudden incursions, traversing and laying waste a large space in a short time. They leave their women behind, and are thus better adapted to military operations than the Fûrians, who follow an opposite practice, never marching without a host of attendant females. The people of Bergoo seldom make ~~relat~~

Some of the idolatrous nations, dependent on Bergoo, are represented as making war in a very formidable manner. The combatants never retreat; and the women behind light a fire, in which they heat the heads of the spears, and exchange them for such as are cooled in the combat. They also use poisoned weapons.

There is a remote part of the Pagan country, from which slaves are brought, which the Arabs distinguish by the term Gnum Gnum, (a sobriquet) whose inhabitants eat the flesh of the prisoners they take in war. I have conversed with slaves who came thence, and they admit the fact. These people are also in the habit of stripping off the skin of the hands and faces of their slaughtered foes, which afterwards undergo some preparation, and are worn as a mark of triumph. Their arms, a spear or javelin, are of iron, wrought by themselves. After having heated them to redness, they stick the point into the trunk of a particular tree, and there leave the weapon till the juice has dried on. In this manner it acquires, as is reported, a most deadly poison.

A few of the more common vocabula in the language of Dar-Ruîga.

Water	-	-	-	-	Tta.
As eide (a pudding)	-	-	-	-	Gnung.
Come and eat	-	-	-	-	Gagra.
Quickly	-	-	-	-	Undelak nonnerâ.
Bring the bowl	-	-	-	-	Kiddeki, kiddeki.
A mat	-	-	-	-	Kubbenâng.
Cloths	-	-	-	-	Lemba. "
Shoes	-	-	-	-	Bõrõ.
Sun	-	-	-	-	Agning.
It is hot	-	-	-	-	Agning betrân.

Moon	-	-	-	-	Medding.
A wooden mortar	-	-	-	-	Bedding.
Ala	-	-	-	-	Guffendě.
Horse	-	-	-	-	Filah.
Dog	-	-	-	-	Ming.
Hoe	-	-	-	-	Ttong.
Kingdom	-	-	-	-	Kuffé.
Wood of any kind	-	-	-	-	Unjüm.
Fire	-	-	-	-	Niffiek.
Woman	-	-	-	-	Mmi.
Man	-	-	-	-	Kameré.
Is it I?	-	-	-	-	Amu ê?
Reprimanding	-	-	-	-	Ggó!
Grain	-	-	-	-	Affé.
Maize	-	-	-	-	Dimbiti.
Millet	-	-	-	-	Gurwendi.
Fowl	-	-	-	-	Kidi.
Winged ant	-	-	-	-	Agñemâ.
Spear	-	-	-	-	Sûbbûk.
Knife	-	-	-	-	Dangala.
Foot	-	-	-	-	Itar.
Eye	-	-	-	-	Khaffo.
Ear	-	-	-	-	Neffo.
Hand	-	-	-	-	Tuffo.
Light blue	-	-	-	-	Endréng.
Dung	-	-	-	-	Abûrr.
Urine	-	-	-	-	Niffich.
Copper	-	-	-	-	Simméri.
Tin	-	-	-	-	Fueddah.
Beads	-	-	-	-	Arrû.
Loins (of the human body) <i>also</i>	-	-	-	-	Arrû.
One	-	-	-	-	Kadenda.
Two	-	-	-	-	Embirr.
Three	-	-	-	-	Attik.
Four	-	-	-	-	Mendib.
Six	-	-	-	-	Subotîkeda.
Seven	-	-	-	-	Ow.
Eight	-	-	-	-	Sebatéis.
Nine	-	-	-	-	Atih.
Ten	-	-	-	-	Bûff.
Rain	-	-	-	-	Kiŋga.
God, <i>also</i>	-	-	-	-	Kiŋga.
By God, <i>an adjuration</i>	-	-	-	-	Kiŋga go!
Honey	-	-	-	-	Tuggi.
Fish	-	-	-	-	Kognong.
Meat	-	-	-	-	Miffich.
Gruel	-	-	-	-	Ba-birré.
Stone	-	-	-	-	Diffi.
A star	-	-	-	-	Beité.

The stars collectively	-	-	Beité-jûk.
Slave of either sex	-	-	Guiah.
Male slave	-	-	Guiah méré.
Female slave	-	-	Guiah Mmi.
Mountain	-	-	Ddéta:
Wind	-	-	Wwi.
Cinders	-	-	Firgi.

TRAVELS' IN. EGYPT.

By RICHARD POCOCKE, LL.D. F.R.S.*

BOOK I.

OF THE LOWER PARTS OF EGYPT.

CHAP. I. — *Of Egypt in General ; Alexandria, and the Places near it.*

EGYPT was for many ages governed by its own Kings, until it was conquered by the Persians, under Cambyfes. It remained in their hands until the time of Alexander, when it became subject to the Greeks. His General Ptolèmy, the son of Lagus, was made King of Egypt, and it remained under his descendants, till it became a Roman province. After the division of the empire, Egypt fell to the lot of the eastern Emperors ; from whom it was taken, soon after the establishment of the Mahometan religion, by the Saracens or Arabians ; and was governed by different families, till, in 1270, the Mamaluke government, or the government of slaves, took place ; for that is the meaning of this word : under which constitution, a slave was always to be advanced to the throne, and no son could succeed to his father. This government was suppressed by the Ottoman family, under Sultan Selim, in which it remains to this day.

Egypt was formerly divided into three parts : the Delta, and the countries to the east and west of it ; Middle Egypt, called Heptanomis ; and Upper Egypt, named the Thebais, now called Said ; being all that country which is under the government of the Bey of Girge, as far as the ancient Egypt extended : what is now called Low Egypt, comprehending the other two.

Egypt was anciently divided into provinces called Nomi†, being certain districts, with their capital cities ; something like the present division of the country under the government of beys.

According to Herodotus, it was one hundred eighty-seven miles and a half from the sea to Heliopolis, six hundred and five from thence to Thebes, and one hundred and two miles and a half from Thebes to Elephantine ; so that the whole length of Egypt was eight hundred and ninety-five miles, according to this computation ; which must

* London 1743, 2 vols. folio (vol. i.) under the very vague title of “ A Description of the *East* and some other *Countries* :” by *East* probably meaning *Levant*.

† Ἡ δὲ χώρα τὴν μὲν πρώτην διαίρεσιν ἕως νομοῦς ἔχει . . . πάλιν δ' οἱ νομοὶ τομαὶς ἄλλας ἔχον ἢς γὰρ τοπαρχίας ἢ πλησὺ διήρητο, καὶ αὗται δ' ἕως ἄλλας τομαὶς ἐλάχιστα δ' αἱ ἀεροραὶ μερίδες. Strab. xvii. p. 787.

have been made by the windings of the river, for Egypt being eight degrees in length, computing seventy miles to a degree, it is only five hundred and sixty miles long.

When Alexander the Great returned from consulting the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, being pleased with the situation of Rhacotis, he ordered a city to be built there, which from him was called Alexandria. As the honour of being capital of the kingdom was translated from Memphis to this place, so it was not afterwards a part of any province, but, with a territory about it, was a distinct government by itself. When this city was taken by the Saracens, according to the Arabian historians, there were in it four thousand palaces, as many baths, four hundred squares, or places, and forty thousand Jews that paid tribute.

As the sea has gained in some parts, and lost in others, so there is great difficulty in fixing the situation of many ancient places described by Strabo.

There being a bay about three leagues wide, the isle Pharos^{*} extending from east to west, near to the eastern promontory Lochias, made the ports of Alexandria; the port Eunostos being to the west, and what they called the Great Port, to the east: the latter is now called the New Port, and the other the Old Port.

The island was joined towards the west end† to the continent, by a causey and two bridges nine hundred paces long, which must have been about the quay of the old port. The sea has gained on the west end of the island, where are seen under water the remains of cisterns cut in the rock.

The famous Pharos‡, or light-house, was on a rock at the east end of the island, that was on every side encompassed with water, and so in a manner a small separate island§; which seems to be the spot on which the castle is built, at the entrance of the New Port; and the pillars seen in a calm sea within the entrance, may be the remains of that superb building: these pillars I saw when I went out in a boat on a calm day, and could see to the bottom. My observing so nicely, and so near the castle, was much taken notice of; and, as I was informed, several soldiers, who were that day on guard in the castle, were punished for permitting me to examine the port so exactly.

The sea has gained much on the isle of Pharos every way, except to the south; the western part of the old island is now called the Cape of the Figs; because it is famous for producing very early and excellent figs.

The sea having lost to the north, and also to the west, on the side of the ancient causeway to the island, is the reason why the eastern port at present is the less. There are two entrances to both ports, one near each cape of the continent; that to the eastern port is only for small boats, whereas in the western port, it is the safer entrance for the largest ships, and in the other port, the entrance by the castle is very narrow and dangerous, by reason of the rocks, as described by the ancients§.

* Η δὲ Φάρος νησίον ἐστὶ περὶ ῥακωτίαν, πρὸς ἰσχυρὴν τῇ ἡπείρῳ, λεγόμεναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ποιεῖν ἀμφίστομον. Ὅτιον γὰρ ἐστὶ κολλώδες, ἄκραι δὲ τὸ πλάγῳ προεβόληται ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ μεταξὺ ἡ νῆτος ἰδρυται κλισία τῶν κλισίων, παραβόληται γὰρ αὐτὴν κατὰ μήθε' τῶν δ' ὡς τῆς Φάρος τὸ μὲν ἐν ἰσὺν μᾶλλον ἐστὶ προτεχέει τῇ ἡπείρῳ, καὶ τῇ καὶ αὐτῇ ἄκρῳ. Καλεῖται δ' Ἀκρολοχίαι, καὶ τοῦ τὸν λεγόμεναι ἀετρίστομον πρὸς δὲ τῇ συνέσει τὰ μεταξὺ πύργου καὶ πέτραι ἡσίων, αἱ μὲν ὕψους, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἰσχυρῆται, τραχύνηται πύργου ὡρῶν τὸ προσπίπτον ἐκ τῆς πελάγους κλυδωνῶν. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς νησίδος ὄκρον πέτρα πολυκύλινδρον, ἔχοντα πύργον θαυμαστῶς κατασκευασμένον λευκῇ λίθῳ πολυέρονον, ὁμώνυμον τῇ νήσῳ Strab. xvii p. 791.

† Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου γίγνεται ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσιν κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν αὐτῆς μέθε' ἐκτεταμένη, δύο διαύλους διακλιπόμενα μόνον δὲ τὸν Ἑνὸς λεγόμεναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ γιγνόμενης. Strab. xvii. p. 792.

‡ Pharos est in insula turris, magna altitudine, mirificis operibus extracta, quæ nomen ab insula accepit. Hæc insula objecta Alexandriæ portum efficit: Sed a superioribus regionibus in longitudinem passuum necesse in mare jactis molibus angusto itinere, et ponte, cum oppido conjungitur, Cæsar de Bello Civili, lib. iii.

§ See note (*).

It is said that Alexandria was washed on two sides by the water, to the north by the sea, and to the south by the lake Mareotis; and that the other two sides were each a kind of isthmus*, or neck of land between the water, about seven stadia in length; on which account each of these sides, especially that to the west, was called Heptastadium, from which the causeway to the island is said to have gone; which is a confirmation of what I suppose in the plan of Alexandria, that the Heptastadium began at the angle that is made near the west gate, at the south-east corner of the old port.

The first thing I did at Alexandria was to pace round the walls, and take the bearings; which I did with so much caution, that I thought I could only have been observed by the Janizary that attended me; notwithstanding, it was soon publicly reported about the town, that I had measured the city walls by palms. The old walls of the city seem to have been built on the height, which extends from Cape Lochias towards the east, the remains of a grand gateway being to be seen in the road to Rosetto at this high ground; and the foundations of the walls may from thence be traced to the canal. The outer walls round the old city are very beautifully built of hewn stone, and seem to be ancient; all the arches being true, and the workmanship very good: they are defended by semicircular towers, twenty feet diameter, and about one hundred and thirty feet apart; at each of them are stairs to ascend up to the battlements, there being a walk round on the top of the walls built on arches. These walls, as they now stand, seem to have inclosed all the city, except the palace of the Kings to the north-east; and it is not improbable that the inclosure of the palace extended to the west, from the south-east corner to the present walls, near the gate of Rosetto, and that the foundations of the walls, seen all the way to the canal, were only a defence to the suburbs. The inner walls of the old city, which seem to be of the middle ages, are much stronger and higher than the others, and defended by large high towers. There are particularly two very large well-built towers to the north-west, towards the new city on the strand.

The other is put to no use, has three floors, and cisterns under; the upper floor consists of a room in the middle about three and twenty feet square, with a gallery round, and three rooms at the west end; the ground story is much the same, except that it has two rooms and a staircase to the east. These towers seem to have been built at the time the inner walls were made, and might be designed to hinder any descent on this part, where probably the quay was in the middle ages, and the grand entrance from it might be between these towers. What was without these walls, and the site of the palace, was probably the suburbs of the city, which I suppose in process of time to have been walled in, extending down to the canal; and this suburbs, so walled in, began to be looked on as a part of the city itself, and seems to have been esteemed so by those authors who give an account of the city as three miles and three quarters long, and a mile broad, and speak of it as bounded by the lake Marcotis, taking in the suburbs on both sides of the canal of Canopus, if there were any to the east, or in case there were none, as the canal run close along by the side of the lake, they might not improperly say that the city extended to the lake Marcotis.

The palace, with the suburbs belonging to it, was a fourth part of the city; within its district was the museum † or academy, and the burial-place ‡ of the Kings, where

* Ἐστὶ δὲ χλαμυδαῖος τὸ ὄψμα τῇ ἰδέᾳ τῆς πόλεως ἢ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μήκῃς πλευρὰ ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφίκλυτα, ὅσον τριακοντα σταδίων ἔχοντα διαμετροῦν τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλάτῃ οἱ ἰσμοί, ἐπὶ τῇ ἡὸκτω σταδίων ἐκάτερος, σφίγγομενος τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ θαλάττης, τῇ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης. Strabo, xvii. p. 793

† ὧν δὲ βασιλείων μέρους ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσῆον, ἔχον περιπατοῦν καὶ ἐξιδεῖν καὶ οἶκον μίγαν Strabo, l. xvii p 793.

‡ Μέρους δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῶμα, ὃ περιέχοντες ἦν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλείων ταφαί, καὶ ἡ Ἀλ-ζάνδρης Strabo, l. xvii. p. 724.

the body of Alexander was deposited in a coffin of gold *, which being taken away, it was put into one of glass; in which condition it is probable, Augustus took a view of the corpse of that great hero, and with the utmost veneration scattered flowers over it, and adorned it with a golden crown †. As the Mahometans have a great regard for the memory of Alexander, so there have been travellers, who relate, that they pretended to have his body in some mosque; but at present they have no account of it.

When Alexandria was no longer the residence of Kings, it is very natural to think that their palace in time fell to ruin, and that the materials of it were removed to the part of the city that was inhabited, and probably also to build the inner walls; though along by the sea there are still great remains, and on the shore are seen several pieces of porphyry, and other fine marbles, where the ancient palace stood; but as to the buildings on the sea, near the obelisks, and the fine round tower at the north-west corner, which has two stories, and a fine arch in the middle, supported by a pillar, they seem to be all buildings of the time when the inner walls were made, at least not to be so old as the time of the Ptolemies or Cleopatra. In the round tower is a well, now spoiled; and they say there are wells also in some of the other towers.

Under these palaces was the private inclosed port of the Kings ‡, which might be opposite to the great round tower at the sea, where ships now sometimes come to anchor, and where the Turks, till within this fifty years, obliged all foreign ships to ride, not suffering them to anchor under the castle, as they do at present. In this part also was the isle Antirrhodes §, in which was a palace, and a small harbour or bay. This island seems to have been entirely destroyed by the sea, and probably was opposite to the obelisks, where there are still seen great ruins in the sea, and where they often raise up very fine pillars ||. Over these places a theatre is mentioned, and afterwards the part of the city which had its name from Neptune, where there was a temple to him. This seems to have been about the corner of the bay ¶. In this district also Anthony built his Timonium, to which he retired in disgust after his misfortunes. Next to it the Cæsarium is mentioned, where the temple of Cæsar is supposed to have been; in which, according to Pliny, some obelisks were erected. Further on was the Emporium, or market-place. Then followed the docks for their shipping; over which was the ancient city Rhacotis, with a sort of suburbs round it called Bucolis, because it was chiefly inhabited by herdsmen.

There was a communication between the ports by two bridges at the causeway to the island **, that began at the north-west corner of the town; at the Heptastadium to the west ††, which was one of the necks of land made by the sea and the lake. Here

* Strabo, l. xvii. p. 274.

† Conditiorum et corpus magni Alexandri, cum prolatum e penetrali subiecisset oculis, corona aurea imposita, ac floribus aspersis, veneratus est. *Sueton. Octavianus*, c. 18.

‡ Τῷτοις δ' ὑπὸκειται ὁ, τε κρυπτή λιμὴν, καὶ κληρὸς ἰδιῶν τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἡ Ἀντιρρόδου νησίον προκείμενον τῇ ὀρεκτῇ λιμένι, βασιλικοῦ ἅμα καὶ λιμένιον ἔχον. — Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς τοῦ Δία τρον ἡ τὰ τὸ Ποσειδῶν, ἀγκῶν τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐμπορίου καλυμένη προσπέλωκας, ἔχων ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ὃ προδὴ; χώμα Ἀντώνου ἐπὶ μάλλον προεῖναι ἢ μεσον τῶν λιμένα ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρῃ κατεσκευάσει δία ταν βασιλικήν, ἣν Τιμόνιον προσηγόρευσε. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 794.

§ See preceding note, with regard to this isle, and the Timonium, &c.

|| When Strabo mentions that Antirrhodes lies before τῇ ὀρεκτῇ λιμένι, he seems to need emendation, and it ought to be τῇ κρυπτῇ; the latter port being in this part, the other in the port Eunostus.

¶ This account is very different from what is given by some travellers, who suppose the Neptunium was where I place Cape Lochias, and that what is now without the port, was formerly within it; but any one, who considers the situation of the several parts with Strabo's account, may judge which is most probable.

** See a subsequent note for this and the following places.

†† It appears also by what follows in Strabo, that there was an aqueduct the island over this causeway and the bridges.

it is probable the sea has gained to the east of the old port, as I have marked in the plan, where it now washes the walls from the great corner tower; at which the walls make an elbow to the north-west, for it is evident it has gained on the shore, farther on, where many grottos appear half washed away by the sea.

Within this western port, anciently called Eupostus, and now the old port, was the port Cibotus, from which there was a navigable canal to the lake *; and there is now a canal or fofsee along by the walls from the canal of Canopus to the sea, by which the water runs into the sea from the great canal, at the overflow of the Nile. When any ships that do not belong to the Turks, by stress of weather are obliged to go into the old port, they must remove into the other, as soon as they have an opportunity; which is the harbour allotted for the ships of Christendom.

In the city a hill is mentioned called Panium, which, from the description of it, seems to be the high hill within the walls near the west gate of the old port †.

The street which extended the whole length of the city, from the gate of Necropolis to the gate of Canopus, is said to have been one hundred feet wide ‡, and doubtless, had in it many magnificent buildings, as appears from the granite pillars still remaining in two or three parts. Among them was the gymnasium § or public schools, to which there were porticos in extent above half a quarter of a mile; it might be where there are great ruins to the west of that street, and several large red granite pillars standing. The forum, or court of judicature, was also probably another building in this magnificent street, and might be where some pillars remain nearer the sea. The gate of Necropolis I suppose to be the gate to the south-west, which is now built up. This gate has some ornaments about it of lions rampant. It is said that the two chief streets of Alexandria crossed one another at right angles; so that if the street, that extended the whole breadth of the city, began at the old gate, it is probable the gate on the other side was opposite to it, in such manner as that the street might answer this description.

Among the remains of Alexandria, the most extraordinary are those cisterns which were built under their houses, supported by two or three stories of arches on columns, in order to receive the Nile water by the canal, as they do at this day. In the same manner the rain water is preserved in cisterns, under the houses at Jerusalem. This canal of Canopus comes to the walls near Pompey's pillar, having run to the west of it: it has a passage under the walls, and from that part a fofsee has been cut along the outside of the walls to the sea; but the water is not only conveyed to the cisterns from the canal, as it there enters the city, but also before, from several parts of the canal, by passages under ground to the higher parts of the city. There are entrances down to these passages in several parts, in order to clean them: the cisterns also must be cleansed; and the descent down to them is by round wells, in which there are holes on each side, at about two feet distance, to put the feet in to descend by: they draw up the water by a windlass, and carry it in leather bags on camels to the houses. Before the Nile fills them again, the water in many of them is not good; owing, it may be, to

* Εξῆ: δ' Ευνόστου λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀδίας καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς θρυκτὸς, ὃν καὶ Κιβωτὸν καλεῖσιν, ἔχον καὶ αὐτὸς νῆεσσιν. Εὐδοκίῳ δὲ τέτις διώρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τεταμένη τῆς Μαρτυριᾶς. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

† Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Πάνιον, ὃ ψῶν χροσώπτον, γροβιλοῦν, ἑμπερὶς ὄχθῃ πετρώδῃ, διὰ κοχλίας τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἔχον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς ἔστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅλων τὴν πύλιν ὑποκειμένη αὐτῷ πανταχοῦν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

‡ Ἀπασα μὲν ἰσοῖς κατατέμνεται, ἐκπληράται καὶ ἀεματηλάται· δυοὶ δὲ πλατυτάται· ἐπὶ πλείον ἢ πλείστον ἀνατεταμέναι· αἱ δὲ δίχα καὶ πρὸς ὁρᾶς τέμνεται ἀλλήλας. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793. According to Suidas τὸ πλείστον was the sixth part of a stadium or furlong, that is one hundred feet.

§ Καλλιερὸν δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον, μίξῃς ἢ ραδιαίας ἔχον τὰς γούδας ἐν μέσῳ . . . Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νεκροπόλεως ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ μῦκον πλατὺα διακίνη παρὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον μέχρι τῆς πύλης τῆς καινῆς. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

their not keeping them clean; for in some, and particularly that which belongs to the Latin convent, the water is observed to be always good.

The old city is entirely ruined, and the materials carried away to build the new. Excepting a very few houses at the Rosetto, and bagnio gates, there are only some few mosques, and three convents within the old walls.

One of the mosques is called the Mosque of a thousand and one pillars; it is to the west, near the gate of Necropolis. I observed in it four rows of pillars to the south and west, and one row on the other sides. Here, they say was a church dedicated to St. Mark, and the Patriarch resided at it; being near the gate without which, it is said, the Evangelist was martyred. The other great mosque is that of St. Athanasius; where there was, without doubt, a church of that name.

At the church of the Copti convent they shew the patriarchal chair, and pretend also to have the head of St. Mark, and some even say that his body is there; as at the Greek convent they shew some things which they say relate to the martyrdom of St. Catherine in this city. The Latins also have their convent in the old city, belonging to that of Jerusalem; and there are always some poor Arabs encamped about within the walls, so that it is dangerous being abroad after sun-set, when all the company begin to retire.

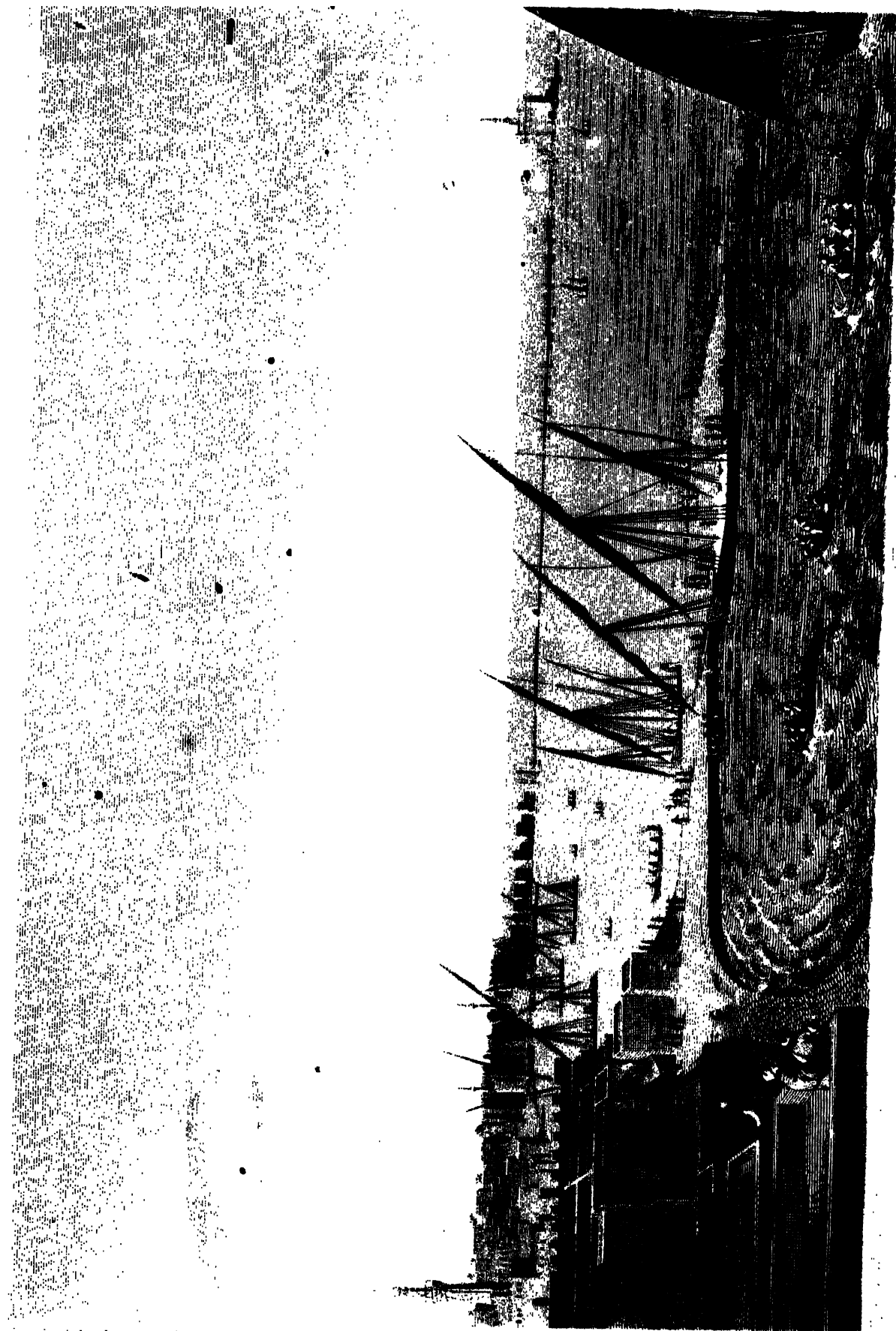
At the south-west corner is a large castle, with a few soldiers in it, no Europeans are admitted there. In the gates, especially that of Rosetto, are many fine pieces of granite, and all over the city are seen fragments of columns of beautiful marble; all so many remains of the grandeur and magnificence of the ancient city.

The new city is built on the strand to the north, without the walls, on the ground that seems to have been left by the sea, and makes a very mean appearance; taking up all that space in the plan without the walls, except the strand to the east, and a great part not built on towards the old port, as well as the spot of the old isle of Pharos. In several houses built round courts on porticos, they have placed a great variety of pillars, mostly granite, which were the ornaments of the ancient city. The old city was, without doubt, in a flourishing condition, when the trade of the East Indies was carried on that way by the Venetians; and the decay of it may be dated from the time the passage was found out by the Cape of Good Hope, when the commerce took another channel; but when the trade of coffee and other commodities began in some measure, to flourish, about fifty years ago, the present city then began to rife out of the ruins of the old.

Of the two obelisks, one is broke, and part of it lies on the ground. It has been found, by digging under ground, that the bottoms of the obelisks were rounded, and let into a plinth, as the Egyptians used to place their pillars; as may be seen in the observations on architecture. These obelisks might be before the temple of Neptune. If I made no mistake in taking the height of that which is standing, by the quadrant, it is thirty-three feet high; the piece of the obelisk that is broke, is eighteen feet long, and at the bottom measured seven feet square.

Higher up in the city, over the isle Antirrhodes, that is probably in a line from it, the temple is mentioned, which seems to have been at the hill towards the gate of Antirrhodes, called Colos Dymas; which I conjecture from the shape of that hill, where it was standing when I was in Alexandria, in order to carry away the stones.

The pillar commonly called Pompey's pillar is situated on a small height, about a furlong to the south of the walls, and may be supposed to have been erected in honour of Pompey, as he makes no mention of such an extraordinary monument: it is not, as some say, in honour of Titus, or Adrian, who were in Egypt. Near it are several other pillars, four feet diameter, and it appears plainly from



many old foundations, that there has been some magnificent building there, in the area of which, it is probable, this pillar was erected; and some Arabian historians (on what authority I know not) call it the palace of Julius Cæsar. This famous pillar is of red granite: besides the foundation, it consists of three stones; the capital, which is judged to be about eight or nine feet deep, is of the Corinthian order, the leaves being perfectly plain, and not the least indented, and seem to be the plain laurel or bay leaf. Some sailors have found means to get to the top, which has a hole in it, from which it is judged that there was a statue fixed on the top of the pillar; the shaft of the pillar, taking in the upper Torus of the base, is of one stone, the remainder of the base and pedestal of another, and all is raised on a foundation built of several stones, in the nature of two plinths, of two tier of stone, the lower setting out four inches beyond the upper, as that sets out a foot beyond the plinth that is over it. This foundation is four feet nine inches high, and the pedestal, and part of the base, which is of one stone, are twelve feet and a half high. I found the whole height by the shadow to be one hundred and fourteen feet, which agrees pretty nearly with the account some others have given; so that taking out the above measures, and a half a foot for the upper Torus, the height of the shaft is eighty-eight feet nine inches, that is, about ten diameters of the column; for I found the diameter of it to be about nine feet; the die of the pedestal is twelve feet two inches square, and the plinth is two feet wider. I observed the swell in the pillar, and that it leans a little to the south-west. The pillar is well preserved, except that it has scoled away a very little to the south, and more to the north-east; the face of the foundation is represented in the draught of the pillar, as it is to the west-south-west, where some of the stones have been taken away, so as to shew the middle stone, which has been so much talked of, as if the pillar rested on that alone, whereas the work remains all round, on which the pillar is raised; and yet it is indeed probable that the main weight of the pillar does rest on this stone, which on that side is about four feet wide, and appeared to me to be a mixture of alabaster and flints of a great variety of colours, and has hieroglyphics on it. When I returned a second time to Alexandria, this part was repaired in such a manner, that the lower plinth is made a seat for people to sit on; and so it is no more to be seen in its ancient state. There are some signs of a Greek inscription on the west side, which can hardly be discerned, unless the sun shines on it: it consists of four lines; what letters I could make any conjecture of, I have given below*.

To the west, beyond the canal of Canopus, and near a Sheik's burial place, are some catacombs; they consist of several apartments cut in the rock, on each side of an open gallery: on both sides of these apartments are three stories of holes, big enough to deposit the bodies in†. Here we may suppose the suburbs began, in which were gardens, sepulchres, and places to prepare the bodies for interment; as the quarter called Necropolis, or city of the dead, was to the west of the city. The catacombs extended above a mile to the west, and there are a great number all along by the sea; many of them have been washed away by the water, which in such a long tract of time has gained on the freestone rock, as appears by the remains of them seen in the sea. I was

* 1 3 . . . 7 OCOTATOI P. O. P. TA
 † CC . . . O CONIOT. TONAAEAAA
 ΔIC MAPPOAIION TON ΔAI . .
 HIOCE APACC

† It appears that some of them have been plaistered over, and adorned with a sort of cornish in stucco work. Some of them had also other smaller cells within them at the end or on one side, which might be for children.

in some grottos cut out of the rock, in long narrow galleries running parallel to one another, and some also crossing them at right angles. These I conjectured were those magazines in which they embalmed the bodies *. The most extraordinary catacombs are towards the further end, and may be reckoned among the finest that have been discovered; being beautiful rooms cut out of a rock, and niches in many of them, so as to deposit the bodies in, adorned with a sort of Doric pilasters on each side. The round room, and that leading to it are very beautiful, and so are the four rooms drawn in the plan with niches.

Near a mile farther is a fosse between thirty and forty paces broad, which seems to have been cut from the lake Mareotis to the sea. As the city is said to have extended a little beyond the canal that came into the port Cibotus, this cannot be that canal, because it is not only beyond the city, but also further to the west than Necropolis. It was thought hazardous to go so far as the fosse, only accompanied with a janizary and servant; and it was with some art that I led the janizary so far, and indeed he began to be weary of waiting on me. It was certainly very hot weather to go abroad all day, as I often did, and found the janizary full employment, which is what they are not used to; and not knowing their customs, I designed to gratify him at my departure, whereas they like to make sure of something, and to have a small piece of money every time they go out, so he always pretended some excuse not to go with me; but the greatest reason of all was, that I suppose some people had talked to him on the part of the governor, that I observed every thing about the city in a manner not usually practised, and might say some other things to deter him from going any more with me; for it is usual for the governor to have a certain sum paid for every stranger that goes out of the gate with the janizaries of Alexandria, whom they oblige to pay it, but if they go out with the janizaries of Cairo, the governor has no power over them to oblige them to pay; so I took one of the janizaries of the place, and paid him the usual tribute, and found myself at perfect liberty to do what I pleased.

I had an account from a gentleman who had been about thirty miles west of Alexandria, and about two hours south of the tower of Arabia, in a vale to the west of the lake Mareotis, that he saw under ground a building supported by thirty-six marble pillars: this probably was Taposiris †, said to be at a distance from the sea, and this building might be for the great solemn meeting that was held there; and if so, it is probable the tower of Arabia is the old Cynosema, and the vale above mentioned might be what they call Baher-Bellomah, or the sea without water, which I shall have occasion to mention.

The great lake Marcotis, which was formerly navigable, is now generally dry, and has only water in it for some time after great rains: it is probable the canals which conveyed the water to it from the Nile, have been obstructed and filled in such a long course of time before those canals were made, or if at any time after they were choaked up, it might have been a plain as it is at present; and Pomponius Mela, speaking of the lake Mœris, by which he seems to mean this great lake, as I observe elsewhere, says that what is now a lake, was formerly fields ‡.

The canal of Canopus, which brings the water to Alexandria, would likewise be stopped up if they were not sometimes at great expence in cleaning it, which was done when I was in Egypt, and the water continued in it two months longer than it did before

* Εἰς ἡ Νεκρόπολις, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐν ᾧ κηποὶ τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφῶν καὶ καταγωγῶν, πρὸς τὰς τελεχίας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτελοῦνται. Strabo, xvii. p. 795.

† Εἰτα κινὸς σημεῖα, ἢ τὰ Ταπόσιρις ἐκ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πασίγυναι διχομήνη μεγάλην. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 799.

‡ See the notes in the geographical dissertation.

it was cleansed. There is an opinion that this whole canal was lined with brick; and it is certain about Alexandria, in some parts the sides are cased with stone, though it might be only so there, as a quay for the convenience of unloading the boats. This canal runs about half a mile south of the walls of the old city, and then turning to the north near Pompey's pillar; in that course it runs in under the walls of the city, the basin of the old lake coming almost up to the canal; and about three miles from the town, it turns to the west from a northern direction.

The racing place, called the Hippodromus*; without the gate of Canopus, was probably in the plain towards the canal, beyond the high ground, where I suppose that gate was.

I made some excursions to the east, to see what remains there were of antiquity. In these expeditions I often met some Arabs on horseback, who would voluntarily offer to guard me to the gate of the city, in order to get a small gratuity; but when I found out their design, and was satisfied there was no danger, I signified to them that they need not give themselves that trouble, on which they always went quietly away. These Arabs, when they have any difference with the city, as often happens, will not permit any body to go out, and in a manner blockade the city.

The people of Alexandria have a very bad character, especially the military men, and among them particularly the janizaries: they very well answer the character Cæsar † gives of the soldiery of Alexandria in his time; they raise tumults, plunder, and are often guilty of assassinations, and it is very difficult to get any justice of them.

Going about two miles to the east by the canal, I came to a height to the north of it, on which are several ruins that probably are the remains of Eleufis, mentioned by Strabo as a village of Alexandria in this situation near Nicopolis.

Nicopolis ‡ was three miles and three quarters from Alexandria, and received its name from the victory Augustus gained there over Antony, and on that account the place was much improved by him. At the first entrance on the height from the plain, I observed they had been digging out stones, which, as they said, were foundations of a wall; but I saw plainly there had been a small channel lined with stone, carried along under ground, which probably conveyed the water from the canal to the reservoir of Nicopolis; which, though it may seem a very great and extraordinary work, on account of the height of the ground, yet there are such passages made under ground in Syria to convey the water for many miles, with piles down at certain distances, both to bring up the earth as they made the aqueduct, and also to clear it in case of any obstructions, as before described, from the canal of Canopus to Alexandria. Towards the sea it is an uneven high ground all the way to Nicopolis, on which there are many ruins; but about the site of Nicopolis, there are remains of a very extraordinary building, which is commonly called the theatre, and I imagine to have been something in the nature of a Roman castrum; it was built with an entrance in on every side, and six semicircular towers, and a square one at each corner. By the manner in which the ground lies, there seems to have been some buildings within: it is built of small hewn stone, there being three tiers of brick at the distance of every four feet and a half; the mortar is very thick, which made me conjecture that it was built towards the time of the

* Εἰς τὸν Ἱπποδρόμον καλεῖται ἐστὶ, καὶ αἱ παρακείμεναι αἱ αὐλαὶ μέχρι τῆς διάρης τῆς κατωδουῆς. Strabo, l. 17. p. 795.

† At the latter end of the third book, De Bello Civili.

‡ Διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἱπποδρόμου διελθόντι ἡ Νικόπολις ἐστίν, ἔχουσα κατακλιῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλιν ἢ αὐτόν. Τριάκοντα δὲ ἥσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας σταδίων. Τῶν δ' ἐπίμνησεν ὁ Σέβαστος. Κρίσας τὸν τόπον. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 795.

lower empire; the walls are not any where entire, but could not be less than twenty feet high.

About four leagues from Alexandria, is Aboukir, called by Europeans Bikiere; it is on the west side of a wide bay, which has to the east that head of land that makes out to the north from Rosetta: on this little cape to the west of the bay, there is a garrisoned castle, and ships ride here in tolerable safety. We were lodged with a Jew, who is vice-consul to all the trading nations of Europe, to assist the shipping that come to anchor there. We sent a letter we had to the governor, who ordered his lieutenant to come to us to offer us his service; and this officer came afterwards, and served to us the coffee the governor sent us.

We had seen in the way about two leagues from Alexandria, such channels made of stone near the surface of the ground, as I supposed were made to Nicopolis; by which probably the water of the canal was conveyed to these parts. In the way also is a salt lake, the water of which they say, comes by under-ground passages from the sea, and is much saltier than the salt lakes that have no communication with the sea.

A chain of rocks extend above a league from Bikiere to an island, which is about half a mile long, and a furlong wide; there are remains in it of some under-ground passages, and of a piece of a statue we conjectured was a sphynx. I observed also that a chain of rocks extended from it towards Alexandria, so that probably the sea has gained much on the land; which may be conjectured not only from this appearance, but is also evident from a view of the shore itself, where not only many works cut in the rocks are seen in the sea but also ruins of ancient buildings; and possibly this island might formerly be the cape of Taposiris*, where there was also a city of that name: this was thought to be the ancient Thonis, said to be so called from the King who entertained Menelaus and Helen.

About two miles nearer Alexandria, are ruins of an ancient temple in the water: whether it were the temple of Venus, Arfinoe of Taposiris, or some other temple that might be at Zephyrium, mentioned in the way to Nicopolis, I leave the reader to judge; there are pieces of columns in the water three feet diameter. I saw also three broken statues of sphynxes about seven feet long, and three others about four feet long, most of them of a yellow marble. I took particular notice of the statue of a woman of red granite, twelve feet long, and a block of marble four feet diameter, which seemed to have been the head of a colossal statue, and many pieces about it appeared to be fragments of the same statue, particularly the hands, which from the wrist to the knuckles measured eighteen inches.

Near this building also are other ruins, part of which seem to have been a grand portico, there being about it many pieces of pillars of grey and red granite. To the south of these are many red granite pillars, which from the order they lie in, and the shape of the ground, seem to have belonged to a round temple; most of them are fluted, and three feet three inches diameter. Several pieces of plain pillars lie together two feet diameter; I conjectured that they might belong to the portico, and that the fluted pillars were within the temple. All along the shore are many ruins, and the rocks at the bottom of the sea seem cut out in such a manner, as shews that there have been great buildings there. They dig wells all about this shore, and find water

* Στην γὰρ τῆς ταινίας μεταξύ δὴκει τῇ τε πηλόχῃ καὶ τῆς διόρυγος, ἐν ᾗ ἴσιν ἦτε μικρὰ Τασπίσης, μετὰ τῇ Νικόπολιν καὶ τῷ Ζεφύριον, ἀπὸ καίτοι ἔχουσι Ἀρσινόης Ἀφροδίτης. Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ Θῶνιν τινὰ πόλιν ἵσταυσα φασὶν ἑνὸς τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ δεξαμένῳ Μενελάῳ τε καὶ Ἑλένῃ ξενίαν. Strabo, l. 17. p. 800.

that is very little brackish according to the account that Hirtius* gives of the Alexandrian war; from which one may conjecture that the water may come not only from the canals, which sometimes have very little water in them, but also from the Nile, which it has been found by experience, fills all the sand, soil of Egypt as high as the level of the waters of that river. Though experiments have been made to prove that fresh water may be found by digging wells on shores above high water mark: and Cæsar seems to have thought that the water came from the sea. So that it may be doubted whether, so near the shore, the water comes from the sea or the Nile.

CHAP. II.—*From Alexandria to Rosetta and Grand Cairo.*

HAVING embarked at Leghorn on the 7th of September 1737, old style, we arrived at Alexandria on the 29th of the same month, being only a week in the voyage, from the time we lost sight of Sicily. On the 24th of October we set out from Alexandria to Rosetta; and leaving Bikiere on the left hand about a league, we came to the mada or ferry, about two leagues from Bikiere. The passage is over the outlet of a lake that is supposed to have been the lower part of the Canopic branch of the Nile, as this ferry close by the sea must have been the mouth of it. Heracleum† was probably somewhere near, from which it was also called the Heracleotic branch. Canopus‡ I suppose to have been higher up this river, probably about the place where the canal went out of it. This place was famous for the dissolute manner in which the Alexandrians diverted themselves there, as well as in many other places along the canal that led to it: it is said to have its name from Canopus, Menelaus's pilot, who died there. On the other side of this ferry is a cane, where passengers repose, and think themselves safe from the Arabs, who rarely go to that side. All the country here is a sandy desert; it might be otherwise when this branch of the Nile annually overflowed, but there being a ridge of low sandy hills running from north to south near the Nile, it is possible that the fruitful soil may have been covered with the sand blown from those hills. It might, however, be a curious experiment to dig and see if any such soil is to be found as is usually brought by the Nile. The sand changes so often, that it would be difficult to find the way, if they had not built eleven pillars across the plain, which I conjectured might be about half a mile apart, in order to direct the way, which otherwise it would be difficult to find at such times as the wind raises great clouds of sand, as it often does in Egypt. At one of those pillars an arch is turned, and an earthen vase is placed under it; which, by some charity, is kept full of Nile water, for the benefit of travellers.

In this journey I had the honour to accompany the English consul, who was met by his vice-consul of Rosetta, as also by many of the French, above a league from that town. When we were come within the sandy hills, we were surpris'd at the sight of a magnificent tent, where a handsome collation was prepared. After this refreshment, we were all mounted on fine horses, sent out by the governor of the city, each attended by a groom on foot, and so arrived at Rosetta. The next morning the go-

* Puteis fossis aquam dulcem posse reperiri affirmabat: omnia enim litora naturaliter aquæ dulcis venas habere: quod si alia esset sitio. Ægypti natura, atque omnium reliquorum, &c. *Hirtius, de Bello Alex.*

† Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κάνωπον ἔστι τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ Ἡρακλέως ἔχει ὄνομα. Strabo l. xvii. p. 801.

‡ Κάνωπος δ' ἔστι πύλος ἐν ἧσιν αὐτὸ κατεῖχε γαδίου ἀπὸ Ἀλγερῶν: πρὸς Ἰθύν, ἐπὶ ὧν καὶ Κάνωπος τὸ Μενελάου νεώτερον, ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ, ἔχουσα τὸ τῷ Σεραπίδι ὄνομα, &c. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 801.

vernor sent a present of sheep and fowl to the consul, which I suppose was returned by something of much greater value.

Rosetto is on the west side of the branch of the Nile, anciently called Bolbitinum, which Herodotus says was made by art. This town is called by the Egyptians, Raschid, and is esteemed one of the most pleasant places in Egypt; it is near two miles in length, consisting of about two or three streets. It would be carrying conjectures too far to suppose that the Milesians settled here when first they arrived in Egypt, as they came into the branch of Bolbitinum, went out afterwards east of it, and built the wall of the Milesians, and at length settled at Naucratis*. Any one that sees the hills about Rosetto, would judge that they had been the ancient barriers of the sea, and conclude that the sea had not lost more ground than the space between the hills and the water. The fine country of Delta, on the other side of the Nile, and two beautiful islands a little below the town, make the prospect very delightful; the country to the north is improved with most pleasant gardens of oranges, lemons, and citrons, and almost all sorts of fruits, with the agreeable variety of groves of palm-trees, and small lakes in different parts; and when the fields are green with rice, which is much cultivated here, it adds a great beauty to the country. Great part of the land of Rosetto belongs to Mecca, and they have a tradition that a relation of Mahomet was there, and lived at a place where they have built a mosque towards the north end of the town. They have also a notion that if Mecca were taken from them, the devotion of it would be removed to this place.

They have here a great manufactory of striped and other coarse linens; but the chief business of the place is the carriage of goods between this town and Cairo; all European merchandizes being brought to this place from Alexandria by sea, and loaded on other boats to be carried to Cairo, as those brought from Cairo on the Nile, are here put into large boats to be sent to Alexandria. For this purpose the Europeans have their vice-consuls and factors here to transact their business, and letters are brought regularly from Alexandria by land, to be sent by boats to Cairo, on the days they set forwards; but letters of greater consequence, that require dispatch, are sent by foot messengers across the deserts directly to Cairo. Though Rosetto is so near the sea, yet the water is very good, unless when the north wind blows very strong, or the Nile is at lowest, when the water is a little brackish. It is remarkable that the Nile does not rise here above three or four feet, because its banks are low, and the water spreads itself all over the country.

I saw in Rosetto two of those naked saints, who are commonly natural fools, and are had in great veneration in Egypt; one was a lusty, elderly man, the other a youth about eighteen years old. As the latter went along the street, I observed the people kissed his hand. I was also told that on Fridays, when the women go to the burial places, they frequently sit at the entrance of them; and that they not only kiss their hands, but shew them the same respect that was paid to a certain heathen idol, and seem to expect the same kind of advantage from it. I myself saw one of these saints sitting at a mosque door in the high road without the gates of Cairo, with a woman on each side of him, at the time the caravan was going to Mecca, and a multitude of people were passing by, who are so accustomed to such sights, that they took no notice of it.

* Πλείστοις γὰρ ἐπὶ Ὑαμίτιχιν τριάνοντα ναυσὶ Μιλήσιοι κατὰ Κυαζάρην (ἔτι δ' ἦν τῶν Μηδῶν) κατέσχον ἢ τὸ γέμα τὸ Βολβίτινον ἢ τ' ἐκβαίντες ἐπὶ χερσὶν τὸ λεχθὲν κλίσμα· χρόνῳ δ' ἀναπλυνσάντες ἢς τὸν Σαΐτικὸν νομὸν καταναυμαχισάντες Ἰσάροι, πόλιν ἐκτίσθη Νάυκρατον ἢ πολὺ τῆς Σχεδίας ὑπερθεῖν. Strabo, l. xvii, p. 801.



I went about two miles north to the castle of Rosetto, on the west side of the river; it is a square building, with round towers at the corners; there are port holes near the bottom of it: I observed about then several pieces of yellow marble, many of which had hieroglyphics on them, and might be the pieces of some broken obelisk. I saw here several iron cannon made in the old way, with bars and rings, being in two or three pieces, which fit into one another; and three large brass cannons. On one were ornaments of flower de lices, on the other was a tree with two letters for the arms. This castle is built of brick, cased with stone, and is said to be the work of Keyck Bey, who lived, as I was informed, about three hundred years ago; but I should rather think it was built about the time of the holy wars, and that this Bey might repair it, and make the port holes. A little lower down, on the other side of the river, is a platform of guns, and to the east of it are salt lakes, where they collect a great quantity of salt. At the mouth of the river is an island of a triangular form, called Latomia: it is overflowed when the wind blows from the north-west, and then becomes two islands; it is about a mile in circumference, and there are sandy hillocks from east to west along the middle of it. To the south, the island is a sort of morass, and to the north it is sandy. It is probable this island had its name from the Greeks, on account of the division of the water here, by which two entrances are made at the mouth of the river. Without the mouth of the eastern channel, are ruins of a castle at some distance, which, if I mistake not, is on an island; it is called Burgimageselzareh-Achmed, from the person that built it.

At Rosetto I paid a visit to Cosmas, the Greek patriarch of Alexandria, whose usual residence is at Cairo. As I was introduced by the dragoman, or interpreter from the consul, I had all the honours done me that are usual at an eastern visit. First a lighted pipe is offered, brought by the servant to you, then a saucer of sweetmeats is carried about, and a little in a small spoon given to every person. After the coffee is served, the servants bring to every one a basin of sherbet, with a handkerchief on the arm for them to wipe after they have drank; and when it is time to go away, they sprinkle rose water on the hands, with which the guest rubs his face; then the incense is brought, which he receives leaning the head forward, and holding out his garment on each side to take the smoke. This compliment is paid only where they would shew a particular regard, and the master makes a sign for it, when he thinks it is time the visit should end, or the guest offers to go away; which is never done when the visiter is much superior, till he makes a motion to go. In these visits, every thing is done with the greatest decency, and most profound silence; their slaves or servants standing at the bottom of the room, with their hands joined before them, and with the utmost attention watch every motion of their master, who commands them by signs.

There is great difficulty in settling the ancient branches of the Nile, after its division into seven parts, when it runs through that part of Egypt which was called Delta, by reason that many of them have been filled up for want of being cleaned; and the maps that have been made of those parts are not entirely to be depended upon. About four leagues north-east of Rosetto, is the large lake Brulos, which I suppose is the extent of the Sebennytic lake, as well as of the lake Butice*, of the ancients. About the east end of this lake, the Sebennytic branch might empty itself into the sea. In two manuscript maps of Egypt, procured at Venice, and probably made when the Venetians had so great an intercourse with Egypt, I find a place called Boltin, on this lake, which may

* Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τῶν Μελιταιῶν πᾶχος ἐπὶ τὸ Σιβαϊτικὸν προσκίετ' ἑρμα, λίμνη αὕτη ἣν ἡ ἱερεὺς Βυτικὴ καλεῖται ἀπὸ Βούτης πόλεως. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 802.

be the old Butus, where there was an oracle of Diana, and on an island near it was Hermopolis, which might be Brulos placed by Sicard in an island before this lake. It may be supposed that this lake, which is now of so great an extent, takes in all the other lakes mentioned by the ancients to the east, and that the sea breaking in has made this alteration; for though the sea may have lost just about the great mouths of the rivers, yet it appears plainly to have gained in other parts.

On the fourth of November I embarked with the consul for Cairo, on board a fine galley. They are flat-bottomed vessels with three masts, near half of them being covered, they have in them one large handsome room, and near the stern a smaller for the women, if there are any on board. They are made with lattice windows all round, and have swivel cannon fastened towards the prow. With a good brisk wind, they sail well against the current, but when there is little wind, or it is contrary, the men draw them up with a cord fastened to the mast; though if the wind is high and contrary, they are obliged to lie by, as they commonly do at night, especially if the Nile is low, when they are in greater danger of running aground. At such times the people divert themselves in telling long Arabian stories; and if they are obliged to stop by day, the boat-men frequently pass away the time in acting some low farces. The sailing on the Nile is very pleasant; the country on each side is rich and fruitful, the villages having palm-trees planted round them, appear like so many fine groves, as, when the country is overflown, they look like islands, as they really are. But Egypt appears in greatest beauty in the month of December, when it is the middle of the spring, and the whole country is covered with green corn and clover, and many plants appear in full blossom.

We came to Foua, above twenty miles from Rosetto, and almost opposite to a canal, which, I suppose, was the ancient continuation of the Canopic branch. This canal, they told me, communicated with the canal of Alexandria, and is probably that which was navigated when the trade was carried on this way to Alexandria, at which time the European factors lived at Foua; but the boats having been often robbed by the Arabs, they were obliged to make use of this conveyance by sea, and removed to Rosetto about fifty or sixty years ago. It is probable that Naucratis* was about this place, which was built by the Milesians, and was afterwards made the great mart for all foreign goods, the ships being obliged to bring them to this place; or, if they were put into any other port, and could not conveniently come to this city, they were obliged to send them round by boats, so that it must have been a very considerable city†. Ten miles to the east of this branch of the Nile was Sais ‡, supposed by some to be the Sin of the Scriptures. Herodotus § gives an extraordinary account of a room cut out of one stone, that was placed before the temple of Minerva in this city; it was on the outside twenty-one cubits long, fourteen broad, and eight high, and within above eighteen long, twelve broad, and five high; two thousand men were employed three years in bringing it down by water from Elephantine at the cataract, being probably cut out of one of the islands there. Near Sais was the asylum of Ostris, where it was the common opinion

* Έν ἀριστῷ δὲ ἐν τῇ Δέλτᾳ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ποταμῷ Ναυκρατίς. Strabo, l. xvii p. 803.

† See Herodotus, l. ii. c. 170.

‡ Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ δι' οὐκ ἐν δόχῃς ἡ Σαῖς, καὶ μικρὸν ταύτης ὑπερθεῖ τὸ τῷ Ὀσίριδος Ἀσυλον, ἐν ᾧ κηδαὶ τὸν Ὀσίριον Φασίν. Strabo, l. xvii p. 803.

§ Τὸ δὲ ἔχ' ἡμισα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θαυμάζω, ἐστὶ τοδε οἰκημα μνησίδον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τῷτο ἐκόμισε μὲν ἐπ' ἑτά τρία, διχάλοι δὲ δι' ἀποστεινύχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ ἔτο ἀπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται· τῆς δὲ γῆς ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος· ἕξωθεν ἐστὶ ἥς τε καὶ ἵκονσι πηχῆες· εὖρος δὲ, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ· ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα· ἕξωθεν τῆς γῆς τῆς μνησίδος ἐστὶ ἀτὰρ ἴσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχῶν, καὶ πηγύσις· τὸ δὲ εὖρος δώδεκα πηχῶν· τὸ δὲ ὕψος· σῆντε πηχῶν ἐστὶ. Herod. ii. p. 175.

Ofiris was buried; Isis having deposited several coffins in different places, that Typhon might not find out his body, according to the Egyptian mythology.

About a quarter of the way to Cairo, is the sepulchre of Sherk Ahmed Bedoui, who was the son of one of Mahomet's uncles; and here some of the common people say the pilgrimage of devotion would be made, in case Mecca were taken from them. Stopping at a village for want of wind, we went to see the governor of the place, who offered us coffee; and when we came away, he sent after us a small present of fifty eggs as a compliment, and a mark of his respect. In this country I saw the way of making indigo blue, with an herb called nil. We arrived at Ouarden and went to see the governor, who would have entertained us, and sent a present of a hundred eggs and a lamb, and afterwards came on horseback to the boat, and returned the visit; and having the usual honours done him on that occasion, it was signified by the consul's people that wine would be an acceptable present to him, which accordingly was sent after it was dark, not to give umbrage to conscientious mussulmen.

The desert of St. Macarius is about a small day's journey west of this town, where there are four Copti convents, to which there is a great resort by the Copti Christians; and in order to go, they commonly land here. Beyond these convents are the lakes of Natron*, and the sea without water, as they call it, in Arabic, Baher-Bellomah, where they find eagle stones; and the rocks are in such shapes, that they may give the common people occasion to say there are petrified ships in this place. It seems to have been an ancient communication from the Lake Marcotis to the Lake Moëris: I was informed that about these convents there are a great number of wild boars. The night before we finished our voyage, was spent in mirth and firing of cannon, on our friends coming out to meet us. The next evening we came to the village of Hele, near Cairo, which seems to be some remains of the name of the ancient Heliopolis, that was about five miles distant. On the morning of the 11th of November, a great number of people came out to meet the consul, who, mounted on a fine horse, was preceded by six Janizaries; and, according to an eastern custom of state, a man went before and sprinkled water on the ground to lay the dust. In this manner he entered the city, followed by his friends and dependants on humble asses; no Christian, except the consul, being allowed to ride on a horse in the city.

CHAP. III. — *Between Damietta and Grand Cairo.*

THOUGH I did not make a voyage on the eastern branch of the Nile, till I left Grand Cairo to go out of Egypt, taking the same way again on my return into Egypt, yet I choose, in this place, to finish my account of Delta, and the country about it.

The Bubastic and the Pelusiatic branches are the same; Ptolemy calls it the Búbastic branch below Busiris, which is supposed to have been at Baalbait, to the north-east of Mattalla; so that the Tanitic branch must have gone out of the Bubastic still lower, and I suppose it was at the river that runs north of Mansoura, and that this river was the continuation of the Pelusiatic branch, going on as I have marked it in the map; but being obstructed, the waters seem to have made their course chiefly by the Tanitic branch, which runs now by Damietta, and partly by a smaller channel to the east of it†.

* Ὅτι δὲ Μομήμφεις; ἡσὶ δύο νηεὶς πλεῖστον νηγιον ἔχουσαι καὶ νομὸς Νιτριώτης. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 803.

† See geographical dissertation.

The country from Damietta to Gaza is inhabited chiefly by Arabs, who are under no regular government. The river, or torrent of Egypt seems, without any dispute, to be the rivulet near Rhinocorura *. I suppose that the sea has gained on the Lake Sirbonis, there being no account to be had of it; it is not impossible that the rocks about this place were the ancient barriers between the sea and the lake; the poets feign that Typhon lay under it. Either this lake had the same properties as the Dead Sea, or Strabo, by mistake, has applied them to it †. Near it was Mount Cassius ‡, described as a sandy hill running out into the sea, which seems to be the place now called Teneby mariners. At the foot of it, in the town, was a temple to Jupiter Cassius; and Pompey being murdered near, was buried on this hill.

The great lake called Menzale, between the ancient Pelusium and Damietta, seems to be made by the sea on these low and marshy grounds, which were formerly overflowed by the Nile §. This lake abounds in sea fish, and great quantities are brought to Damietta, especially a sort of mullets, the roes of which, when cured, they call Botargo; and when they would preserve them in the best manner, they dip them in wax, and carry them not only all over Turkey, but also to many parts of Christendom. Pelusium is thought by some to be Sin; but it is doubted whether it was this city or Sais. Twelve miles from Pelusium was Migdol, mentioned by Jeremiah, and famous for the defeat of the Syrians, by Neco King of Egypt.

The road for shipping to ride in at this mouth of the Nile, is about two leagues from the land, and very dangerous; inasmuch that when the wind is high, they are often obliged to slip their cables and go to sea. For seven or eight leagues from the land, they know by the sounding-plummet if they are near Egypt; as within that distance it brings up the black, slimy mud of the Nile, that settles at the bottom of the sea, which is often of great use in navigation, the low land of this country not being seen afar off.

There are two bars of sand at the mouth of the river, which make the entrance very difficult, even for small boats; notwithstanding vessels of thirty or forty tun watch their fit opportunities to come in unloaded, and are laid up at the town during the winter season, or when they have no business. As the people here are very absolute, so in order to encourage the navigation of their own boats, they will not permit any ship-boats to come to the town; and all the goods are carried out in small boats, two leagues to sea to the shipping. On the sandy point, to the west of the entrance, above a quarter of a mile from the end of it, is a small round castle, and a mile higher on the other side, at Ishbely Borge, where the custom-house is kept, is a ruined castle of brick, said to be built by Lewis the ninth of France, and higher still on the other side is a small octagon castle and platform, which are likewise of brick.

Damietta is situated on the east side of the Nile, four or five miles from the mouth of the river; the Lake Menzale, as well as I could be informed, comes within two or three miles of it; and on the west side, between the river and the sea, is a narrow tract of land that is not a mile broad, it will hardly be thought that Damietta could be said to be but a mile from the sea in this respect, as some authors of the middle ages seem to describe it, who say also that it was a sea-port town, as it may indeed be called

* See geographical dissertation on this subject.

† See Strabo xvi. p. 763.

‡ Ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ Κάσιον, Συώνη τις λόφος ἀκρωτηριάων ἀνδρῶν, ὅπου τὸ Πομπηίου τῆ Μάγνης σῶμα κείται καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν Κασίον. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760.

§ Τὰ πρὸς τῷ Πηνελόπεια βάζαδρα, αἱ ποιεῖ ὁ παρὲς χειρόμενος Νεῖλος φύσει κοίλων καὶ ἐλῶδων ὄντων τῶν τόπων. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 760

at present, being the harbour for boats and small ships; though it is possible this mistake may have risen from the castle I have mentioned, (where there is a custom-house) being considered as the port of Damietta, where there are great ruins of houses, and might be near a mile from the sea several hundred years past. At the north end of Damietta, there is a very fine large round tower, built of hewn stone, which might be the work of the Mamalukes, after they recovered Damietta from the Christians. The town is large, but most of it ill built, being chiefly inhabited by fishermen and janizaries. I saw some water about two miles east of the town, with land to the north of it, which, as well as I could be informed, is the great Lake Menzale, for travellers can take no journeys into this country to make observations; for, besides the rogues that are without, the people of Damietta themselves are the very worst people in all Turkey, and a stranger cannot so much as go into the streets of the town, that are not usually frequented by them, without being insulted. They have a particular aversion to Europeans, which seems to be handed down to them from their forefathers, and to be occasioned by the holy war; the chief scene of which, in Egypt, was about Damietta, which was taken by the Christians: and when Lewis the Ninth was made prisoner, it was surrendered to the Egyptians as a part of his ransom. No persons must appear here in the European dress; and as a Christian is known by his mien, no strangers dare go out of the streets they are used to frequent. I myself was two or three times insulted, and having the black sash round my turban, which janizaries often wear, one of them who passed by pulled it from my head, which put a stop to my walks into the town. They have also traditions, that persons employed as European consuls have been massacred, and others obliged to leave the place. There is a remarkable instance of their villany and cunning. They have a strict law against taking away cables and anchors, which are left by the ships that are drove away by stress of weather, and yet there are not wanting some even of top reputation among them, who employ their own people to rob, and then negotiate with the captains for money to have them restored out of the hands of those they pretend they dare not discover; and as no ship-boats can come to the town, if any person of influence has any demand on the captains of ships, which they cannot come at any other way, it has been known that they have stopped them in the town, by contriving that none of the boats should be permitted to carry them off.

The great trade here is an export of rice and coffee to all parts of Turkey, and of the former a counterband trade to Europe, which has been the cause of tumults against the Christians: they have also an import of tobacco from Latichea, and of soap from the coasts of Syria.

Going from Damietta to Cairo, we passed by the large city of Mansoura, on the east side of the Nile: this I conjecture might be Tanis*, the Zoan of scripture. Some travellers mention ruins six or seven leagues off, called Themase, which may be the same that Sicard calls Balbeis, and probably is the ancient little Heracleopolis, which was capital of a province. Near Mansoura, the Christian forces of the holy war were twice defeated; in the first action the Earl of Artois was drowned, and the brave Earl of Salisbury died fighting on his knees; all the forces being cut to pieces. The French engaging afterwards with Lewis the Ninth at their head, the King was taken prisoner, and Damietta, among other things, was given for his ransom. The canal that runs north of the town, falls into the Lake Menzale, and the south end of it seems to be part of the Pelusiac branch, as it is, without doubt, the river Tafnes, mentioned

* Ὁ Τανίτης ποταμός, καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλην Τάνιν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 802.

by the historians of the holy war; which seems to have its name from Daphne near Pelusium, by which I suppose it formerly ran; that town being supposed to be Tahpanhes of the scriptures.

Nothing can be imagined more beautiful than the country on each side of the river, the villages are very thick, and have pleasant groves of palm-trees about them, the country exceeding rich, and when it is green in the spring season, and many things appear in blossom, it has a most delightful aspect, far exceeding the country which is on the other branch of the Nile. We stopped at the port of great Mahalla on the west, and rid on hired asses about four miles to the city, which is situated between two canals; it is a large city, tolerably well built of brick, and is the capital of the province of Garbieh, where a sanjack or bey resides, and a detachment from each of the seven military bodies, with its sardar or captain. There are about five hundred Copti Christians in the town, who have a poor little church. I was recommended here to a merchant, who, I think, was a native of the parts towards Morocco; and, though he had been fourteen times at Mecca, was a very honest and worthy mussulman; he gave me a man that spoke the *Lingua Franca*, (a corrupt Italian used in the east) to go along with me wherever I pleased, and a very good apartment in a cane that belonged to him; he sent us a very handsome collation in the morning, when I first tasted the butter of Egypt in the month of December, in its greatest perfection, which is very delicate. At night we were served with a very plentiful supper, and he came to us towards the latter end of it, but would not eat; which is the custom in the east, if they come to you at all whilst at table, which they rarely do, unless they attend on persons of very superior rank.

The next day I set out for Baalbait, four or five miles to the north-east; it is situated about a furlong to the east of the canal Thabanea, part of which I take to be the ancient Mendesian branch of the Nile; but I suppose that the Bufiritic canal passing by Baalbait, in the way to the Phatnitic branch, a canal was after cut from it to the Mendesian river, which was further to the north, as may be seen in the map of Egypt; and this probably is that canal which now makes part of the canal Thabanea. The village of Baalbait is one of these artificial heights, on which probably Bufiris was built; which is thought to have been in this place, being described as in the middle of Delta, and was famous for a large temple dedicated to Isis*, there being great remains of a temple here, the most costly in its materials of any in Egypt; it is built of granite, and appears by the hieroglyphics and capitals of the pillars, to have been a temple of Isis: the ruins of it are on the low ground to the south-east. As well as I could trace out the foundation, it seemed to have been about two hundred feet long, and a hundred feet broad, for it is all a confused heap of ruins. At about one hundred feet distance is a mound raised round it, as to keep out the Nile, with an entrance on each side; the walls of the temple seem to have been ten feet thick, and to be built on the outside with grey granite, in very small specks, with some mixture of red. The inside was built of fine red granite. Measuring the stones, I found most of them were ten feet long, and five feet deep and broad; the pillars, all broke to pieces, were four feet diameter, of red granite, the capital being the head of Isis, as number thirteen, in the fourth plate of the Egyptian architecture. They are every day destroying these fine morsels of Egyptian antiquity; and I saw some of the pillars hewn into mill-stones. I conjectured that there might have been four rows of twelve pillars each in the temple;

* Ἐξ Εὐαγγελίου πάλιν . . . ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστος ἱεὺς ἱερὸν, ἰδρυμένον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Δέλτα. Herod. l. ii. c. 59.

but what commanded our attention still more, was the exquisite sculpture of the hieroglyphics; and though the figures, about four feet high, are in the Egyptian taste, yet there is something so fine, so divine, in a manner, in the mien of the deities and priests, that it far exceeds any thing I ever saw in this way. I observed several pieces of very fine and uncommon marbles, which probably are the remains of statues that adorned the temple.

Returning to the boat, and going on towards Cairo, we passed by Semenuḍ, on the west, and soon after Abousir, two considerable towns; the former does not seem to be Sebennytus, capital of the upper province of this name, which ought to be looked for on the Sebennytic branch.

The canal between Eshbou and Motrody, might be the canal of the Kings to the Red Sea; and if so, Phacusa must have been here, at which place this canal began from the Pelusiatic branch. This great work was undertaken by Sesostris King of Egypt, probably carried on by Neco*, one of his successors, and afterwards by Darius, and finished by Ptolemy the second of that name, King of Egypt, in such manner as that they could let in the water at pleasure; the work having before been left unfinished, out of an opinion that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt, and consequently, if this canal was opened, might drown the country, or at least spoil the waters of the Nile.

Further on the east side, we came to Benalhaffar, where there are great marks of an ancient city to the north of the village; two basins, as of small lakes, divided by a broad mound, are encompassed with high ground that seems to have been raised by art, probably out of those hollows to build the city on, so as to be defended against the overflowing of the Nile; the whole seems to be about two miles in compass. This might be the ancient Bubastus, thought to be Phibeseth of the scripture.

It very well answers to the description Herodotus† gives of it, and the temple he mentions might be on the high ground between the two basins which, from Herodotus's account, seem formerly to have been open to the river, and the ground of the city being raised by art, the temple remained in the middle, as it was at first, on a ground not so high, though it might have been raised above the other ground: the whole is about a mile long, and half a mile broad, and the mounds about a furlong wide; on each of which they probably had three streets. This temple was dedicated to Diana, who in the Egyptian language was called Bubastis, and from the worship of her this city had its name.

Higher on the river was Onias, a town which had its name from a Hebrew priest, who had obtained it of a King of Egypt, and built a temple there in opposition to that

* Νεκώς — οἱ τῇ διώρυγῃ ἐπεχίρουν πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἑξήκοντα τὴν Δαρκίος ὁ Πέρσης διέτρεξε. Herod. l. ii. c. 158.

Ἐπεμνησθὲν δὲ ἡ διώρυξ καταρχαῖς μὲν ὑπὸ Σεσωστρίου πρὸς τῶν Τροικῶν οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑαμμυτίχου παιδὶ, ἀρξαμένη μόνον, ἡ τ' ἐκτελείουσα τὸν βίον ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρκίου τῷ πρῶτῳ διαδοξαμένη τὸ ἔργον. — οἱ μὲντοι Πτολεμαῖοι βασιλεῖς διακόψαντες, κλεισὸν ἐποίησαν τὸν Ἐρυθρον, ὥς ὅτε βυλῶντο ἐκπλῶν ἀκωλύτως ἐς τὴν ἕξ θάλατταν, καὶ ἡ σπλῆν παύειν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Πηλωσιακῆς γόματος διώρυξ ἐστὶ χερσοπόσιτος ἡς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν. Ταύτην δ' ἐπεβάλετο πρῶτος κατασκευάζων Νεκώς ὁ Ὑαμμυτίχης, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Δαρκίος ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἀποκόψας τοὺς ἔργους τῶς τινὸς, τὸ τελευτᾶν, ἵασεν αὐτῇ ἀσπίδα γὰρ ὑπὸ τινος ὅτι διορύξας τὸν Ἰθμόν αὐτὸς ἔσται τῷ κατεκλυσθῆναι τὴν Ἀιγύπτου, μετρησθεῖσαν γὰρ ἀπιδύκνουν ὑπάρχειν — τῇς Αἰγύπτου τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ὕστερον δὲ ὁ δούλιος Πτολεμαῖος συνήλειπεν αὐτὴν, &c. Diodorus, l. i. p. 29.

Ultra deterruit inundationis metus, excelsiore tribus cubitis Rubro mari comperto. Aliqui non eam afferunt causam, sed ne immisso mari, corrumpereatur aquæ Nili, quæ sola potus præbet. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6 c. 29.

† Μάλιστα ἢ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι πόλιν ἐξεχώρη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἰσὺν ἐστὶ Βαβυλῶνις, &c. Herod. l. ii. p. 137.



THE MOSQUE OF THE SULTAN AHMED IN ISTANBUL

down on each side of this foot of the hill to raise it higher, and make this fortress the more inaccessible *. It is more probable also that Babylon was here, because it is directly opposite to the pyramids, as described by the ancient geographers, and very near the Nile; whereas the castle of Cairo is a mile from the Nile, and it is a plain ground almost all the way to the river. Some † captives from Babylon, on the Euphrates, having escaped, fled to this hill, made excursions, and plundered the country; but obtaining a pardon, and submitting to the government, they had this place given them to inhabit, and called it Babylon from their own city.

On the top of the hill is the uninhabited convent of St. Michael; to which a priest goes every Sunday to officiate. The town of Babylon, probably in time, extended down to the plain; for to the north of that part of the hill which sets out towards the river, are remains of a very extensive building, which I conjecture might be a fort of castrum for the Roman legion which was at Babylon ‡. It is called Cafr Kieman §, castle Kieman, and is exactly of the same manner of architecture, as the building described at Nicopolis, the walls being built of small hewn stone, and at the distance of every four foot, are three layers of brick. One tower is now forty feet high, the other much higher; but as it is converted into a Greek nunnery, the inside is very much altered; on the third story is a room, the ceiling of which is supported by eight Corinthian pillars; and at present there is a well down from the middle of the room: all the doors and windows of the whole building are arched at top. This castle is inhabited by Christians. so that there are several churches in it; and as it is in a very ruinous condition, it has been often the refuge for fugitives in the time of public insurrections. The building in many parts, is entirely destroyed, and they carry away the stones to build.

The city of Grand Cairo has been much magnified as to its extent, and the number of its inhabitants; it consists now of three towns or cities a mile apart, that is old Cairo, Cairo properly so called, and the port called Bulac. The ancient city which seems to have succeeded to Babylon, and was built near it, was called Mefr, the old name of Egypt; it had also the name of Fofthath ||, because Amrou-Ben-As pitched his tent there when he besieged Babylon. From this, that part which was afterwards

* Beyond this height are three or four old Copti convents uninhabited, to which the priests go to officiate. The hill Jehusi runs so as to make a small semicircle, about the middle of which there is a way up by an easy ascent, by which also the water might be raised, that might enter to the very foot of the hill, as it does at present by a small canal: and there being a passage between the hills to the south towards Al-Basletin, a larger canal runs there from the south of Saronehy, and waters all that country.

† Λέγεται δὲ τῶν ἀιχμαλώτων τὰς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἀλόντας ἀποστῆναι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, μὴ δυναμένης φέρειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ταλαιπωρίας ὥς κατὰλαβόμενος παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν χειρὶν κατεργεῖν διαπολεμῶν τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις καὶ τὴν συντηγὺς χεῖρα κατὰφθίσειν· τίλθῃ δὲ, δοθείσης αὐτῆς αὐτοῖς κατοικῆσαι τόπον ὅν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιδὲς Βαβυλῶνα προσσηρῆνται Diod. l. i. p. 52.

‡ Ἀναπλήρουν δ' ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶν φερίων ἱερῶν. ἀποστάντων ἐπὶ αὐτὰ Βαβυλωνίων τινῶν, ἵτα διαπραξαμένων ἐπὶ αὐτὰ κατοικῆσαι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν· οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαλιπιδῶν ἐνδὸς τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων τῶν φερέστων τὴν Ἀιγύπτου· ῥάχης δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς γαλιπιδῆς καὶ μέχρι Νήλου κατήκουσα, δι' ἧς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τροχοὶ καὶ κοχλῆαι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνάγωσιν, ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα ἐργαζομένων, δεσμίων ἀφορεῖσθαι δ' ἵναδε τιτανγῶς αἱ Πυραμίδες ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτὰ ἐν Μίμφη, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 807.

It appears from Diodorus Siculus, that the founders of Babylon were the captives taken by Sesostris, of their descendants; though there was another account which he does not seem to credit, that it was built by some Babylonians, who came with Semiramis into Egypt. Josephus seems to say that this city was not built till the time of Cambyses.

§ See the quotation out of Strabo in the preceding note.

|| It is possible the soldiers quartered here might be called the archers, and that from thence it might have its name; Kieman, in the Arabic language, signifying the sign Sagittarius. I found some called this place Cafrkeshemeh.

|| Fofthath, in the old Arabic, signifies a tent.

built on had its name, which it might after communicate to the whole town. The present great city of Cairo, which was called by the Arabs Caher*, according to their historians, was built by a general of the first Calif of the Fatimites, in the year nine hundred and seventy-three of Carift. It is said Saladin built walls round both these cities†.

A third city was built between the old and new cities called Kebafeh, which has been since destroyed, and the ruins of it are now seen†. Gize has been mentioned as a city adjoining, and also Roida in the island I shall speak of.

Old Cairo is reduced to a very small compass, and is not above two miles round; it is the port for the boats that come from upper Egypt: some of the boys have a sort of country houses here, to which they retire at the time of the high Nile.

In old Cairo are the granaries commonly called Joseph's. They are only square courts encompassed with walls about fifteen feet high, strengthened with semicircular buttresses; they seem originally to have been built of stone, but now a great part of them is of brick. These courts are filled with corn, leaving only room to enter at the door; the grain is covered over with matting, and there is a slight fence made round the top of the walls of canes, which I imagined were designed in order to discover if any people have got over the walls: the locks of the doors also are covered over with clay, and sealed. As the birds sometimes get to the corn, so the keepers of the granaries are allowed a certain quantity on that account. They say there were seven of these granaries, and here are remains of some of them turned to other uses, this being the only one now used for corn, which is what is brought down from upper Egypt for the use of the soldiers, and distributed out to them as part of their pay, and they usually sell it: six yards of this granary were full of wheat, and one of barley for the horse.

At the north end of old Cairo is the building for raising the water of the Nile to the aqueduct; it is a very magnificent plain fabric, said to be erected by Campion, the immediate predecessor of the last of the Mamaluke Kings; it is a hexagon building, each side being between eighty and ninety feet long, and about as many high; the ascent to it on the outside is very easy for the oxen to go up, that turn the Persian wheels to raise the water to the top of it. The water comes into the reservoir below by a channel from the Nile; but when the Nile is low, it comes into a lower reservoir, from which it is drawn into the other by another wheel: from this it is conveyed up about a hundred feet by five oxen, to as many wheels above. Five oxen turn as many wheels on the top of the building, by which the water is drawn up in the vases fixed to the cords that turn on the wheels, and from the top of them emptying themselves into the basins under; from thence the water runs into the basins, by canals made for that purpose.

The aqueduct itself is very grand, in the rustic style, the arches and piers are of different dimensions; but the former are mostly from ten to fifteen feet wide, and the piers about ten feet. In some parts, a plain wall is built for several feet without arches; I numbered two hundred and eighty-nine arches, though others mention a greater number, some near three hundred and twenty. The arches are low towards the castle hill, where the ground is higher, and the water running into a reservoir is raised up to the castle by several wheels one over another.

* Among the several interpretations of this word Caher, the most natural seems to be that they signified by it the city; Caer, or something like it, in many old languages, signifying a city; and the Turkish word at present is Schir, though possibly it may have its name from Caherah, which signifies victorious.

† See Bibliothéque Oriental D'Herbelot, under Mesr and Caherah.

Opposite to this reservoir of water at the Nile, is the canal that conveys the water to Cairo, and seems to be that which was made by Trajan. Near the mouth of it they perform the ceremony of cutting or opening the canal, by breaking down a mound they make across it every year. This is done with great rejoicing, when the Nile is at a certain height; and as there is a tradition that they formerly sacrificed a virgin every year when they performed this ceremony, so I was shewn a sort of pillar of earth, with grass growing on it, which when the canal is opened, if I mistake not, is adorned with flowers; and when the Nile is let in, is washed away in lieu of the damsel they used to offer to the river God.

There are about twelve churches belonging to the Coptis in old Cairo, mostly in one quarter of the town, inhabited by Christians: they have churches also in Cairo, one of which belongs to the patriarch; but his proper church seems to be St. Macarius's, in old Cairo, where he is elected and enthroned; this is in the street of the patriarch. In the church of St. Barbara, they say they have her head, and some other relics. Most of the churches have old ones under them; and they say the holy family was in the lower church dedicated to St. Sergius, where there are some paintings relating to that subject. These churches generally consist of a nave and two aisles, with galleries over the aisles supported by pillars, and adorned with columns in the front that support the roof. The part of the altar is separated by a partition that is often finely adorned with carving, and inlaid with ivory and tortoise shell. In the church of St. George of the Greeks, they say they have the arm of that saint; they shewed me a pillar, to which an iron collar with a chain is fixed; and they say mad people confined in it for three days, certainly recover. They informed me that the Turks often try this experiment, and having a great veneration for the saint, frequently come and say their prayers here on Fridays.

There is also a synagogue, said to have been built about sixteen hundred years ago, in the manner it now is, which is much like the churches. They say the prophet Jeremiah was on the very spot where they usually read the law; but that now no one enters into that part, out of reverence. I saw there two ancient manuscripts of the law; and they pretend to have a manuscript of the bible, writ by Ezra, who they say, out of respect omitting to write the name of God, found it writ throughout the next day after it was finished: they hold it so sacred, that it is not permitted that any one should touch it; and they say the book is in a niche about ten feet high, before which a curtain is drawn, and lamps are kept always burning before it.

Towards the back part of the town is the street of the patriarch. Here are two churches, one of which is St. Macarius's, where the patriarch is elected, and a house with a chapel belonging to the patriarch, which probably is on the site of the ancient patriarchal palace; for when the patriarchs first removed from Alexandria, it is probable they took up their residence in old Cairo, and had their church and house there; but as that place became less frequented, and not so safe, they might remove into Cairo. The Franciscans belonging to the convent of Jerusalem have a very neat small convent or hospitiun in old Cairo, where two or three of them generally live.

The mosque Amrah, to the north-east of old Cairo, is said to have been a church; there are in it near four hundred pillars, which with their capitals, seem to have been collected from several ancient buildings; the middle part is open. It is probable this was made a mosque by Amrou the calif, who built Fosthath. At the north end of old Cairo is a mosque of very solid rustic work, though in a ruinous condition; it is called the mosque of Omar, and is said to be the first mosque built in this place, though probably it was rebuilt by the Mamalukes, being much like their manner of buildings.

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As this is mentioned as the first mosque that was built here, it was doubtless founded by Omar, the second calif of the race of Mahomet, who first conquered Egypt.

From old Cairo, I went over to the pleasant isle of Roida, or Raoudah, which is opposite to it, the channel of the Nile between being dry when the water is low; it is a very delightful spot, the west side is planted with large sycamore trees, commonly called Pharaoh's fig. Towards the north end is the small village of Roida, the isle being near a mile long. At the south end is the Mikias, or house in which is the famous pillar for measuring the Nile; it is a column in a deep basin, the bottom of which is on a level with the bed of the Nile, the water entering on one side, and passing out on the other. The pillar is divided into measures, by which they see the rise of the Nile; it has a fine old Corinthian capital at top, which has commonly been omitted in the draughts, and on that rests a beam which goes across to the gallery. Concerning this manner of measuring the rise of the Nile, I shall have occasion to say more in another place. From the court that leads to this house, is a descent to the Nile by steps, on which the common people will have it, that Moses was found, after he had been exposed on the banks of the river.

There are great remains of buildings at this end of the island, especially about the measuring place; and to the west there are remains of walls ten feet thick, built of brick, with turrets that are a quarter of a circle, but do not seem to have been high, and I suppose that they were rather designed to prevent the isle being encroached on by the river, than for any defence. They say some Sultan built a palace here, and resided much on this island for the sake of the air, and the pleasantness of the situation.

Half a mile north of old Cairo, is a place called Cassaraline, where there are several gardens of oranges, lemons, citrons, and cassia; but what it is most remarkable for, is a convent of between thirty and forty dervishes. As these people affect a sort of extraordinary sanctity, so they live in a manner in their mosque, which is a large square room covered with a very fine dome. In this we were presented to the head of them, who was reading, and entertained us very civilly in the Turkish manner. In it I saw some ancient vases, one being of white oriental alabaster. The superior had two pikes near him with Arabic sentences on them, and there was also one on each side of the niche, which directs them which way they are to turn at prayer. In this room, and likewise at the entrance of the convent, are several curious things hung up, that have been collected by the dervishes in their travels abroad, most of them having something of the wonderful in them; as particularly I saw a very large boot, which they say belonged to some giant, and a bowl of a pipe in proportion to it. These dervishes are not those that dance, of which sort there are none in Egypt.

A mile further north on the river is Bulac, about a mile from new Cairo; it is near two miles in compass, and is the port for all boats that come up the river from the parts of Delta: here they have a custom-house, many warehouses and canes for travellers; it is remarkable for nothing but a fine bagnio.

The city of Cairo is situated about a mile from the river, and extends eastward near two miles to the mountain; it is about seven miles round, for I was something more than two hours and three quarters going round the city on a beast of Cairo, computing that I went two miles and a half an hour*.

* From the great mosque, which is in the way going from the European quarter to Ali Caia Agelphi's house, to the entrance at the south-west corner of Lake Esbikien, twenty-five minutes. From thence to the entrance from old Cairo, twenty-three minutes, and then round the castle to the place I began at, two hours.

The city is said to have been larger than it is at present, when it was the centre of trade from the East Indies; it was walled round, and part of the walls of freestone remain to the north-east of the castle, where they make an angle, turning from the north to the west: I saw also some remains of them to the south of the castle, going towards the aqueduct, which I suppose were the walls of Tailoun; they are built with semicircular towers, and seem to have been made in imitation of the outer walls of Alexandria. There are likewise three or four very grand gates that were built by the Mamalukes; the workmanship of them is very good, and amidst all the simplicity of the architecture, every one must be struck with the surprizing magnificence of them. One of them to the south is called Babel Zuile (the gate of Zuile) from a suburb of that name it leads to. Under the arch of the gate is a piece of rope fastened to a hook, where they say Toman Bey, the last Mamaluke Sultan, was hanged by order of Sultan Selim, after he had been tortured to reveal treasures, and carried through all the streets on a lean camel, dressed in ragged clothes, and his hands bound. Another gate is Babel Nasser; and they say that Sultan Selim made his public entrance through this gate. It probably had its name from some of the Califs or Sultans of Egypt, who had the name of Nasser. A little to the south of it is a gate still more magnificent, which is called Babel Futuh, that is, the gate of victory; it is of hewn stone, very high, and has a square tower on each side, the water tables of which are richly adorned with sculptures.

The canal that comes out of the Nile at old Cairo, goes all through the city, though it is seen only from the back of the houses that are built on it; for though there are several bridges over it, yet there are houses built on each side of them, so as to intercept the view of the canal, but when it is dry, it is as a street, along which the common people frequently go; however towards the time it begins to be dry, it is but a bad neighbour, as a stench arises from it that is very disagreeable to those that live on it, and must be unwholesome.

If one imagines that there are several squares or places about the city, from a quarter to three quarters of a mile round, contrived so as to receive and hold the water of the Nile, that is conveyed to them by the canals when the river rises, it may give some idea of the several lakes that are about the city during the greater part of the year; and nothing can be imagined more beautiful than to see those places filled with water, round which the best houses in the city are built; and when the Nile is high in the summer, it must be an entertaining prospect to see them covered with the fine boats and barges of all the great people, who come out in the evening to divert themselves with their ladies: as I have been informed, concerts of music are never wanting, and sometimes fireworks add to the amusement; all the houses round being in a manner illuminated, and the windows full of spectators to behold this glorious sight. The scene is much altered when the waters are gone off, and nothing but mud appears; but is soon succeeded by a more agreeable view of green corn, and afterwards of harvest, in the middle of a great city, on those very spots where the boats were sailing a few months before.

The streets of Cairo, as of all the Turkish cities are very narrow; the widest goes the length of the city from the gate Nasser to the gate Zuile, but would be looked on as a lane in Europe. The other streets are so narrow, that they frequently make a roof from one house to the other over the street, and put a slight covering on it to defend them from the sun. The city of Cairo is exceedingly well regulated for its security, more especially by night; for most of the streets, or at least each end of every district or ward, has a gate and porter to it, who shuts up the gate as soon as it is dark,
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and to every one of these wards is a guard of two or three or more janizaries, so that no idle people can go about the streets at night. Some little streets consist only of shops, without any houses, and so they leave their shops locked up, and go to their houses at night. There are also several places for shops like our exchanges, called bezeftans, which are shut up at night, and shops of the same trade are generally together in these as well as in the streets.

Turkish houses, especially in Cairo, have very little beauty in them; they are generally built round a court, where they make the best appearance, nothing but use being considered as to the outside of their houses, what they have of ornament being in their saloons within; so that their houses, built below of stone, and above a sort of cage work, sometimes filled up with unburnt brick, and few or no windows towards the street, are a very disagreeable sight to one who has seen only European cities, that have something of outward regularity, as well as conveniency and beauty within.

There are several magnificent mosques in and about Cairo; but that which exceeds them all, both as to the solidity of its building, and a certain grandeur and magnificence that strikes in a very surprising manner, is the mosque of Sultan Hassan, built at the foot of the castle hill; it is very high, of an oblong square figure crowned with a cornish all round that projects a great way, and is adorned with a particular sort of grotesque carvings after the Turkish manner; the entrance to it is very finely inlaid with several sorts of marbles, and carved in like manner at top; the ascent was by several steps which are broken down, and the door walled up, because in times of public insurrections, the rebels have often taken shelter there. The place is so strong that now there is always a garrison of janizaries within the district of it, in apartments adjoining to the mosque. To the north-east of the town is a very fine mosque called Kubbeel-Azab, or the cupola of the Arabs, belonging to the body of the Azabs; it is a very fine room about sixty feet square, with a beautiful dome over it, raised on a base of sixteen sides, in each of which is a window; the room is wainscotted round eight feet high in pannels, with all the most valuable marbles, among which are several fine slabs of red and green porphyry; the borders round the pannels are carved and gilt, a sort of freeze ranges round, in which are sentences cut in large gilt characters, called the Couphe character, in which they here anciently writ the Arabic language. The walls above this are adorned with Arabic inscriptions in letters of gold, and the whole cupola is painted and gilt in the finest manner, and all over the mosque are hung a great number of glass lamps and ostridges' eggs; adjoining to it are several apartments built for the priests, and also some grand ones for the great people who sometimes come and reside here. It is said this magnificent room was built by a grand vizier, who desired the Sultan to give him leave to prepare a place fit to ceter him a shirbet in, on his return from Mecca.

A part of the town to the south is called Tailoun, said to have been built before this city was founded, by Tholoun who was master of Egypt, in such a manner as to be almost independent of the Califs; and it is said left old Cairo, and built a palace and mosque here. This at first was probably called Cateia, because that person is said to have built a palace of that name. What remains of the ancient palace goes by the name of Kalatel-Kebsh, and they say Sultan Selim lodged here. There are remains of the castle walls and high ground within them, which may have been raised by throwing out the dung of the city, and afterwards building on the high ground, though to the west I saw there was a natural rock. In this wall is a sort of square turret they call the seat of Pharaoh; near it under an arch, is an ancient sarcophagus of black marble, which receives the water of a conduit; it is called the fountain of treasure, and by
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some writers the fountain of lovers, concerning which the people tell some stories. It is richly adorned both inside and out with hieroglyphics. One man seems to have a crocodile's head, and on a sort of altar marked out in squares, seemed to be cut two horses' heads; for the rest, It could not be permitted to make any further observations, or to take the hieroglyphics exactly that are cut in those columns. At each end is a man, and six columns of hieroglyphics on each side. There are, besides the turret called Pharaoh's seat, others in a semicircular form, so that probably this was the enclosure of the old palace. In this quarter is a large mosque, said to resemble that of Mecca, and an ancient building which seems to have been the quarter of the body of soldiers called Cherkas, to whom it still belongs, and goes by their name.

To the east of Tailoun is the castle of Cairo, situated on a rocky hill, which seems to be separated by art from the hill or mountain Jebel Duife, which is the name of the east end of Jebel Mocartham. It is said this castle was built by Saladin. There are two entrances to it on the north side; one to the west is called the gate of the Azabs, the other to the east, the gate of the janizaries. The descent by the former is narrow, cut through the rock, and passing by two round towers near the gate, and then by a fine large round tower; the way is by a high wall, on which at a great height, is a relief of a very large spread eagle, and so the entrance is opposite to the building that is called Joseph's hall. The ascent by the gate of the janizaries is more spacious and grand; on each side of the inner gate is a tower of many sides, and further on at another entrance, is a large round tower on each side, opposite to the great mosque. The castle is walled all round, but is so commanded by the hill to the east, that it can be a place of no strength since the invention of cannon. At the west of the castle, are remains of very grand apartments, some of them covered with domes, and adorned with Mosaic pictures of trees and houses, that doubtless belonged to the ancient Sultans, and it is said, have since been inhabited by the Pashas. This part of the castle is now only used for weaving, embroidering, and preparing the hangings and coverings they send every year to Mecca. I saw them about this work; and, though they look on it as a profanation for a Christian so much as to touch those rich damasks that are to cover what they call the house of God, yet notwithstanding I ventured to approach them.

Over this is a higher ground to the east, near the grand saloon, commonly called Joseph's hall, from which there is a most delightful prospect of Cairo, the pyramids, and all the country round. It was probably a terrace to that magnificent room, which is now all open, except to the south side, and is adorned with very large and beautiful pillars of red granite; the walls built on them on the outside have such windows as are represented in the draught of the fourteenth plate*, as well as I could take it under the restraint that strangers are in here. Walls also are built with such windows on many of the pillars within, especially on the second and third from the entrance, with arches turned from one pillar to another†. Some of the capitals of the pillars are good Corinthian, others very plain, and some only marked out in lines like leaves; many of them are only plain stones shaped a little like a capital, on some of which there are lines like a figure of eight, and most of them have some little relief. They have only a rough base, something like the ancient Egyptian manner, and all the pillars have an Arabic inscription of one line cut on them. On the side that is built up, where the wall sets in, and arches are turned over, there seem to have been three

* See the original edit.

† This hall ought not to be represented as covered.

doors, the middle one being adorned at the top with that grotesque sort of work which is common in the eastern buildings; and over the pillars and arches is a sort of wooden freeze, filled with Arabic inscriptions. The two complets of pillars in the middle seem to have been designed to support a dome; and probably they intended to have two others for that purpose, marked in the plan, for it is to be questioned if this room was ever finished, and probably the first row of pillars in the front was designed for a portico. The pillars doubtless were brought from some ancient buildings, most probably from Alexandria; pillars of one stone not seeming to have been in use in Egypt before the Greeks came among them, who shewed all their art and magnificence in that city. To the west part of the castle also is the jail, which the common people will have to be the prison in which Joseph was confined.

About the middle of the castle is a large court, on the south side of which are the Pasha's apartments, and the great divan, over the karamaidan, or black place to the south. The plain under the castle to the north-west is called Remle, or the sandy-place. In this divan I saw the sheilds of leather, above half an inch thick, with the spears remaining in them, with which Sultan Amurath pierced them. Here also I saw the divan of Beys assembled, under the Kaim, or prime minister of the Pasha, as they constantly meet three times a week, the Pasha, whenever he pleases, sitting in a room behind that has a communication by some lattice-windows. A stranger may go in with the consul's dragoman or interpreter, and being conducted afterwards to the Pasha's coffee room, is civilly entertained by his people with sweetmeats and coffee. The mint also is near, where they coin their gold, and some small pieces called Medines, which are of the value of three farthings, and are of iron washed over with silver, the base money of Constantinople not passing in Egypt. I saw a piece of a small obelisk of black marble, with hieroglyphics on it made use of as the sill of a window; it is about eight feet long, and eighteen inches square.

The well in the castle has often been described and spoken of as a very wonderful thing; it is called Joseph's well, not from the Patriarch Joseph, but, as some authors observe, from a grand vizier of that name, who had the care of this work under Sultan Mahomet, son of Calaan, who did not live seven hundred years ago. It has been looked on as a very extraordinary thing to cut such a well down through the rock; but the stone is soft, and it would have been much more difficult to have dug it down, had the soil been of earth or sand, and to have built a wall round within. Moreover, the stone they dug up, as it would serve for building, might be of great use in making improvements in the castle. The passage down is round the well, the rock being left about two feet thick between the passage and the well; the descent for the first five flights is on the south side of the well, and so far the well and the passages are built; afterwards, it is round the well as described; the passage being about six feet and a half square; holes are cut archwise in the partition, about three feet and a half wide, and something higher, in order to give some light to the passage down. The well is of an oblong square form, and the descent to the bottom of the first well goes three times round in twelve flights, being one hundred and fifty feet deep; the descent is very easy, each step being about six inches high, and five feet broad, but the place is so dirty, that in most parts the steps are hardly perceivable. On the long side I thought I could number fifteen steps, and on the other side twelve. On the left hand of the passage, at the bottom of this well, is an entrance now stopped up, the people say it leads to the pyramids; and another mentioned to the right, they say went to the Red Sea. From the bottom of this well, by the hole, is an entrance to another well not so big; the descent is very difficult, by reason of the wet and dirt, and also dangerous, as the stairs are narrow,

row, and no partition between them and the well ; it is one hundred and twenty feet deep. The bottom of this well being probably on a level with the bed of the Nile, or rather lower, the water never fails, but passing through the salt soil, it is a little brackish, and serves only for common uses, and is not good to drink. From this place it is raised to the bottom of the upper well, by a wheel turned there by oxen, which raises seventy-two vases that hold near three quarts each ; they are tied to ropes that hang on the wheel, and there being conveyed into another basin, it is by the same means raised to the top by another set of oxen, and eighty-five vases. There is one thing very particular in this well, that between twenty and thirty feet from the top, on two opposite sides, it is cut in, as I conjectured, six or seven feet archwise, and so continues all the way down to the bottom, which was probably done to make the flights of stairs longer, and consequently a more easy descent. Some have remarked that several such wells have been found at old Cairo, only with this difference, that they are single, but very deep, and an oblong square of about ten feet by twelve, and that some are even in use to this day. Near this well is the last wheel that raises up the water, which is conveyed by the aqueduct for better uses. This castle, which is about a mile in circumference, is like a little town, but the most part of it is in a very ruinous condition.

To the south of the castle, extending away to the south-east, is a sort of ancient suburbs, called Caraffa. At the entrance to this place are some magnificent tombs covered with domes, said to be the monuments of some Kings of Egypt; the people say they are the califs, the relations of Mahomet, who conquered this country ; and so great a veneration they have for them, that they oblige Christians and Jews to descend from their asses, out of respect, when they pass this way. Caraffa seems to have been the ancient university for the united studies of their law and divinity ; it is now in a manner a plain of ruins to the south of mount Duise ; being the remains of many colleges and convents of dervishes, where it is said there were so great a number, that a stranger could pass a year at free cost, only spending one day in each of them. On the right, I saw on a height the great mosque of El-Inam Schafei, one of the four great doctors of the law, who is had in great veneration amongst them, and whose sepulchre is there ; it is called La-Salehiah, from a title they gave Saladin who built it, together with an hospital and college ; and he obliged all the doctors of Egypt to follow the doctrine of this relation of Mahomet, who was a native of Gaza. I saw to the east of the south point of the hill Jehusy, where I suppose Babylon was, great remains of arches of a very considerable aqueduct, by which the water was probably conveyed to this and other mosques ; and at another time, when I was to the south of that hill, by the river, I saw a building like that at the head of the aqueduct, that is built to the castle, which I suppose is the reservoir to which the water was raised from the canal that goes to Al-Basatin ; but there was no venturing to go further to take a nearer view of it, this being reckoned the most dangerous part about Cairo. Three or four miles from the town is Basatin, so called from the gardens that are there. About two miles on this side of it, is the Jews burial place, to which place every body is escorted by a guard of Arabs, who are paid money for their protection, and do not fail to use you ill. I had the curiosity to go out and see the manner in which the Jews bury their dead in these parts : they dig a grave about six feet deep ; on the west side of the bottom of the grave, they dig in a hole big enough to receive the body, then they deposit it, laying broad stones against the hole, and fill up the grave ; it being contrary to their law, as I was informed, to lay earth on the body. South of the burial place are three small arched houses, where they wash and prepare the bodies for burial.

burial, that die out of their houses; for when that happens, they never carry the corpse into the house.

I went up to the top of *Jebel Duife*, which is to the north, from which, as I observed, it is possible the castle hill might be separated by art. At the east end there are several grottos all up the side of the hill in many stories, several of which are inaccessible, but there is a way to some by a narrow terrace; they are mostly rooms eight or ten feet square, and high. On the top of the hill, towards the west brow of it, are two rooms cut near the surface of the rock, with holes on the top to let in light; over it is a raised place where the great men often go and enjoy one of the finest prospects in Egypt, commanding a view of *Cairo*, and of all the country, especially into *Delta*, as far as the eye can carry. To the east, over the south cliff, is the mosque in which the *Sheik Duife* is buried, who has given name both to the hill and mosque. The mosque within is painted all over with flowers, on a red ground; near it are buried several of his children, and the sons of some *Pashas*. We had free admittance every where, and the *Sheik* spread a carpet before the mosque, and served a collation. Beyond this mosque, on a hill, is a solid building of stone, about three feet wide, built with ten steps, being at top about three feet square, on which the *Sheik* mounts to pray on any extraordinary occasions, when all the people go out; as at the beginning of a war, and here in Egypt, when the *Nile* does not rise as they expect it should; and such a praying place they have without all the towns throughout *Turkey*. On another height of the hill, to the east, over the south brow, is a ruined building like a mosque. I expected to have seen something of an observatory here, mentioned by the Arabian historians, on this hill; that particular part being a very advantageous situation. This hill being reckoned a very dangerous place, the janizary dissuaded me from going, but I went without him, notwithstanding that some people called after me that were on the hill, to prevent my going, being very desirous to take a view of this building. We descended the hill to the north, by a very easy way, practicable by camels; the ascent to the south being a winding foot way up the side of the hill, which is there almost perpendicular. On the north side there is a quarry of freestone, which is very much used for the buildings of *Cairo*.

Under this hill, to the north, are the burial places called *Keick Bey*, I suppose from some bey of that name having a remarkable sepulchre here, where there are a great number of magnificent tombs covered with cupolas, and several large mosques built over the burial places of great men, extending for above a mile to the north-east. In one part, many of the relations of *Mahomet* are buried, probably of the families of the ancient califs of Egypt; which places are esteemed so sacred, that it is not permitted for Christians to go among those sepulchres. Beyond these sepulchres, and the cube of the *Azabs*, is the country called *Adalia*, where there is only one house, in which the tribute is deposited, that is to be sent to *Cairo*, after the bey that is to attend it has made his public procession through the city, till such time as all things are ready for their departure, which is often three or four months. A bey with a guard is also appointed monthly to guard this part of the country, as another has in charge old *Cairo*, and the parts about it.

In *Cairo* there are several bagnios, some of which are very handsome within, being places of great resort in *Turkey*, both on a religious account, in order to purify themselves, and also as places of refreshment and diversion, especially for the women, who once or twice a week spend most part of the day in the bagnios, and are glad of such a pretence to get out of their confinement. There are some bagnios on purpose for the women, but the more general method is to set apart certain times for them: but the

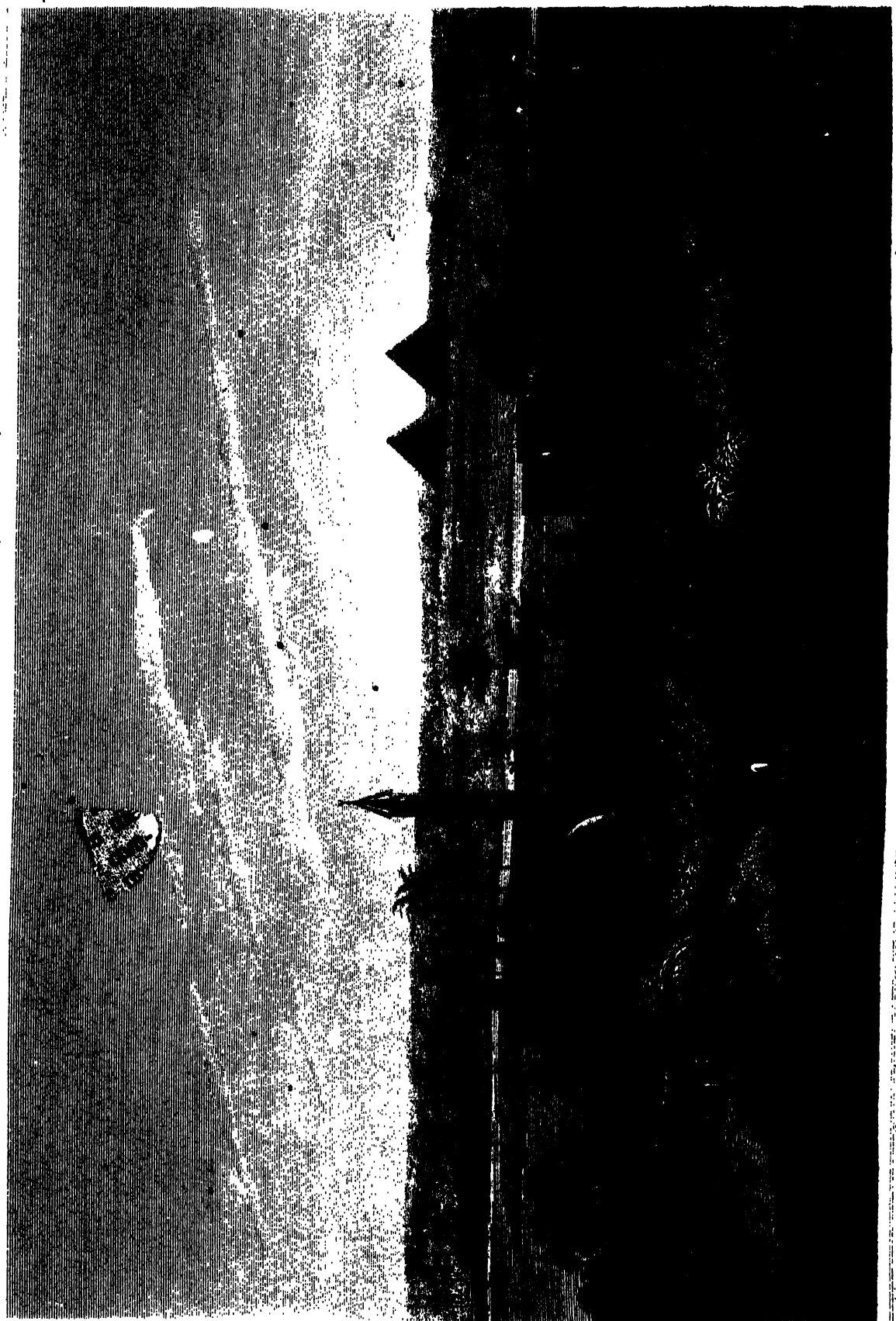
ladies are deprived of this public opportunity of bathing among the very great people, who have bagnios prepared for them in their own houses.

They have also several canes in Cairo, which they call here okelas; they are very indifferent buildings round a court, are commonly appropriated to merchants of a particular country, with their merchandise; as there is one for those of Nubia, and the black slaves and other goods they bring along with them; another for white slaves from Georgia: they have also several canes at Bulac, in all which strangers are accommodated with a room at a very small price, but with nothing else; so that excepting the room, there are no greater accommodations in these houses than there are in the deserts, unless from the conveniency of a market near.

I went to see some of the best houses in Cairo. The great men have a saloon for common use, and another for state; and as they have four wives, each of them has a saloon, with the apartments about it, that have no communication with the other parts of the house, except the common entrance for the servants, which is kept locked; and the private entrance, of which the master keeps the key. They have such a machine made to turn round, as they use in nunneries, which receives any thing they want to give in or out, without seeing one another. At the house of Osman Bey, there is a fine saloon with a lobby before it; the grand room is an oblong square; in the middle is an octagon marble pillar; the room is wainscotted on two sides about eight feet high, in pannels of grey marble, with a border round every pannel of mosaic work; the end at which one enters, and the side where the windows are, not being finished in this manner; the sofa extends all round the room, and the whole is furnished with the richest velvet cushions, and the floor covered with fine carpets. I saw another magnificent house, of a much older date than this; it is said to have been built by Sultan Nasir Iben Calahoun, or Calaun, who was the seventh King of Egypt of the Mamalukes, called Baharites, and lived about the year 1279. The house is built round a small court, in which there are several large apartments. The entrance to the grand apartment is by a fine old door, something in the Gothic taste; there is one thing very particular, a sort of double pillars on each side of the door, cut out of one stone, worked so as to appear as if two pillars were bent and linked together, like a chain. The magnificent saloon is in the figure of a Greek cross, with a cupola in the middle; it is wainscotted for ten feet high, in a very costly manner; round at top, about two feet deep, are Arabic inscriptions; then for about two feet more, are works of mother of pearl, and fine marbles, in the figure of small arches. Below this it is all done in pannels, which have a border round of mosaic work in mother of pearl, and blue smalt, or a sort of glass that is not transparent; in some the middle part is of the finest marbles, in others all of mosaic work. I went to see the manner of hatching chickens in ovens, and the method they take to make sal armoniac, which I shall particularly describe in another place. Those seem much to exceed as to the number of people in Cairo, who compute that there are two millions, though it is positively affirmed that seven thousand have died in one day of the plague; in which they say they can make an exact computation, from the number of biers that are let to carry out the dead. There is a great mixture of people in Cairo, the city being composed of original Egyptians, among whom are the Copti Christians; of Arabians; of the people of Barbary, and the western parts of Africa; of the Berberines of the parts of Nubia, a great number of their men coming here to offer themselves as servants. They are a Molotto race; have a sort of government among themselves, those of such a part of the country chusing a sheik or head, who takes care of all new comers to recommend them to places, to supply them with money when they are out of service, or sick, for which they have a common purse; and when they are

able, they faithfully return what was disbursed on them. There are likewise some of the Turcoman race, such as are sent from Constantinople to fill some places, and such as the Pashas bring with them, and chance to settle here; but it is probable that the greater part of the people of Cairo are of the Mamaluke race, descended from those slaves mostly of Georgia and parts about it, who have since the Mamaluke establishment, come into the government, and into most of their offices, and continue to do so by a constant fresh supply to this day; of which I shall have occasion to say more under the government of Egypt. There are likewise in Cairo some Greeks, a few Armenians, and many Jews. Of the Europeans, there are settled here only the French, English, and some Italians from Venice and Leghorn. The Franciscans dependant on the convent at Jerusalem, have a large new-built monastery, which was pulled down once or twice by the mob, whilst they were building it, before they could satisfy the great people, who wanted presents; and it cost them great sums of money, not only for the building, but to make all the great men their friends. The superior here is called the vice-prefect of Egypt, the guardian of Jerusalem having the title of prefect. There is another convent of Franciscans, who are sent missionaries from Rome with a superior, who is called also the prefect of Egypt, and commands three convents they have in upper Egypt. These live on a small allowance they have from Rome, and on the charity of their disciples; they are under the protection of the English, who are ready in these countries, to protect all Christians. The other Franciscans, a convent of Capuchines, and another of Jesuits, are under the protection of the French. When any of the English happen to die in any parts of the Levant, they are buried with the Greeks, and according to the ceremonies of their church, where there is no English chaplain. The European merchants settled here, considering how much they are confined, live agreeably enough among themselves; are generally sociable with those of their own nation; and in a plentiful country, they do not want whatever may make life pass agreeably. The morning being spent in business, the remainder of the day is often passed in riding out to the fields and gardens to the north of Cairo, where for a mile out of town, there is little danger; sometimes the whole day is spent in diversions that way; and they have a relaxation from business both on the Christian and Jewish sabbath, as the Jews transact a great part of their affairs. When the Nile is high, and little business is done, they spend their time in the houses they have at old Cairo and Giza; so that strangers pass their time as agreeably as the circumstances of the place admit, the gentlemen here shewing them all manner of civility, especially such as out of curiosity, who never fail to meet with a kind reception in their houses, which they easily oblige them to make their home, as it is very difficult to be otherwise accommodated here.

The great trade of this place is an import of broad clothes, tin, and lead, an export of coffee, fenna, saffranounes for dying, flax, and several drugs which come mostly from Persia; they also import raw silk from Asia, and manufacture it chiefly into sattins, and some silks in imitation of those of India; and at some places near, they have manufactures of coarse linen. They also make sugar of the growth of the country, which is neither cheap nor fine, except a small quantity, very fine, for the use of the Grand Signior; but as it is very dear, so it is not commonly to be met with for sale. They have some manufactures in great perfection, as making Turkish stirrups, and all furniture for horses; and I observed the bars both of iron and brass they make chequerwise to put before their windows, were of very good workmanship, though I imagined they were mostly of the time of the Mamalukes. They make lattices for windows of turned work, in wood, in a very curious and beautiful manner. About Menoufieh also in



therefore must be different from that mentioned by Herodotus, as twelve miles and a half south of Memphis, by which the course of the river was turned, and consequently at that distance, could not well be said to be a defence to the city. Pliny is still more plain, and says that the pyramids were between Memphis and Delta, not four miles from the river, and six from Memphis*, which fixes this city about the place mentioned.

There is another circumstance in the situation of this city, that there were large lakes† to the north and west of it, both as a defence, and probably also to supply some part of the city with water; and I saw several such lakes to the north and west of Metrahenny. It is also very remarkable that Menes the first King of Egypt, according to Herodotus, turned the course of the Nile, which run under the western hills, and made it pass in the middle between them and the eastern hills, and built the city where the river first run; it is not improbable that Calig Al-Heram, that is, the canal of the pyramids, and the western canal, some miles beyond Metrahenny, which there is a large bridge, and which at present runs under the hills, may in some parts, be the remains of the ancient bed of the Nile; and from this we have, the city of Memphis seems to have extended from the old canal to the new one, and some parts of it to have reached as far as the hills; for the Serapium is mentioned in a very sandy place, and consequently towards the hills where the Nile does not overflow, for I found the country sandy in some parts for near a mile from the hills. The palace of the Kings also was on high ground, extending down to the lower parts of the city, where there were lakes and groves adjoining to it; and I saw near Saccara a sort of wood of the Acacia tree, this and Dendera being the only places in Egypt where I saw wood grow as without art, and it is possible this wood may be some remains of the ancient groves about Memphis. This city being, according to some authors, above eighteen miles round‡, it might very well take up the whole space between the river and the hills, which I take not to be above four or five miles; but what fixes the situation of Memphis to this part, is Pliny's account, who says that the pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta.

This city was famous for the worship of Osiris, under the shape of an animal called Apis, probably because that animal is so useful in agriculture invented by that King. They had also a famous temple of Vulcan, and an altar dedicated to Venus.

The most remarkable pyramids which are taken notice of by the ancients, according to this account, have been to the north-west of Memphis; they are now the pyramids of Gize, and according to this account, they were built towards the brow of the hills; for the low hills extending to the south-east, the side of the Delta, and near to this place, they here set out for about two miles to the east, and then running south, the pyramids are built towards the north-east, the hills being computed to be about one hundred feet high above the plain of such freestone as the pyramids are built with. On examining the pyramids, taking a view from the top of the great pyramid, I made the plan of them.

* See a former quotation on the pyramids.

† Έστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μίμφις ἐν τῇ σταθῇ τῇ; Αἰγυπία, ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιεσφαιμένη καὶ ἰσχυρὰ τοῦ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁ Νῆλος ἀπὸ τῆς τούτου διὰ τῆς Ἡρακλίου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς ἀφαιρούμενου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιοσημειώτου. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 99. See note, p. 196.

‡ Έστι δὲ καὶ Σεράπιον ἐν ἀμμόδῳ τόπῳ σφόδρα, ὡς δ' ὑπ' ἀρίμων δίναις ἀμμοῦ συστάνουσι.

§ Τὸ μὲν δὲ περιέβλεον τῇ; πόλιν ἐποίησε σάδιν ἱκανὴν καὶ πικνησάν. Diodorus, l. i.

== See note, p. 196.

sepulchres about them; and it was a considerable time after I left Egypt, that I imagined some regularity might have been designed, if not on building the first great pyramid, yet at some time after, it may be when they began to build the second; and where I have supplied the plan to make it regular, I either suppose it to be destroyed, or which is more likely, that it might be laid down as a plan by some King, to be executed by his successors; but as all this is pure conjecture, so every one may judge as he thinks proper. The tombs about the great pyramid are distinguished from the small pyramids by their not being shaded. Most of those pyramids are very much ruined, and some of them I concluded to be so only from their being square, higher than the tombs, and having ruins about them. These tombs are oblong square solid buildings raised two or three feet above the ground; and I saw in some of them holes filled up with sand, by which without doubt they descended to the apartments where they deposited the dead. These might be the sepulchres of the near dependants, or possibly of some of the relations of the Kings, who were buried in the great pyramids; and it may be the relations might be buried under these small pyramids, which might be a distinction not permitted to any others. Some appear only as holes, being probably tombs they had destroyed, and dug down to see if they could find any treasures.

As the pyramids are supposed to have been cased with a hard stone or marble brought from the mountains of Arabia, of which there are quarries near the Red Sea, so it must have been a work of great labour to bring the materials to this place. Herodotus* observes, that they made a causey of stone five furlongs in length, fifty feet broad, and in some parts forty feet high; though this latter seems to be a mistake, unless any bridge of that height in the way may justify our author's expression, who adds that it was made of polished stones that were adorned with the figures of beasts, which might be only in some particular parts. This he thinks was a work not much inferior to that of building the pyramids. The stones might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary causeway; for at this time there is a causey from that part, extending about a thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of hewn stone; the length of it agreeing so well with the account of Herodotus, is a strong confirmation that this causey has been kept up ever since, though some of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with freestone. It is strengthened on each side with semicircular buttresses, about fourteen feet diameter, and thirty feet apart; there are sixty-one of these buttresses, beginning from the north: sixty feet further it turns to the west for a little way, then there is a bridge of about twelve arches, twenty feet wide, built on piers that are ten feet wide. Above one hundred yards further, there is such another bridge, beyond which the causey continues about one hundred yards to the south, ending about a mile from the pyramids, where the ground is higher. The country over which the causey is built being low, and the water lying on it a great while, seems to be the reason for building this causeway at first, and continuing to keep it in repair. Opposite to it, if I am not mistaken, there is an easy ascent up for the carriage of the stone. The hill to the east of this, on the north side, is very steep, and it is with the greatest difficulty one ascends by the way

* Χρόνῳ δὲ ἰγνίσθαι τριβομένη τῷ λαῷ, δέκα μὲν ἔτια τῆς αἰῆς, καὶ ἦν ἔλασσον τῆς λίθης τῆς ἰδημαῖ ἔργον ἔν τῳ πολλῷ τῷ ἔλασσει τῆς πυραμίδος, ὡς ἰμοὶ δοκέω τῆς μὲν γὰρ μήκος ἔστι πέντε στάδιον· εὖρος δὲ, δέκα ἀρηνιαὶ· ὕψος δὲ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἰωυτή, ὡτὼ ἀρηνιαὶ· λίθης τε ξυστὴ καὶ ζώνων ἐντεταλμένων· ταύτῃ δὲ διὰ τὰ ἔλλα ἔτια γινίσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ λίθῃ, ἐπ' ᾧ ἔγασσι αἱ πυραμίδες· τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αἰκημάτων· τὰς ἐκονέτω δόκας ἰαυτῷ ἐν τῇσιν, διώσωνται τὰ Νεῦλα ἀναγνώσκει. Herodotus, ii. c. 124.

that leads up opposite to the great pyramid which is at the north-east angle of the hill. Herodotus says it was built by Cheops, King of Egypt; Diodorus calls him Chemmis or Chembes. The former * says it was eight hundred Greek feet square, the latter † seven hundred, Strabo ‡ less than six hundred, and Greaves measuring it very exactly, found it to be six hundred ninety-three English feet; so that the area takes up a little more than eleven acres. The perpendicular height he found to be four hundred ninety-nine feet, the inclined plain being equal to its basis, the angles and base making an equilateral triangle. Greaves found the measure at top thirteen feet, Diodorus says it was nine feet, those who have made it more are not to be credited, and it is possible that one tier of stone may have been taken away. There are on the top nine stones, two being wanting at the angles, and the two upper steps are not perfect; nor could I see any sign in the middle of a statue having been fixed there. The upper tiers of stones not being entire, I measured two steps below the top, and it was twenty-six feet on the north side, and thirty on the west; so that either the pyramid is not square, or it inclines with a greater angle to the west and east, than to the north and south. The number of steps have been related very differently; from two hundred and seven, Greaves's number, to two hundred and sixty, the number of Albert Lewenstein; but as Mallet, who also was very exact, counted two hundred and eight, it is probable the number of the steps is two hundred and seven, or eight, though I counted them two hundred and twelve. The steps are from two feet and a half to four feet high, not being so high towards the top as at the bottom, and broad in proportion to their height, being placed, as Greaves observes, so as that a line stretched from the bottom to the top, would touch the angle of every step. The method of ascending is by the angle to the north-east, in order to keep in a strait line; and when the steps are high, or sometimes one step entirely broke away, they are obliged to look for a convenient place to ascend, where the steps are entire, or a high step is a little mouldered away, so as to make the ascent more easy. It is thought that this, as well as the other pyramids, was cased with a finer stone on the outside, because it is said that not only the mortar has been seen in which the stones were fixed, but also some pieces of white marble sticking to the mortar, which they suppose were left on their taking away the stone for some other use; and this seems to be intimated by Herodotus, who says that this pyramid was built at first with steps; that being done, they raised the stones (as it must be supposed to case it) by machines from one step to another, not having any longer a greater breadth than a step to fix their machines on, which must have been a great work. In this manner he says they did the upper part first, and so continued it down, finishing the lower part last. Pliny § mentions a very extraordinary thing with regard to these pyramids, and that is, that some men were so very adroit that they could go up to the top of them; which if they

* *Ἐπὶ παντακτῇ μέτρῳ ἑκατὸν ἑκατὸ πλῆθος, ἰσότης πηραγώνων καὶ ὕψος.* Herodotus, l. ii. c. 125.

† *Τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει πλεῖστον ἑκατὸν ἔχει πλῆθος ἑκατὸ, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἔχει πολεῖον τὸν ἕξ πλῆθος.* *συναγωγὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς κατὰ δόξαν λαμβάνουσα μέχρι τῆς κορυφῆς, ἑκατὸν πλεῖστον ποιεῖ σπῆλιν ἕξ.* Diodorus, l. i. p. 47.

‡ *Γραῖς δ' ἀξιόλογοι, τὰς δὲ δὺο τῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ διαμάστι καταβιβάζουσιν· ἀπὸ γὰρ σταδίου τὸ ὕψος, τετραγώνου τῆς οὐρανίας τῆς πλεῖστης ἑκάστη μικρὴ μᾶλλον τὸ ὕψος ἔχουσαι· μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα τῆς ἑτέρας ἐπὶ μέτρων ἔχει δ' ἐν ὕψει μεσσοῖς πῶς τῶν πλεῖστον λίθων ἑξαίρεσις, οὐκ ἀρδένει δὲ σύμφηξις ἐπὶ σκελετοῖς καὶ τῇ δοκῇ· αὐταὶ μὲν ἐν ἑγγυῖ ἀλλήλων εἰσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιπέδων.* Strabo, l. xvii. p. 808.

§ *Sic sunt in parte Africae, monte saxco sterili quoque, inter Memphim oppidum et quod appellari diximus Delta, a Nilo minus quatuor millia passuum, a Memphi lex; vico appposito quam vocant Busris, in quo sunt afflucti scandere illas. — Sed pyramis amplissima ex Arabicis lapidicinis constat; Trecenta xvi. hominum millia annis viginti eam contruxisse produntur. Tres vero factae annis sexaginta octo, mensibus quatuor.* *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. lxxvi. c. 12.

were cased with such hard smooth stone as they appear to be, this would incline any one to conclude that this story ought to be looked on with the same light as many other extravagant things he mentions; for to ascend by the steps could never have been very difficult, and was probably what the workers did every day. Herodotus speaks of subterraneous apartments under the pyramid, and says that the tomb was in an island made by water brought from the Nile, a castle from which one would conjecture that the wells I shall mention led to the sepulchre, and that the tomb which is seen in the large room, was designed for some other person of the royal family.

It may be looked on as a very extraordinary thing, how the entrance into the pyramid should be found out, which it is said was discovered by the Calif Mahomet, who lived in the year eight hundred twenty, or thereabouts, of the Christian era; but without doubt this prince was informed of every thing related by ancient authors, with regard to these extraordinary buildings, that they were the sepulchres of the Kings of Egypt, and that as Strabo relates, there was in the middle of the pyramids a stone that might be taken out to open a way to the passage that led to the tombs; not that it is probable that they immediately found the place, but having measured out the middle of the pyramid, they might begin and work lower; all below being covered with stones and rubbish: they might also get some light by sounding along up the middle of the pyramid, in order to conjecture where the hollow passage might be, or by piercing it in several parts with proper tools.

For the particulars of the inside of the pyramid, I refer to Maillet's account, which I have added at the latter end of this volume, and to the measures below † taken from Greaves, as well as my own observations and others.

It

† An account of the measures of the inside of the great pyramid from Greaves G. supplied from Maillet M. Sicard S. and my own observations P. Maillet's and Sicard's measures being French feet.

	Feet.	Inches.	Parts of feet.		Feet.	Inches.	Parts of feet.	
				Benches high at Q.	1	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	
				Wide	1	0	$\frac{3}{4}$	
				Whole breadth of gallery	6	0	$\frac{1000}{717}$	G.
				Holes for the seat at Q.			$\frac{1000}{717}$	
				Long	4	7	—	P.
				Broad	0	7	—	P.
				Deep	0	7	—	S.
				Distance from one another	0	7	—	P.
				Twenty-eight of these holes				
				on each side S.				
				This gallery high				G.
				Height of two tiers of				
				stone, to the stone that				P.
				sets in				
				Each stone sets out				P.
				The seven tiers that set				P.
				out, each in depth about				
				Landing place R. is at				
				the same width P.				
				Long				P.
				High				G.
				Passage T. long				P.
				Wide				P.
				High				P.
				Second room Y. wide				P.
				Long				P.
				Next passage B B.				
				Wide				P.
								Long
Steps to the entrance	16	0	—	G. P.				
Height to it	38	0	—	G.				
Wide and high	3	0	$\frac{1000}{717}$	G.				
Long	92	6	—	G.				
Broken passage G.								
Long	89	0	—	G.				
Broad	20	0	—	G.				
Height to passage H.	9	0	—	G.				
Passage H. wide and high	5	0	—	G.				
Long	110	0	—	G.				
Landing place L. long	15	0	—	G.				
Passage N. wide and high	3	3	—	M.				
Long	110	0	—	G.				
Room O. long	17	6	—	M.				
Broad	15	10	—	M.				
Walls high to the slope	11	3	—	S.				
Length of the slope	10	0	—	S.				
Diameter of well, above	3	0	—	G.				
Absent into the gallery								
at M. about	12	0	—	M.				
Middle passage broad at M.	3	0	$\frac{1000}{717}$					



the steps there, and by making two steps of one, as was the practice in the ascents they made in the ancient theatres. According to my observations, the casing of this pyramid did not project beyond the angle of the steps, as it did in those beyond Sacara. I observed that on the north and east sides, the upper part of the pyramid was entire for forty or fifty feet down from the top, as I conjectured, and the stone seemed to set further out for near a hundred feet from the top than it does below, which I could not account for.

Towards the south east corner of this pyramid, there are some grottos cut in the rock, and adorned with hieroglyphics; and to the east of it there are remains of walls, which probably may be what a certain author calls a temple, before the second pyramid; there being more visible remains before the third pyramid, which seem to be the ruins of a temple.

Directly in the front of the second pyramid, about a quarter of a mile to the east of it, is the famous sphynx, about half a quarter of a mile from the water when the Nile overflows, being on much lower ground than the pyramids. Here seems to have been the grand way up to these magnificent structures; the other I mentioned having been probably made for the conveniency of carrying the stone up to the great pyramid.

The rock seems to have been dug away all round the sphynx for a great way, and the stone was doubtless employed in building the pyramids, the sphynx being cut out of the solid rock; for what has been taken by some to be joinings of the stone, is only veins in the rock. This extraordinary monument is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis, though I think it is mentioned by none of the ancient authors, except Pliny *. I found by the quadrant that it is about twenty-seven feet high, the neck, and head only being above ground; the lower part of the neck, or the beginning of the breast is thirty-three feet wide, and it is twenty feet from the fore part of the neck to the back, and thence to the hole in the back it is seventy-five feet, the hole being five feet long, from which to the tail, if I mistake not, it is thirty feet; which something exceeds Pliny's account, who says that it is a hundred and thirteen feet long. The sand is risen up in such a manner that the top of the back only is seen; some persons have lately got to the top of the head, where they found a hole, which probably served for the arts of the priests in uttering oracles; as that in the back might be to descend to the apartments beneath.

A little to the west-north-west of the sphynx is a small ruined pyramid as I concluded it to be; a way had been opened into it, but every thing now is almost ruined. I saw in it two handsome high door places opposite to one another, the space between them being only five feet; over them are hieroglyphics, among which I saw the Ibis and stags. Opposite to this pyramid, on the other side of the valley to the south, is such another, which seemed to have been built with steps, and east of it is another, erected on a foundation of rock, fifteen feet high; it seemed to have been built up higher only with a thick wall about a hundred and fifty feet square. The first of these

* Ante has est sphynx, vel magis miranda, quasi sylvestre numen accolentium. Amasium regem putant in ea conditum, et volunt investam videri. Est autem saxo naturali elaborata et lubrica. Capitis monstri ambitus per frontem centum duos pedes colligit, longitudo pedum CXIII. est, altitudo a ventre ad summum apicem in capite LXIII. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. xxxvii. c. 12.

My account makes the sphynx one hundred and thirty feet long, that is about seventeen feet more than Pliny. He says it was sixty-three feet high, probably taking in a plinth that might be cut out under it; so that about thirty six feet must be buried in the sand.

pyramids, from the description of Herodotus *, seems to be that which he imagined was built by the daughter of Cheops, who prostituted herself in obedience to her father. The grand way up to the second pyramid, as has been observed, seems to have been from the sphynx, and turning there to the right and left, it might join two ways coming from the west: what I took for the foundation of a wall, might be some remains of that to the north; the way towards the south is a causeway made of great stones eleven paces wide, and leading up to the temple, which is before the third pyramid. The stones employed in building the temple are six feet broad and deep, which is the thickness of the walls; and most of them are sixteen or seventeen feet long, and some twenty-two, the whole building being a hundred and sixty feet deep, and a hundred and eighty in front. To the east of it is the third pyramid, said to be built by Mycerinus. Herodotus † speaks of it as three hundred feet square; I measured it at the top fourteen feet on the north side, and twelve on the east, and counting seventy-eight steps, at one foot nine inches broad, it amounts to about this number of feet. Our author affirms that it was built half way up with Ethiopian marble, that is cased with it; Diodorus mentions fifteen tier, so that computing each tier on the outside to be five feet deep, as I found them, that will amount to seventy-five feet, which answers within six feet of the height, computed at one hundred fifty-six feet, supposing the steps to be two feet high. On this account Strabo says it was as expensive a work as the others; all round it are remains of the granite it was adorned with, which has been pulled down, and great part of it carried away: I saw however two stones remaining in their places, about five feet deep. To the south of this are three small pyramids, the two western ones are about eighty-seven feet square; they are built with three degrees ten feet broad, each of them consisting of three tier of stone four or five feet deep, that set out about a foot, as represented in an upright of one of them. The eastern pyramid is a hundred feet square, being what is commonly called the fourth pyramid.

These seem to be the three pyramids mentioned by Diodorus immediately after the third, as built for the wives of the three Kings, the successors of Mycerinus. I cannot but mention a conjecture that has also been made by others, which will make the labour that was bestowed on the pyramids much less than is imagined; and that is, that they might take the advantage of building round a hill when they begun a pyramid; and if this is probable, the great pyramid might be built about two rocky hills; the present entrance probably on the top of one, and the grand room which has the tomb in it on the top of the other; and the passage and room under, might be cut out on the side of the hill, though at some distance from the outside of it; which is the more probable, if we suppose, as I shall after observe, that the first invention of pyramids might be

* Εἰς τὸν δὲ Ἰδύον Κίσιπα κακότητι, ὥς τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἰωνίαν, χρημάτων δέμετον, κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματι, προάξας προσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὅσον δὴ τι· ἢ γὰρ δὴ πέτοντι ἱλαγον. τῆς δὲ, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθῆναι προσσεσθαι· ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διαπραθῆναι μημέουσιν καταλιπέσθαι· καὶ τῇ ἰσονίῃ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἱκάσθαι δεῖσθαι ὅπως αὐτῇ ἴσα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοις δοθῆναι· ἐν τούτοις δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα ὀκροδομηθῆναι, τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐγκυῖαν, ἐμπροσθεν τῇ μεγάλῃ· καὶ τὴν τὸ κῶλον ἱκάσθαι ὅλην καὶ ἡμίσην πᾶνδε. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 126.

† Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἰλάσσω τοῦ πατρὸς, ἡλικίῃ ποδῶν καταδύσαν, κῶλον ἱκάσθαι τριῶν πλῆθους ἡλικίῃ τριῶν λίθων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἴσον Ἀιδιουκῆ. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 134.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ ἴσιν ἐν τῇ μίσει τῆς ὀρνίθης ἡ τρίτη πολὺ ἰλάττω ταῖν δυῶν, πολὺ δὲ μέζον· δαπάνης κατεσκευασμένη· ἀπὸ γὰρ ὀρνίθων μίσην χιτῶν, μέλαν· λίθων ἴσιν, ἢ ἢ καὶ τὰς δυῶν κατασκευαζέσθαι κομίζοντες· πρὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τῇ Ἀιδιουκῆς ὄρεσιν, ὅς τῳ πατρὸς ἦναι καὶ δυσκαίεργας, πολλὴν τὴν πρὸς ματιῶν παρῆκε. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805.

Πυραμίδα δὲ ἢ ἰσικαλόμεν· τρίτην κατασκευαζέσθαι, πρὸς τριῶν ἐτελεύτησεν ἥτις τὸ ἔργον ἔλαβε συντελεῖν τῇ· μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἱκάσθαι πλῆθος ὑπερῆσαν πλῆθους τριῶν, τῷ δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ μὲν πρὸς ματιῶν δόμοισι κατασκευάσθαι ἐκ μέλαν· λίθων, τῷ ὀρνίθων· πρὸς ἀπλῶν. Diodorus, l. i. p. 58.

owing to the casing of small hills with stone. I went twice to these famous monuments, and I entered as often into the great pyramid. The first time I was in company with some English and French, and attended by the caimacam, or governor of Gizeh. They had sent out great plenty of provisions, and I could not but take particular notice of the lesson of hospitality the governor taught them, by distributing about to all the Arabs of the good fare they had brought, even before he had served himself. The second time I went out was with the consul, and most of the English, when we went round by the bridges, and saw a great number of wild fowl all over the waters. We pitched a tent in the plain, about half a mile to the north of the pyramids; the people of the neighbouring village came and sat round, and had contrived to take away a garment that belonged to us, and carried it to their village; but when it was missing, and we threatened to make complaint to their landlord, who was one of the beys, if they did not go to the village in search of it, and return it, they went off and brought it back. It was this second time that I went alone down to the bottom of the first well in the pyramid, having prepared a lanthorn to let down to the bottom of each well, that I might see how far I had to descend; but none of the Arabs would go down with me. The method of descending is by the holes in the side to set the feet in, which were much broken; so that it was very difficult, being obliged to rest much on the arms. I should however have certainly gone down as far as I could, even alone, if I had not been indisposed by a cause so far distant as drinking the waters of Aleppo half a year before; of which I shall have occasion to say more in another place.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Catacombs and Pyramids of Saccara.*

THOUGH the pyramids and catacombs of Saccara are not ten miles from those of Gizeh, yet the common way is to go from Cairo for five miles along the east side of the river, to the convent of St. George, where crossing the Nile, the road passes by Mocanan and Metrahenny; the last place is three or four miles from Saccara. Between Metrahenny and Saccara, I passed over a canal on a large bridge of four arches; this is called the western canal.

It was on my return from Faiume that I went to Saccara, going out of the direct road to Cairo, soon after we had passed the sandy deserts; and travelling about five miles north-west, we came to Dashour, where there is a *cane*, in which there are public harlots, who are professed Mahometans, as I was informed they are also in many other parts. These women are always unveiled; and knowing that we were Europeans, they came and stared at us, and were very impudent, insomuch that my servant was obliged to drive them away. From this place we travelled along by the western canal, and after two miles we came to a village called Elmentshieh Dashour, being opposite to the great pyramid to the south; the pyramid built of brick being in a line with Dashour. We soon after came to the sandy desert, having the large canal to the east of us; we after passed between the melon gardens, and came to a wood of acacia trees, which extends about a mile north to the groves of palm trees that are near Saccara, which is a poor village at the foot of the hills. Having letters of recommendation, I went to the house of the sheik, who according to custom, set of their fare before us, and promised after he had been at the mosque at noon, it being Friday, to go with me to the pyramids that were near. Accordingly we went half a mile to the south, there being a small lake on that part of the town. We came to a causeway made of great stones thirty-five feet wide, leading westward up the hills. This day and the two following I made the observations, in which I am the more exact, as few persons

persons have described any thing particularly here except the catacombs. The ascent is short to a sandy plain, that may extend four or five miles to higher hills. The pyramids are built from north to south along the brow of the hill, extending from the three northern ones which are three or four miles from Saccara, for eight or nine miles to the south. About half a mile east of the pyramid that appears at a distance to be built with great steps, is a little descent to a sort of a round plain with a rising in the middle; bones and skulls are seen almost all over this spot, under which are the catacombs of the mummies, extending near to this pyramid, the whole country being a rocky soil, covered over with sand five or six feet deep. About half a mile to the north of the same pyramid, are the catacombs of the birds. In this part I found about the sands many of those little earthen statues of Osiris, that are covered with a sort of green enamel or paint. I saw here several heaps of ruins, and a sort of fossée which goes all round to the south of Saccara; so that probably this place was formerly enclosed.

The three pyramids are three or four miles further to the north; they seem to be about the size of the third pyramid of Gize, and are on a height extending rather more to the east than the other hills. As there is nothing remarkable in them, so travellers never go to them. Between these pyramids and those of Gize, the hills retire and make a sort of a semicircle. Here I imagined I saw several ruins, and possibly this might be the part of Memphis that extended up to the desert. To the south east of these catacombs of the birds, I saw a ruined pyramid about sixty feet square; and further south, some square monuments that might have been small pyramids. Near these is a pyramid called by the Arabs the pyramid with steps. I omitted to measure it any otherwise than by paces*, by which I computed the measure to be three hundred feet to the north, and two hundred seventy-five to the east; and I found that most of these pyramids are broader one way than the other. This is a hundred and fifty feet high, consisting of six steps or degrees, eleven feet broad, and twenty-five feet deep in the perpendicular, being, I suppose, thirty-five in the inclined plain on some of the sides, as I find I measured it in some parts; for the front of the degrees is an inclined plain. As it is much ruined at the angles, I ascended at the north-east angle, and descended by the north-west; it measured at top twenty-two feet six inches to the east, and fifty feet six inches to the north, which must be accounted for by its inclining with a different angle one way from what it does the other. The outside casing is of hewn stone, twenty tier to each degree, each tier being one foot three inches deep. The building within is of small thin stones, and the yellow gravelly mortar is six inches thick between them. There are two holes broken in on the south side. On the same side, three quarters of the lower degree is broken away, and on the north side the lowest degree is entirely gone; and on the east side the ground is risen up to the height of the first degree. Near this pyramid I saw many pieces of a sort of red and yellow marble.

A pyramid to the south-west, appears round at top; and there are three or four built in the same manner towards the first entrance on the hills from the causeway; one of them measured a hundred feet to the east and west, and eighty to the north and south; another is of the same dimensions one way, and only ninety feet wide on the east side. This latter has some great stones remaining towards the top, but there are

* Though I was guilty of a great omission in not being more exact in these measures, as well as some others, in relation to which I shall always mention in what manner I took the measures, if I was not exact; yet I thought it better to give an account of these imperfect observations, in the manner I made them, than to pass them over in silence, that others may be induced hereafter to give a more exact account.

none about the other; this as well as some others, seems to have been filled up in the middle with small stones and sand; on each side the entrance are two smaller: these latter do not look like pyramids, but more like hillocks cased with stone; so that it is probable either that the original of pyramids was owing to the casing with stone such raised grounds that they threw up in memory of their dead, or that these hillocks in the northern parts, were a barbarous imitation of pyramids; and as in Syria there are some not very small cased with stone, that at present have castles built on them, it is possible they might first have been made in honour of some great men, and afterwards be converted to another use. Going near two miles to the south, and crossing over a little height which runs from east to west, we came to the imperfect pyramid called Mustabait-el-Pharaone, or the seat of Pharaoh, on which the Arabs say the Kings of Egypt promulged their laws; it is two hundred seventy-three feet wide to the north, and two hundred and eight to the east; at present it is forty-six feet high, all the steps setting in a foot, except the third from the bottom, which sets in ten feet; it is built of large mouldering stones, full of shells, they are seven feet long, and of the same depth as the steps, that is, four feet six inches. To the west-north-west of it there is a small raised pyramid, being about two hundred feet square. From this place we went two miles to the great pyramid called Il-Herem-Elkebere-El-Barieh, the great pyramid to the north. As there are heaps of stone round the pyramid that has scaled off, and I had no instruments to take the level, so I was obliged to measure the pyramid at a distance, by beginning opposite to the angles, which must be acknowledged not to be so certain; but in this manner I measured seven hundred and ten feet to the north, and six hundred and ninety to the east; but pacing it, the measure came out on the north side only six hundred sixty-two feet and a half, so that possibly there might be some mistake; though the north side measured on the top twenty feet, and the east side only fifteen; which inclines me to think that the measure I took is pretty exact, that makes the north side the broader. There are a hundred and fifty-six steps from three to two feet high; the lower steps being about three feet, the others mostly two, and about two feet broad. By the quadrant I found it to be about three hundred forty-five feet high which would be the height at a middle computation of two feet four inches to each step. The pyramid by the measure at top, seems to incline with a more acute angle to the north and south, than it does to the east and west, where the steps may be broader, so that this pyramid is probably as big as the great one at Gize; for computing the steps to be only two feet broad, though I suppose some of them must be more to the east and west, the north side will be six hundred forty-four feet, according to this computation: and a traveller who seems to mean this pyramid, which he calls the pyramid of Rhodope, and the largest of the fifteen this way, probably took his measures by computing the steps, who says it is six hundred forty-two feet square, and three hundred twenty-seven high, and mentions a hundred and forty-eight steps; but as these are French feet, it may bring the measures pretty near to those I have given. The stones of the casing are six feet long, and so project about four feet. These stones I found to be two feet ten inches in the inclined plain, where they were two feet six inches thick.

It is to be observed, that the steps of the second pyramid of Gize being filled up, that manner of finishing the work was most convenient, as they begun it at top; but as they might after find it more commodious to begin the casing at bottom, this method of laying the stone, so as to project four feet beyond the steps, might be judged a more proper way, both as it made a larger platform to work on, and to raise the materials, and also as the stones laid in this manner would more effectually bind one another.

This

This pyramid is built of the same freestone as the others, but cased with a fine hard stone, the outward cover remaining in several parts; the ground is raised much on the north side, and also on the east, but least of all on the west. At some distance to the south and west the ground is hollow, as it is to the north and west of the great pyramid south of it; out of these places, they probably dug the stone to build the pyramids.

On the north side, about a third of the way up, is an entrance three feet five inches wide, and four feet two inches deep; the stones within are of the height and breadth of the entrance, and about five feet long. I went into the pyramid by this passage, which is steep, and has holes cut as rests for the feet. It was with great difficulty we made our way for the last twenty-five feet, the passage being almost filled up with sand. At the end I came into a room twenty-two feet and a half long, and eleven feet ten inches broad; at the height of ten feet six inches, a tier of stones set in on each side five inches, and in the same manner twelve tiers one over another; so as that the top either ends in a point, or as I rather conjecture, it may be about a foot broad. To the west of this room is such another; and in both at the further end, in the middle of the fifth and sixth tiers of stone from the top, is a door, each of which leads to a small room, as I was informed by a gentleman, who contrived a ladder in order to get up to them. These rooms are of a smooth white stone, and nothing can be imagined finer than the workmanship of them, being all of large stone. There are only seven in length, and three or four in width. At the joining of the stones, there is a little channel half an inch broad, making an angle like the members of a triglyph in the Doric order. About a mile to the south-east is another great pyramid, called, the great pyramid to the south, (Il-Herem-El-Kieber-El-Koubli), which is less than the other: measuring it as I did the other, I found it was on the north side five hundred and ninety feet wide, on the east six hundred; and pacing it, the measure on this side came out exactly the same, and on the north six hundred and five feet; so that it is probable this pyramid is six hundred feet square, and the height of it is three hundred and thirty-five feet. What is very particular, it seems to incline with a greater angle from the height of two hundred and eighty feet than it does below; for this pyramid seems to have been cased all the way up, and is built of very good hewn stone even within, as I observed in some places where it is broke away; for it is ruined in many parts, but not so as that any one can go up to the top. The lower parts are much destroyed on all sides, and yet it would be very difficult and dangerous to go up to a hole that seems to lead to a passage that is not open, which is at the height of twelve tier from the ground; and I observed that under this hole the stones do not lie horizontally. The outer stones are mostly three feet six inches long, two feet four inches thick, and two feet six in the inclined plain; the steps are two feet broad, and the stones laid on them, which are two feet wide, project beyond the steps four feet six inches, and consequently make the pyramid every way nine feet wider than it was before it was cased. Where I observed the pyramid appeared as built with a different inclination above, the stones seem to have scaled, to be much ruined and loose; and I do not think that I could be so far deceived, as not to perceive that the difference was caused only by that upper part not being cased with stone as the rest. The lower part is very entire, except towards the bottom, where it seems to have been purposely broke, and the stones carried away. The north side is the most entire, and the ground is not so much raised as on the other sides. To the east-north-east of this is a ruined pyramid, about one hundred seventy feet one way, and two hundred and ten another.

About two miles to the east of the last great pyramid, on lower ground, and near the east edge of the mountain, is the pyramid built of unburnt brick, called Ktoubel-Menshieh (the bricks of Menshieh) from a village near called Menshieh Dashour. It was doubtless built near the plain, on account of the brick, which seems to be made of the earth brought by the Nile, being of a sandy black earth, with some pebbles and shells in it; it is mixed up with chopped straw, in order to bind the clay together, as they now make unburnt bricks in Egypt, and many other eastern parts, which they use very much in their buildings. I found some of these bricks thirteen inches and a half long, six inches and a half broad, and four inches thick, and others fifteen inches long, seven broad, and four inches and three quarters thick. I observed on the north side the bricks were laid lengthways from north to south, but not every where in that direction; however, I particularly took notice that they were not laid so as to bind one another. It is much crumbled and ruined; but as it is, I measured it, and found it to be one hundred fifty-seven feet on the north side, and two hundred and ten on the west side, it being much broke away on the east and west sides, for at top it measured forty-three feet by thirty-five; it is a hundred and fifty feet high. By what I could judge from the present shape of it, I concluded that it was built with five degrees, like the pyramid at Saccara, each being about ten feet broad, and thirty deep; so that the ascent to it is easy, as the bricks are crumbled away. As there is gravel and shells in the bricks, it is not improbable that this is the pyramid built by that extravagant King Afychis, with the mud that stuck to the plummets, which were often thrown into a lake for that purpose *.

Another day I went to see the catacombs, and was first conducted to those of the mummies, to one a little south of the pyramid of steps. The entrance to it is by a well about four feet square, and twenty feet deep, cut through the flaty rock, which has a mixture of talc in it; the upper part is sand, which is often moved by the wind, and fills up the holes. I observed some of these wells were cased with unburnt brick at the top, as far as the depth of the sand, which by the size of them I imagined to be ancient. The usual method of letting people down by ropes is very painful; but I brought with me a ladder made of ropes, by which I descended more conveniently, though not without being much incommoded by the sand which falls down from the top. I observed that there were holes on each side to descend by, as in the wells of the pyramid, and those of the cisterns of Alexandria; but they seem here to be mostly wore away, so as to be of no use. The way is then by a passage five feet wide, and about fifty feet long, which is almost filled up with sand. I then came to a passage of the same size, and about six feet high; on one side were apartments with benches, about two feet above the passages. On these I suppose they laid the mummies; and if they set them upright, they must have had some way of supporting them. On the other side are the narrow cells, just big enough to receive a large coffin. About two feet from the ground, in the middle of them, the rock sets out for about half a foot diameter, as represented in the plan. This I imagined might be to lay a coffin on, and there might be another placed on the ground. From this alley we went to another narrower, on each side of which were niches, which seemed to be designed to set coffins

* Υπερβαλίσθαι δὲ βεβηλόμενοι τῶτον τὸν βασιλεῖα τῆς πρώτου ἐαυτῷ βασιλέως γενομένης Αἰγύπτῃ, μνημόσυνον πυραμίδος λιπίσθαι ἐκ πλάνων ποιήσαντες· ἐν τῇ γραμμάτῃ ἐν λίθῳ ἱκανολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά ἐστι· ΜΗ ΜΕ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΘΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ ΠΡΟΕΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΕΩΝ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΝ, ΘΕΩΝ Ο ΖΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ· ΚΟΝΤΩ ΓΑΡ ΥΠΟΤΥΠΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΑΙΜΝΗΝ, Ο, ΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΙΤΟ ΤΟΥ ΠΗΛΟΥ Τῷ ΚΟΝΤΩ, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΣΤΑΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΠΛΙΝΘΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΥΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΡΟΠῃ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ ΕΒΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 136.

in upright. From these passages there are cut oblong square apartments, which are full of the remains of mummies; and probably here the inferior persons of a family were deposited, piled up one on another; as we may suppose the heads of the family were set upright in the niches, which appear to have been walled up, as well as all the other apartments, and sometimes walls were built across the passages. It is probable each family originally had its burial place, and as the family increased, they branched out these sepulchral grotts, so as that every descendant might have a place apart for his family. I saw several of the swathes lying about, and some remaining almost entire, only the bodies taken out from the middle for the sake of the mummy, and to search if they could find any thing in them. I observed some of the bodies had been done up in palm boughs, which were tied together at each end; some of these appeared like rushes, probably being rotten; others I saw, had been tied up in these fine reeds with which the Easterns write. These probably were people of better condition than the others, as coffins was an expence that all could not be at, and those who could afford coffins made of plank, might not be able to rise to the price of such as were hollowed out of one piece of timber, in the shape of a mummy, and finely painted according to the expence they would be at. I saw also many skulls here, as well as on the plain beyond; many of which probably had been rifled of the bitumen or balsam that was in them, when that sort of medicine was formerly much more in use than it is at present. I saw also several large earthen vases; in them was a black fat earth, which made me imagine that the bowels might be preserved in them.

I went half a mile north of the pyramid with steps, to the catacomb of the birds, called the well or pit of the birds, in which the entrance is the same as of the other, excepting that it is about thirty feet deep; the passage from it is almost full of sand, and about eight feet wide, as all the other passages are. These catacombs are much more magnificent than the others, being the sepulchres of those birds and other animals they worshipped; for when they happened to find them dead, they embalmed them, and wrapped them up with the same care as they did human bodies, and deposited them in earthen vases covered over and stopped close with mortar, as described in the last book.

In one of the irregular apartments I saw several larger jars, which might be for dogs and other animals; of which some have been found, but are now very rare. Concerning the manner of embalming these animals, as well as human bodies, I shall give a more particular account in the last book.

Returning from visiting the catacombs sooner than was expected, when I unlocked the door of the room the sheik had put me into at his house, a little girl about eight years old ran out of the room against me; laying hold of her, she cried out, but I had presence of mind enough to let her go, it being a great affront in these countries for any one to lay hands on the fair sex; and discovering any roguery (which I immediately apprehended) would have caused an embroil in the family, had the sheik taken my part or not. As soon as I came into the room, I saw a hole had been broke through the ceiling, though the room was ten feet high, and as I supposed, the mother had let the child down by a rope to rifle my baggage, and convey what they thought proper up the same way she came down. As it happened I caught them at the beginning, and little was lost; though doubtless they thought they should find treasures, as they imagine the Franks, as they call all Europeans, abound in money. I was a little chagrined at this treatment, but thought it the most prudent way to take no notice of it, and to remain under the protection of the sheik, though I could have gone away with the governor of Gize, who happened to be there, which might have caused a

jealousy between them ; so I staid till the next morning, when the sheik sent a man to conduct me to Grand Cairo.

CHAP. VII. — *Of Faiume the old Arsinoe, the Labyrinth, and the Lake Maris.*

THE caravans go once a week from Cairo to Faiume, but as the cashif or governor of that province was to set out for this place, it was thought, I should go more conveniently in his company ; so being recommended to him, I joined him some time before our departure at old Cairo, at the house of Osman Bey, whose creature and slave he had been. I had a room assigned me there, and the cashif invited me to sup with him ; I had brought some spirituous liquors with me to present to him, with which I took care he should be supplied at supper, and he proved to be a cheerful merry man, seeming to be about five and thirty years old. In the morning I set out with him, and we went to the south of old Cairo, and passed by the mosque called Saranebi, because they say a print of Mahomet's foot is there ; as they pretend likewise at a mosque near Damascus. Beyond it we passed by a village called Dertin, and came to St. George's convent, about five miles from old Cairo ; it is uninhabited, but the priests go out there to officiate on Sundays and holydays. Here we crossed the river, and going on, we came to the large village of Mocanan, with fine plantations of palm trees about it, and heaps of rubbish to the north of it. About two miles further to the south-west, we arrived at Metrahenny ; about this place also I observed several heaps, and a mound extending a mile north and south, and then north-west towards the pyramids that are near Saccara. This, I conjecture, might be a rampart thrown up to defend the ancient city of Memphis ; and this I suppose was the bank on which I came from Saccara. South of Metrahenny we passed over a canal called Calig-El-Eheram, or the canal of the pyramids, which communicates with several small canals that were dry in the month of February. We stopped a while, and I had my carpet laid at a distance ; but the cashif invited me to him, and I partook of their collation of bread, raw onions, and a sort of salt pickled cheese. We went on and came to the canal of Dashour, which we passed on a large bridge of stone with four arches. This I take to be the western canal mentioned in the way to Saccara. We pursued our journey mostly by the canal, and came near to the hills to the south at Baderishihe, to the east of the canal. Though the greater part of these hills may be natural, yet I suppose that the Nile formerly running more to the west, a mound was thrown up where it usually flowed to turn its course, according to the account of Herodotus ; but that a canal was brought in lower, and joined the ancient bed of the Nile further to the north-west, in order to water the country. We passed the night there in a grove of palm-trees ; the cashif sent to me to come to him, and I presented him with the liquor I brought for him, and sat with him for some time ; but a great sheik coming to him, I retired to my own place, and the cashif sent me of his supper, which was prepared for him by the village on the other side. The next day we went on, and ascended the low sandy hills to the south-west, which abound in the Egyptian pebble ; the road was after thought an uneven sandy desert, and we came to a vale bounded to the north by low hills that are made up entirely of oyster shells, with a very little red clay or earth between. I saw also much of that talc which is called Trichites. The oyster shells are large, and those at the top are dry and not changed in their quality, but many of those below and on the plain are petrified. We ascended another small height, and crossing a large sandy plain, we came to a sheik's tomb, and a watering place on a rising ground, and by a long descent arrived at Tamiea, at the end of the desert, where a

canal.

canal comes from the Nile, and runs into the Lake Mæris. This canal was very low and had little water in it; the mouth of it at the Nile, as I was informed, being almost filled up with a bank of sand; so that at Tamiea they have made a reservoir with strong brick walls above the canal, being a sort of a pond about half a mile round, to which the water is brought by a smaller canal that higher up branches out from a great one. Here the water is kept up for the use of the village, and to be conveyed to the high lands by two canals; but when the basin is full, and they have no need to draw it off, the water runs over in three sheets at the west end, and so falls into the great canal *. Having well considered this great work, we went on through a large sandy plain, having improved land to the west that is very poor, and producing bad crops, the corn being only sown, or coming up along by the furrows, where it has the benefit of the little water they can bring to it. The Arabs who came out to meet the cashif, exercised themselves all the way on horseback, by running after one another with the pike, in the usual way: when one has an advantage over another he engages, he turns short and rides away, the other pursuing him till he finds an opportunity to strike, and then he runs off in the same manner.

We came to the large village of Sennours, and went to the house of the governor of the place, where a great supper was prepared for the cashif; a coarse brown woollen cloth being spread near the whole length of the room, a heap of bread in cakes was laid all round it, and about ten dishes repeated six or seven times over were placed along the whole length of the room; as pilaw, a small sheep boiled whole, a lamb roasted in the same manner, roast fowls, many dishes of stewed meat in soup, sweet flummery, cabobs, or meat roasted in small pieces, that may be eat without dividing, and the like. The cashif sat at the head of the table, and all the great people sat down with him: I might have put myself in amongst them, but being determined not to do any thing without direction, I kept my seat on the sofa, and when the person got up at the right hand of the cashif, the cashif called to me to take his place, and shewed me great civility; which was more honourable than if I had placed myself lower at the table. The custom is for every one to get up as soon as he has done, wash his hands, and take a draught of water; and so there is a continual succession, till at last the poor come in and eat up all; for it is a custom with the Arabs never to set by any thing that comes to the table, so that when they kill a sheep, they dress it all, call in their neighbours and the poor to finish every thing, and afterwards live on bread, and their other mean fare. In the morning we had a very grand collation laid in the same manner, consisting of the best sort of bread, made with butter, fried eggs, honey, green salt cheese, olives, and several other small things.

We were here in the fruitful province of Arsinoe, which is said to have been the most beautiful spot in all Egypt †, being the only part of it that produced naturally the olive, which was cultivated by art in the gardens of Alexandria. Here with care they could make excellent oil; but neglecting the business, they made only an ill-favoured oil, probably by letting the olives hang too long, in order to make a greater quantity; it also produced wine, great plenty of corn and pulse, and whatever they pleased to sow. We pursued our journey, and came to Baiamout, where there cer-

* Strabo has an expression for continuing the water in this manner; *ταμειῶσαι*, and it is probable they called the head of water itself *Ταμινία*, that is, the place where they kept up the water, and distributed it out all over the country; and it is not unlikely that the village of Tamiea has its name from this.

† *Ἔστι δ' ὁ νομὸς ἑστῶν ἀξιολογηταίων τῶν ἀπαίων κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, καὶ τὴν καλίστην· ἐλαιόφυτός τε γὰρ μόνον ἐστὶ μεγάλους καὶ τεύχους δένδρεσι καὶ καλικάρποις· — οἶνον δὲ ἐκ ἐλέγου ἱερὴν σιτὸν τε καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ τ' ὅλα σπέρματα πάντα πάντα.* Strabo, l. xvi. p. 809.

tainly has been some considerable ancient city or buildings, it may be, some place dependent on Arsinoe, which was near. There are particularly to the north of the village, ruins on each side of the road, which I found to be of two pyramids. I should not have conjectured that they were pyramids, if I had not seen the corner of one remain; and they are called by the people the pyramids of Baïamout (Al-Harem Baïamout). They were built in a very particular manner, of large freestone, being solid buildings, at the corners and in the middle; and I suppose likewise in the middle of each side, there being some remains of one of the walls in one pyramid. It seems as if the two first tiers of stone were built on the foundation, and that the others between the solid buildings were laid from the wall to those buildings; there remain at present ten tiers of stone of the middle piles, of the other parts there is only one tier above ground: the stone was brought from a great distance, so this manner of building seems to have been contrived to save the expence of bringing the materials. I saw about this place, as well as on the spot of the ancient Arsinoe, near Faiume, the people sifting the sand in order to find seals and medals, there being no place in all the east where the former are found in such great abundance.* We went on and passed a deep bed of a canal, with broken banks on each side eight or nine feet high, a very small stream running in it. I here observed that the soil for about three feet from the top was black, under it was a layer of two feet of a yellow sandy soil, which I took notice of in a pit at Sennours; and moreover here the earth below is black, so that the lower black soil being the sediment of the Nile; at some time or other a hurricane of wind may have brought such a quantity of sand as to cover the country for two feet deep; which afterwards might be rendered fruitful again by the overflow of the river. We came to Faiume through the heaps of ruins of the ancient Arsinoe, crossing on a bridge the large canal, which runs along the north side of the new town.

Faiume is about two miles in compass, but very ill built, chiefly of unburnt brick. It is the place of residence of the cashif or governor of this province: several rich people live here, who have villages near belonging to them; there are also sixty Arabs of interest who live in the town, and have the title of sheiks, one of them being the head who has the greatest interest; and these all go to the divan of the cadî, which is held twice a year. The cadî is sent once a year from Constantinople, and has a substitute that constantly resides here, and is generally the same person; the cashif calls a divan whenever there is occasion. They have here a great manufacture of those mattings they lay on the floors of their rooms; they are also famous for making rose water, which is used by them in many things they eat, as well as to throw on the guests before the incense; and it is said also that they make coarse cloths, and cheap woollen stuffs, prepare leather, and those leathern bags in which they carry the water on the camels backs.

The Franciscans of the convent of Jerusalem have a small place here, coming under the notion of physicians, though they wear their habit. A tumult being raised against the Christians a year or two before, on account of one of them that killed a renegade, they broke open this convent and plundered it of every thing. The Copti church is four miles off, though there are many Christians in the town. They have vineyards in this country, mostly about two leagues to the west, and the Christians make very good white wine; they have also fine raisins, and the Mahometans make a syrup of the juice of the grape by boiling it, which they call becmes; it is used instead of sugar, and they bring it also to the table and dip their bread in it, which is a very agreeable food. The water of the canals in the month of February is a little salt and not good, and must be worse till the Nile rises. Whilst I was at Faiume it hailed and rained almost

all one morning, and rained very hard the night following, which is not looked on as an advantage, and often does harm; and as they told me causes a scarcity, the overflowing of the Nile being sufficient to water the country.

When I came to Faiume, I had an apartment given me in the cashif's house, and hoped to have seen things to great advantage; his people persuaded me to send back my horses, and promised I should be well furnished, but I found myself obliged to hire very bad horses at an extravagant price. They served for me a table every day in my own room, and sometimes the cashif sent for me to dine with him; when the drams went round very plentifully whilst we were eating, and the great man diverted himself by jesting with two or three that seemed to be with him as dependants, expecting some little government; for on such occasions, when they are in private, the Turks lay aside their gravity, and run into levity as much as the Europeans.

I went and examined the site of the ancient Arsinoe, to the north of the town, twelve miles and a half from the lake; it was first called the city of the crocodiles*, because they worshipped the crocodile there, which they bred up tame in the lake, of which Strabo who saw it gives a very extraordinary account. Diodorus gives two reasons for the rise of the worship of the crocodile; one that Menas, or Menes, one of the ancient Kings, the same who built the labyrinth, being pursued by his own dogs to this lake, was carried by a crocodile to the other side, and in gratitude built this city, and instituted divine honours to this animal, set apart the lake for its nourishment, where he built himself a sepulchre, a pyramid, and the labyrinth. I conjectured this city might have been about four miles in compass, and probably had a canal on every side of it. There are little remains of the city, except the great heaps of rubbish that are seen on all sides, and ruins of a wall of a round building, which seems to have been built of brick, but the east side of it was encrusted with such a sort of petrification as is seen on ancient aqueducts; the people say it was a bagnio, and possibly it might be some old building converted to that use. The country round is watered by a great number of canals, over which there are many bridges made of brick. They reckon their distances here by malakas, a measure of about half a league, or what one may travel easily in half an hour.

I went about three miles to the south-west, to a very particular obelisk of a red granite, called Aknud Bijige (the pillar of Bijige) from the village of Bijige near it; measuring four feet two inches on the north side, and six feet six inches on the east; it is forty-three feet high, each side of it divided by lines into three columns, that in the middle being a foot wide. I observed the manner in which the hieroglyphics are disposed; above these are four stories of men, six on each line, eighteen inches high, most of them having hawks heads, and the high cap; below, it is divided into fourteen columns of hieroglyphics, and the top is cut down in the middle about three inches from north to south. The obelisk is much decayed all round for ten feet high, but mostly on the south side; the west side is almost entirely defaced, and at the south-west and south-east corners, it is much broken for about twenty feet high, and the whole is very foul, on account of the birds that sit on the top of it; so that it would have been difficult to have taken off the hieroglyphics. We went on and came to a village called Gerod, where we visited the sheik of the village, who entertained us very civilly. We went on mostly through groves of young palm-trees, and came to Topar, where I saw a young woman sit by the road unveiled, which was a certain sign of the profession she

* Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ' ἑκατὸν σταδίων, πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀρσινόη. Κροκοδείλων δὲ πόλις ἑκατὸν το πρῶτον, σφύδρα γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος τῶν τιμῶν τῶν κροκοδείλων. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 811.

lived by. About the country are several vineyards, with the vines disposed in a very particular manner, which I shall describe in another place. Having passed the groves, we passed by corn fields, and afterwards over uncultivated land, and crossing the dry bed of a canal, we came to the large bed of Bahr-Joseph, which runs into the lake Mæris; it is about one hundred yards broad, with cliffs on the east side not less than forty feet high, and on the west about thirty; on the east side the black earth is about six or seven feet deep, and on the west it is from eight to twenty feet deep in different places, so that it is probable the canal did formerly overflow on that side; and after having continued to water the land by art, as they do at present, the ground may have risen more on this side than on the east: below this it is a sandy clay of a light yellow colour, and rock towards the bottom; the stream that run at this time was very shallow, and about fifty feet broad. This they told me was the only place to pass the canal, and that those who would go to the great pyramids to the south must come this way; though I have reason to believe that the canal is passable near the lake. The country to the west is called Nesle, and is improved for a league or two: and here I suppose the harvest is forwarder than in any part of Egypt, for on the 16th of February I saw barley of that year cut and threshed; the reason I suppose is, that they sow very early, before the Nile is at highest, that they may raise the water with less labour when it is so high; for at the cataract, so many degrees more to the south, the corn was but just in ear at the latter end of January.

The large village of Nesle is close by the river; and I went to the sheik's house, which is built about a court, and has a round turret at the north-west corner with cannon in it for their defence, as they are often in a state of war with the neighbouring Arabs. I had a letter to the sheik from the cashif, who was not at home; so we applied ourselves to the caimacam, who has little power here, and lives in fear; he agreed with one of the chief Arabs to send with me four Arabs on horseback, and a camel to carry water and provisions, for about the price of three guineas, and about four the next morning we set forward, and going about two hours to the north-west, we took a supply of water, and stayed to give the cattle grass. From this place the sandy plain begins; and travelling on, we saw a ruined castle at some distance to the east, called Cafr-Cophou; and further on such another, called Cafr-Cobal. It is remarkable that Ptolemy mentions the Cobii in the province Mareotis; a colony from which place might be settled here: to the west is a high single hill, appearing something like a pyramid, half built; it is called El-Herem-Medaiah-El-Hebgad. This I was told signifies the pyramid of the horse, though I cannot be informed of the true signification of the words. The first part of the desert is sandy, and afterwards in many parts it is a plain rocky ground, mostly covered over with sand.

We saw at a great distance the temple of the Labyrinth; and being about a league from it, I observed several heaps as of ruins covered with sand, and many stones all round, as if there had been some great building there; they call it the town of Caroon, (Bellet Caroon) it seemed to have been of a considerable breadth from east to west, and the buildings extended on each side towards the north, to the Lake Mæris and the temple: This without doubt is the spot of the famous Labyrinth, which Herodotus says was built by the twelve Kings of Egypt, when the government was divided into twelve parts, as so many palaces for them to meet in, to transact affairs of state and religion. Diodorus* mentions that it was built as a sepulchre for Mendes, and Strabo† that it was

* Τάφον δι' αὐτῆς καλεσκέσασιν τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον λαδύρινδον. Diodorus, l. i. p. 55.

† Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡ τῶν Λαδύρινδου καίλασκινῃ, πάρεσιν ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐν ἔργον, καὶ ὁ παρακείμενός τῷ καίλασκινάσιν βασιλεὺς τὸν Λαδύρινδον. Strabo, xvi. p. 811.

near the sepulchre of the King that built it; which was probably Imandes, perhaps the same as Mendes, whose sepulchre he after says * was here, and he is said to be the King that built the Labyrinth. Pomponius Mela speaks of it as built by Psammiticus; but as Menes, or Imandes is mentioned by several, possibly he might be one of the twelve Kings of greatest influence and authority who might have the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and as a peculiar honour, might have a sepulchre apart from the others. But whoever was the founder of this extraordinary fabrick, they all agree that the twelve palaces contained in them three thousand rooms, half of them under ground, without doubt cut out of the rock, as those at Thebes. There was no wood throughout the whole building, and the entrances and rooms were contrived in such a manner as that it would be impossible for a stranger to find his way out; and such an extraordinary building it was, that it is said Dædalus came to Egypt on purpose to see it, and built the Labyrinth in Crete for King Minos on the model of this. Herodotus with great admiration saw the upper story of the labyrinth, it not being permitted to go into the underground apartments, where were the tombs both of the Kings who built the labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. The whole building was covered with stone, doubtless laid on the many pillars that were in it; and it was adorned throughout with the finest sculptures.

Going over the spot of this famous building, the first thing I saw was a vase of a reddish stone or marble, with a solid handle on each side. Afterwards I came to the foundation of an oblong square building of the same kind of stone, about a quarter of a mile south of the great fabrick I shall give an account of. It is built on a kind of solid base and pedestal of stone, the semicircular pilasters have only one hewn stone at the bottom of the column, all above in the whole building being brick plaistered over; there are no pilasters in the front, but the base is continued on before the door-place, as if it was designed as a foundation of a portico; at the north end within there is a semicircular niche as to receive a statue: Whatever this building was, it seems to have been destroyed and repaired in this rough manner: and does not stand in a line with the temple, but rather a little to the west. I observed some unburnt bricks that were of yellow clay, and mixed with straw; all the others I had seen in Egypt being of a black earth. A little further, but more to the east, is an oblong square building of white hewn stone plaistered over, a sort of base and plinth ranges round, there being eight tiers of stone above this base, each eleven inches deep. Near this, a little to the north-west, is a very particular sort of rustic building that seems to have been a gateway: of this kind there is another to the north-west of the great building, where there seemed to be some remains of an arch, which would have made me doubt of its antiquity, if there had been evident signs of that kind of architecture. At length we came to the grand building itself, now called *Castr-Caroon* (the castle of Caroon). Herodotus mentions a pyramid at the corner of the labyrinth, and Strabo speaks of a sepulchre at the end of it, which was a square pyramid, in which he says Imandes was buried, which I conjecture to be this building, and that some sacred crocodiles were also deposited in it. Strabo † says it was four hundred feet square and high; Herodotus ‡, who mentions only a pyramid in general, speaks of it as two hundred and forty feet square. The present building is about one hundred sixty-five feet long, and eighty

* Ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ταύτης πλείον ἢ τὰδ' αὖ ἀπερχόμενος, ὃ τὰ φθ. ἐστὶ πυραμὶς τετραγώνου, ἰσάστη τετραπλευρὸν πως ἔχουσα τὴν πλειυρὰν καὶ τὸ ὑψ. ἴσον. Ἰμανδῆς δ' ὀνομα ἐταφεί. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 811.

† See the last note.

‡ Τῆς δὲ γούνης τελευτῶν τῆς Αε. Συζεύδου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαρακοντόγυυ, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλη ἐγγύλυνται, ἐξ ὧς δ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ γῆς πεικοπήσαι. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149.

broad. If these authors speak of the same building, it will be difficult to account for this difference in their measures, unless we suppose that Strabo might speak of a large enclosure of this sepulchre, though it will be difficult to conceive how it could be four hundred feet high, and gives reason to suspect that he confounded this building with the pyramid in the island. The portico is a very rustic work, almost all destroyed, being no where above six feet high; it is probable there were some apartments under it, from the remains of a flight of stairs on the east side of it. I should not have thought that it had been covered, if I had not seen the remains of pillars in the middle. The front is more ruined than any other part. The upper story in the middle is fallen down, and is entirely gone almost all the way from this break. As the building now remains, there are forty-four tiers of stone, each nine inches deep, and consequently it is thirty-three feet high. There are signs of a cornish ranging round, notwithstanding which the building might have been carried up higher. Small openings in the several parts of this building are not windows, but seem to be the places from which those pieces of brown marble or fine stone have been taken, which I saw to the north of the temple, adorned with a cornish at top that have some ornaments of sculpture, and in the middle a niche is cut, which seemed to be of such a size as would contain a marble head, and possibly they might have such an object of worship placed in these niches, representing every sacred crocodile that might be deposited in this place, as I shall shew I have reason to think they were.

The four rooms in the length of this building have door places crowned with double cornishes, together with ornaments of the winged globe. These rooms I suppose, before they were filled up with earth, were near twenty feet high, and are covered with large stones of such a length as to be laid from wall to wall; the narrow apartments at the further end might be to deposit some tombs in. Over each of them is a work like a false door adorned with cornishes; one of them being charged with sculptures of hawks. The passage from the cell to the west, leads up to the apartments by a hole that seems to be broke in. There I suppose were the places to deposit the sacred crocodiles in; one of which long cells is thirty feet by three feet, and the other seven feet by two feet; a way is broke up from the end of the long room to the apartments above. In the false door on each side of the entrance to the inner room below, is a niche cut in a shell at top; on each side of the four middle rooms are the apartments in the plan, and others between them and the upper floor. Those marked I ascended to by a hole on the right side of the first room, the passage from the stairs on the south end being stopped up. In these apartments there are several small niches in the sides of the walls, as there are in the rooms above; from them there is a broken passage to the upper floor, which is of a strong gravelly cement. The most extraordinary part of this building is a sort of a well descending from the upper story on the east side, that leads into the square well which one descends by holes on each side, as before described in other wells. There is such another opposite to the stairs at bottom. For what purpose these cells should serve, unless to deposit the crocodiles in, cannot well be conceived; for which end it is possible they might in building the wall, place some stones to be taken out in order to convey them in, which could not otherwise be done by this narrow well, and possibly they might be the stones at the niches mentioned on the outside.

There are many stones scattered about the plain near this building, especially several round ones with holes in the middle, which seem to have composed the pillars that might be about this building as well as others, and probably were fastened together in some manner by means of those holes.

The Lake Mæris * is about two miles from this building : Herodotus and Diodorus say it was four hundred and fifty miles round ; Pomponius Mela five hundred. The two former add that it was three hundred feet deep in some parts ; Strabo does not mention the size of it, but by passing over in silence this story, that it was made by a certain King, it is probable he did not give credit to it ; for the two other authors say it was made by King Mæris or Myris ; and Diodorus † affirms that he made also the canal to it ten miles long and three hundred feet broad, which seems to be meant of the canal to the east end by Taniea, though that is longer ; and the great river of Joseph I passed over, which cannot run less than forty or fifty miles from the Nile, is about the breadth mentioned by these authors, and seems to have been originally not less than twenty feet deep. Herodotus, when he viewed this lake, might well be surpris'd at the account they gave him that it was made by art, and had reason to ask them what they did with the earth they dug out ; but seems to have too much credulity to be satisfied, when they told him that they carried the earth to the Nile, and so it was washed away by the river ; for it was very extraordinary to carry such a vast quantity of earth above ten miles from the nearest part of the lake, and fifty or sixty from the further parts, even though they might contrive water carriage for a great part of the way. This I should imagine a thing beyond belief, even if the lake were not larger than it is at present ; that is, it may be fifty miles long, and ten broad. Another thing is mentioned also, which at first view seems very improbable ; and that is, that the water run into the lake from the Nile for six months of the year, and for the other six months run back again into the Nile ‡, which I think can only be accounted for by supposing that the water entered the lake six months both by the canal of Joseph, and also by the canal at the east end of the lake ; and that it continued to run in by the canal of Joseph for the greater part of the other six months, but at the same time emptied itself by the canal to the east, the bed of which during that time might be higher than the water of the Nile in that part, when it was so low ; as it must be supposed to be much lower there than at the mouth of the canal of Joseph ; so that I suppose the water began to come in at both canals, after it had begun to rise for about a month, and for about four months after the waters began to abate. And I myself saw a small stream running into the lake by the great canal in the month of February, when the Nile is very low. It is mentioned that the design of the lake was to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off such a quantity of water, when it was apprehended that there might be an inundation sufficient to hurt the land ; till which time the gates were doubtless kept shut, and when the flow was moderate, they might not be opened until such time as the country was sufficiently overflowed. I suppose therefore that originally there was a great outlet of the Nile this way, it may be into the sea by the valley called Baher-Bellomah, or the sea without water, which extends from the west end of this lake near as far as the sea ; that finding the country was not sufficiently overflowed, they stopped the mouth of it to the sea, which caused this great lake ; that afterwards the mouth of the canal or river by which the water flowed being accidentally stopped up, all the lake became dry, giving occasion for the tradition

* See the quotations in the geographical dissertation, in the last chapter of the last book.

† Διέφυγα μὲν ἐκ τῆς ποταμῆς καὶ σκευάσεν εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἡγοῦντο δὲ μὲν σκευάσαι τὸ μῆκος, περιέλεθρον δὲ τὸ πλάτος. Diodorus, l. i. p. 48.

‡ Ἐξ μὲν μηνῶς ἴσω ῥέει εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἔξ δὲ μηνῶς ἕξω εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἵπταν μὲν ἐκείνῃ ἕξω ἦδε, τότε τῶς ἔξ μηνῶς εἰς τὸ βασιλῆϊον καὶ αἰάλλου ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἑκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων ἵπταν δὲ ἰσὶν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς αὐτὴν, ἅκοσι μνίας. Herodotus l. ii. c. 100.

that the spot of the lake was formerly all a plain or fields * ; that the country afterwards being much incommoded by innundations, Mæris opened this mouth, cleaned this canal, put floodgates, and it may be in some parts towards the entrance, sunk the lake lower, and that this might give rise to the tradition that he made the lake. At this time the lake was very much retired within its banks. We went along on the south side to the east at some distance from it, and I could not persuade the Arabs to go to the lake; so I left them and went alone; but seeing I was determined to go, after some time they sent one of their company to attend me, and came themselves towards the lake to meet me. There is a gentle descent to the banks of the lake, which are broken, and of a black soil; it was then half a mile from the bank to the water, first on a stony ground, and then on a deep slimy mud incruited at top with a thin cake of salt. I waded along through it with much difficulty, and came to the water, which is almost as salt as the sea, and of a disagreeable muddy taste; it contracts these qualities from the nitre that is in the earth, and from the salt that is every year left on the mud; it is observed that the water is not so salt towards the parts where it enters from the Nile. I saw no sort of shells on the banks of the lake; and it is said it has no fish in it, but such as are found in the Nile. They catch the fish in great quantities, especially when the lake is low, and bring them to Faiume market, where they are sold very cheap. As I think this lake is never entirely dry, so it is probable they always throw in what small fish they find, and great quantities coming in with the Nile water, may be the reasons why the lake so much abounds in fish as it did formerly, which brought in a great revenue to the Kings of Egypt. On the other side of the lake, what they told me was the island, appears like a head of land setting out into the lake in a semicircular figure with white clits, and a height above, which possibly might be the lower part of those two pyramids, which are said† to have been built in it by Mæris for himself and his Queen, and were six hundred feet high, three hundred feet being under the water. A colossal statue sitting was placed on each of them. It is difficult to go to this island, as their boats are very bad, and there would be great danger if the wind should rise. I saw some large buildings north of the lake; they said there was a convent at that place, called Der-El-Harakatemy; but the buildings seemed to me to be some remains of antiquity, which might be converted into a monastery. They mentioned also a place called Ryan, to the south-west of the lake, and said there were some pyramids near it; though I gave more credit to what they said of a lake called Birk-Al-Garich, near a day's journey to the west, because other travellers have had the same account. I observed about this lake several roots in the ground, that seemed to me to be the remains of vines, for which the country about the lake was formerly famous. Where there is little moisture in the air, and it rains so seldom, wood may remain sound a great while, though it is not known how long these vineyards have been destroyed.

The common people here have strong traditions about Caroon; they say he was a King, and had keys to his treasures that loaded two hundred camels. One would imagine from this that the fable of Charon might have its rise here, and that this name might be the title of the chief person who had the care of the Labyrinth, and of the sepulchres in and about it, and kept the keys of these numerous apartments; that no one could be buried in these places unless orders were sent to him, who might have the care and inspection of the public funerals; and their Kings might some of them be carried over to the island, or be brought by water to this place, under the direction of this great

* See quotation in geographical dissertation, in the last chapter of the last book.

† Ἐν μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μέγιστα κη ἱεῶσι δύο πυραμίδες τῇ ὕδατι ὑπερέχουσαι· πινυτήκοια ὄργυια; ἑκατέρῃ καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατι οἰκοδόμηται ἑτέρον τοσούτον. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 149.

officer, who when princes had behaved ill, might be forbid to inter them, as judges were appointed to determine whether the person were worthy of burial. It is possible they might give some token, the obolus, to signify to the proper officer that they might have sepulchral honours done to them; and this lake might be called Acherusia, and the name be afterwards given to other places passed over for the same purpose; as Diodorus observes the lake at Memphis was so called, who gives a particular account of the whole ceremony*. Possibly this at first might be the practice only with regard to their princes carried across this lake to the island, and in time might come to be extended farther to all people in general, who were not to be admitted to have the honour of interment, unless they brought with them a clear reputation, the token, the tessera or obolus that was to waite them to the Elysian fields.

Turning to the south, when we were above a league from Casr-Caroon, we went about two leagues up a gentle ascent, and came to the high ground where there is a ruined convent of unburnt brick, many ruins of the same materials, and several heaps of potsherds and rubbish, as if there had been a large town in that place. About two leagues further we came to the cultivated land, and stopping a while to refresh our cattle, went a league and a half further to the Nefle, where the caimacam invited us to his house; and I went to repose, very much fatigued with this expedition of eighteen hours in perpetual motion. The caimacam was very solicitous about a present of colicæ I was to send him from Faiume, and attended me the next day within a few miles of that town with his Arabs and slaves, who diverted themselves in the road in riding after one another in their manner. When we had passed Topar, we left the road to the south that we came in, and the great man sitting down to repose, we left him, and soon came to Sambour, and from that place to Faiume. When I was at Nefle, I treated with the Arabs to conduct me to the two great pyramids of Davara, which I saw, as I suppose, ten or twelve miles south of Faiume; but being to the south of the great canal, they informed me that this was the only way to them. They demanded so extravagant a price, that I concluded they did not care to go, and they assured me there would be much danger in the voyage, as they might chance to fall in with their enemies, in which case they told us they must fly and leave us to be plundered. At the distance I was at, I could not well discern what sort of pyramids they were; they appeared like two hills, being probably much decayed. They assured me that the materials they are built of is of unburnt brick. A person who viewed them near, if he may be credited, describes one of them as built with three stories of arched niches all round.

I set out for Cairo with the caravan, and went the first day to Tamia, where we lay in the yard of a cane under my tent; there being no rooms, except a few huts inhabited by public harlots. We went the next day a long journey without stopping to Dakhour; from which place I went the day after to Saccara, as mentioned before, and so arrived at Grand Cairo.

* Diodorus, l. i. p. 82, 86.

BOOK II.

FROM GRAND CAIRO TO THE ANCIENT ETHIOPIA, ABOVE THE CATARACT OF THE NILE, AND BACK TO CAIRO AND DAMIATA.

CHAP. I. — *Of Archomoundin, Gaua, and other Places in the way to Akmim.*

HAVING determined to make the voyage of Upper Egypt, the consul procured me letters from the great Sheik Osman Bey (who was Sheik-Bellet, or head and protector of the Arab race) to the Bey of Girge, to the Prince of Akmim, and to the great sheik at Fushout. I provided every thing as for a long voyage; stores of coffee, rice, tobacco, soap, red shoes of the Arabs, and several other things for presents, and took care to have sufficient arms for our defence. I had the good fortune to meet with a boat of the Prince of Akmim, and to be recommended to Malim Soliman who was going in it, a very worthy Catholic Copti, for whom I shall always have the utmost regard. He was the chief person in managing the affairs of that prince, although he would never accept of any office under him, thereby prudently avoiding the danger of having his family ruined, it having been the custom of these princes, as it is much all over Turkey, to seize on what is got in their service, when any of their officers die, being only (as they say) taking their own again: and though he might have been secure by the goodness of the present prince, yet his family might have a harder fate under another, from whom he might not hereafter be able to withdraw himself. It was thought proper I should take on me a name that the people are used to, so it was agreed that I should be called Joseph, with the usual title of Christians in this country, malim or master. I had also let my beard grow, and put myself exactly in the habit of a Copti, with the black ferjee or gown of ceremony, and had a large blue and white towel or handkerchief loose about my neck, hanging down before, and on other occasions a large sheet of the same kind, which is brought round the body and over the head; not without the blue garment or shirt, which is put on over all, to go out with at any time in disguise with the boatmen. In this manner I set out with my servant and dragoman, or interpreter. On the 6th of December 1737, about noon, we embarked in a small hired boat, the vessel we were to go in to Akmim having left the port, and gone half a day's journey up the river, for fear of being pressed to carry the soldiers to Rosetto, which the Grand Signior had sent for to Constantinople, to go to the war against the Emperor and the Muscovites. Setting out, I was shewn on the height which is to the south of the narrow eastern plain, a ruined tower which they call the tower of King Antar. They have also a tradition of some buildings of this King on the side of Babylon; but who he was I could not be informed, being probably some King of Egypt, who goes by another name in history*. Before we came to this place, we had Osman to the west. About this place possibly might be Acanthus, where Strabo† seems to say there was a temple of Osiris, and a wood of Thebaick acantha, which produced gums. This probably was acacia, the Thebaick acantha or bush; and it is not improbable that the city itself had its name from this wood. This tree is very

* Diodorus, l. i. p. 82. 86.

† Μετὰ δὲ Μίμῳν Ἀκανθος πόλις ἰσχυρὴ ὡς ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, καὶ τὸ τῷ Ὀσίριδι ἱερὸν, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀκάνθης ἄλσος τῆς Θεβαϊκῆς, ἐξ ἧς τὸ κόμμυ. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 809.

common in Egypt, under the name of fount, and is much the same as the acacia called *cyale*, in Arabia Petraea, which I am informed produces the gum Egyptian, or Arabic. At night we came up to the great boat at Turphaier, which is on the isle that I suppose to be the great isle of Heracleopolis*, made by a canal crossing from this great river to the old bed of the Nile under the hills. This western channel the people call the Old Channel at this time, which confirms what I have said in another place on this subject.

The large boats, called *marishes*, such as we embarked on, have a mast about the middle, and another towards the prow; they cover part of the boat with matting, by means of poles set up an end, with others tied across at the top of them, under which shelter the people sit and repose all night. On the 7th we went on with a gentle wind, having had a view of the pyramids of Saccara and Dashour, to the north-west from Turphaier. We passed by many villages, and coming to Stalhitch on the east, I saw on the west side opposite to it, at some distance, what appeared to me at first like a small high hill with a ruin on it, something in the shape of a pyramid. They assured me that not only the upper part, but the whole which appears like a hill, is built; the Christians call it the great pyramid (Al-Herem-Kiebir), but the Mahometans call it the false pyramid (Al-Herem Elkadab). To go to it, they say, one may land at Elououd, but the most convenient place is Righah, from which it is half a day's journey; that is, I suppose, about ten miles. To go to this pyramid, it is necessary to have a man from the sheik of this country, called Elkebery, who lives at Mocanan. I imagine that this is a small hill, probably artificial, and that it may have been cased with stone, or unburnt brick; I think they said the latter, and that what appears at top is a pyramid of an extraordinary figure built on it. We arrived at Righah that night, where we staid; it being the custom going up always to lie by at night, as there are many shoals in the Nile, and travellers always lie in the boat, and keep a watch to defend themselves against any attack, or to hinder people from coming privately to the side of the boat, as they sometimes do, and steal any thing they can conveniently find. It is said, with what truth I know not, that sometimes the rogues have come to plunder boats with their naked bodies besmeared all over with oil or grease, that if the boatmen should attempt to lay hold of them, they might the more easily slip out of their hands. On the 8th, there being very little wind, we went ashore on the east, at the convent of St. Anthony: here, as in most of the convents of Egypt, the priests are seculars, so that they live in the convent with their wives and children. Several of them were employed in bringing stones to repair their convent, and thinking we were officers come to demand the poll tax, when we asked how many there were in the convent, they acknowledged no more than those we saw; but when they were undeceived, they shewed us their convent with much humility, and it was proper that we should leave some charity, as they are very poor. The convent is encompassed with a wall to defend them against robbers; they have a tolerable church, and they shew several things relating to St. Anthony, who they say went from this place into the desert by the Red Sea, and was there the first founder of the monastic life. They told us they expected their bishop that day to officiate in their church; for the bishops here spend most of their time going round their district officiating in their churches, and collecting the dues that belong to themselves and the patriarch. There are no churches about the country but what are called monasteries, because probably few except those of the

* "Ἡ3' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης νομός ἐν τῇσι μεγάλῃ. Ibid. Heracleopolites est insula Nili, longa passuum quinquaginta mille, in qua est oppidum Herculis appellatum. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxvii. c. 5.

monasteries were suffered to remain. As crocodiles are hardly ever seen so low as this, they are very fond of stories that they can go no lower, and that if they come so far they turn on their backs. They relate the same of St. George's convent much lower, some pretending to attribute this to their faith, others to talismans.

We came up with the isle and large village or town of S'cent, and soon after to a small sandy island opposite to Benadi, where I saw a little crocodile, being the first we had met with. We came to a town called Bouche, on the canal which goes to Faume; it is probable that this was Ptolemis, the port of Arsinoe mentioned by Ptolemy*. We came after to Benefuel, which is a town about a mile round, very ill built, of unburnt brick; it is the capital of a province of that name, and here a sangisk or bey resides. They have great manufactures of a striped narrow carpet stuff without napp, made of wool and coarse thread. They are used by inferior people to cover the cushions of sofas; they make also coats for their children of this stuff without sleeves, being woven so as to serve for that purpose without being cut.

We passed by Berangieh, where there is a small hill to the south, called Coum-el-Arab, and to the north of it are several small hillocks, so that probably this was an ancient place, and for that reason as well as the situation, I suppose it to be Cynopolis†, the capital of a province of that name, in which Anubis was worshipped, and dogs were had in great honour, and a certain sacred food was allotted to them. It is said the rite of this was owing to Anubis, a companion of Osiris, his wearing as an emblem of his courage, the dog's skin for armour, as Macedon his other companion wore the skin of a wolf; on which account some say these animals came to be worshipped: and this seems the more probable, as these deities are represented with human bodies, with the heads of these beasts, which might have its rite from their bringing the upper part of the skins over their heads; as Hercules is represented with the skin of a lion as well as those who desired to be thought like him‡. We passed by Bibah, a little town where there is a convent of St. George; we after came up with the large isle of Fetne, which is a very fruitful spot; it was planted with melons and cucumbers, in rows about six feet apart, with the canes of Turkey wheat stuck in obliquely over them to defend them from the weather, and in some parts a sort of rush or grafs called lese is set along in a trench over the young plants; which sort of grafs they likewise use to make ropes in this country. Here we lay by at night, and another boat having fastened to the east side, they shot at a man that was coming towards it, as they supposed, to steal something, who as they told me, went off crying out as if he had been wounded, and the boat moved over to the west, which is always the safer side. To this place the hills on the east side coming near the river, the country is very little inhabited above the convent of St. Anthony; and those that are on the east side are mostly Arabs, who submit to no government, inasmuch that when I returned, the boatmen made an express agreement that they should not be obliged to go to any place on the east, but where they pleased.

On the ninth we had little wind, and lay by about noon at the port of Fetne; we proceeded on our voyage and went by Sharony on the east. I observed stones along

* Ἀρσινόη καὶ ἄρα τῇ Πτολεμαίᾳ. Ptol. l. iv. c. 5.

† Ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Κυνεπολίς, ὅπου καὶ Κυνὸν πόλις ἐν ᾗ ὁ Ἄνουβις τιμᾶται, καὶ τοῖς κυσὶ τιμὴ καὶ στίσις τίτανται τῆς ἡμέρας. Strab., l. xviii. c. 812.

‡ Τῶ δ' ἐν Ὀσίριδι συνεκείνηται νότις Ἀντίον τε καὶ Μακεδόνα, διαφέροντες ἐνδύειν ὁμοίους, δὲ χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐπιστημάτων ὅτις ἀπὸ τῶν ζώων ἐκείνων τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὐτολμία τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἄνουβιν περιένδει αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνα λυγρὴν προτομήν· ὡς δ' αἰτίας καὶ τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα τιμᾶσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις. Diodorus, l. i. p. 16. See also p. 77. for other reasons given for this worship.

the shore, which seemed to be the ruins of a very thick wall of a port or quay; I likewise saw two little hills, one above a mile south of the other, and to the east of the southern hill is another, which seemed to have had some buildings on it. These hills and the ruins I saw, made me conjecture that some ancient town might be here; and it agrees best with the situation of *Musæ* of the itinerary. We stopped all night a little above a small town called *Abou-girge*, which is a bishop's see: this I suppose to be *Oxyrinchus*, capital of the province of that name, so called from a fish * they worshipped all over Egypt, but principally in this place, where they had a temple built to this deity; for there were several animals, which though they were particularly honoured in some places, yet were worshipped throughout all Egypt; as the *lepidotus* or scaly fish, the hawk, and the ibis, the bull, the dog, and the cat †. Here they said we were a third part of the way to *Akmin*, which is about three degrees and a half from *Cairo*. On the ninth I saw many Arabs at a distance on horse-back on the west side, and going a little way from the boat, one of them made towards me, and another after him; I retired to the boat, and they came pretty near and took a view of us. We passed by *Aboufagat-Benifama* on the east; there is a large house near, which belonged to *Sara Cassif*, who as they told me, fled to this place out of *Cairo*, when they assassinated eight of their beys at once in a visit they were making in 1730; he returned after to *Cairo*, and lay hid in the house of a Christian; but a strict search being made after him, he fled towards the Red Sea, where as they told me, he married a sheik's daughter, and was at that time in arms. It was now the time of the Turkish *Ramadan*, or fast, so called from the month in which it is kept; and it was very hard on the boatmen to tow up the bark, as they were obliged to do when we had no wind; for during this month they are not allowed to eat, drink, smoke, or take any pleasure from sun rising to sun set; and as a Turkish month happens at all times of the year in the term of two or three and thirty years, it is a great hardship on the poor, who are obliged to work in the summer, and are only allowed to wash their mouths with water; but they pass the night in feeding and pleasure, if they can afford it. The first thing they take after this fast is a draught of water, then they smoke, drink their coffee, and make their great meal; after midnight they take another plentiful repast and go to sleep; but those who have nothing to do, sit up all night and sleep the greater part of the day, so that this fast does not prove in the least inconvenient to them. When we passed by this place, the Arabs called to the master of the boat to come ashore and give them some tobacco, who answered, in order to frighten them, that the janizaries in the boat would give them tobacco; but as we had a dinner preparing, and they saw the smoke, they replied in their cool manner, that the janizaries were dressing dinner, intimating that by this they knew we were Christians. On this we all shewed ourselves in the habits of Mahometans, and so they went away; however it was a caution to us for the future, not to discover by this means that there were Christians on board, which might have encouraged the Arabs to make an attempt upon us. On the eleventh we made very little way. I observed on the west side, the bank within the bed of the river was sowed all the way to the water. In the night they saw a man swimming towards the boat, but calling out he returned to the shore; for they frequently come in the night, and hanging on the side of the boat, steal any thing they can most conveniently lay their hands on, whilst the people are asleep. On the twelfth we came to the hills on the east, that end at the river, part of them having

* Ὁξύρινγχιος πύλις, καὶ νομὸς ἐμώνιμος; τιμᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ὁξύρινγχον, καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ; ἱερὸν Ὁξύρινγχε. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 512.

† Strabo, *ibid*.

the name of Codrickshan. The men being obliged to tow, I went ashore there, and observed that several grottos were cut all over the mountains, which were without doubt the sepulchres of the people on the west side of the river. I saw also what I took to be the bed of a canal cut in between the hills, which possibly might be to convey water to the east: all these hills are rocks of petrified shells, mostly the cockle, and some flat shell, and also several large oyster shells. To the south of these hills is a fine spot of ground belonging to a village of the Arabs in the middle of it, called Ceresia; it is finely improved, and they have tobacco there, which I was informed is not good. We came to a town called Samateur, where there is a mosque with a minaret, the only one I had seen since I had left Cairo. That night our boat stopped about eight o'clock, and then went on a little farther about nine, which I supposed was to avoid any danger by staying in a place where people might observe we had halted in the evening. On the thirteenth we came to the hills on the east, which are close to the river, and are called Jebel Ockleir, because it is a great harbour for all sorts of birds: there are many grottos in it, and on the top of it is a convent which has lands; but they are obliged to receive and entertain every body that comes.

On the fourteenth we had a good wind, and passed by Minio on the west, a neat town in comparison of the others, and the residence of the cashif of the province of that name; higher we passed Souadi, a small town to the east.

We came up with the ruined city of Antinoopolis, now called Jénfinch: some say there was anciently a city here called Befa; but Antinous, who accompanied Hadrian into Egypt, being drowned there, that Emperor built this city, and called it after the name of his favourite, to whom he instituted games and divine honours: it was made also the capital * of a new province of that name, taken out of the last of the seven provinces, called Heptanomis. It is said the city was three or four miles round. I saw a large pillar with a Corinthian capital, and a square stone or plinth on the top, which was probably to set some statue on; it is said there were four of these. I had also a view of a very fine gate of the Corinthian order, of exquisite workmanship. Near this place is a village of Christians, called Ebadic, whose greatest security, among such very bad people, seems to be a notion that has prevailed, that no Mahometan can live in that place. Higher is the convent of St. John (Der-Abou-Fnnis) where there are several priests; and a little further on is Meloui, near a mile to the west of the river. This town is about a mile round, and makes a tolerable appearance within, the shops being well built; it is at the head of nine villages, which are altogether a small principality belonging to Mecca; so that the Emir-Hadge, who is commonly one of the greatest beys, and has the care of conducting the caravan to Mecca, is master of it, and sends a fardar to govern the country, who lives in as much state as the cashifs and other great governors. As this is a place of great honour and profit, so it is commonly given to one of the greatest people of those that have been slaves to the Emir-Hadge. This place supplies Mecca with three hundred and ninety thousand adeps or sacks of corn every year, which is sent by way of Cairo, Suez, and the Red Sea, it being a very rich corn country. The Christians have no church, but are obliged to go to the convent on the other side.

About three miles north of Meloui, is the village of Archemounain: there is a large country here which also goes by that name. This village is on the ruins of an old city, which I suppose to be the ancient Hermopolis†; or, which is all the same, as Pliny calls it,

* 'Απὸ δὲ ἀναλῶν τῶ πάλαι Νομός Ἀλινόιτης ἢ καὶ μετρόπολις ἐπ' αὐτῇ Ἀλινόα πόλις. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

† Εἴτα Ἑρμοπολίτης Νομός καὶ μετρόπολις, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῶ πάλαι μεσόγειοι Ἑρμῆπολις μεγάλη. Καὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν τῶ πάλαι παρακαλεῖται μετὰ φυλακαί. Ptol. ibid.

the city of Mercury. It seemed to have been of an irregular form, extending above a mile from east to west, and more than half a mile from north to south, and is near two miles from the river. Little appears but heaps of rubbish all over the site of the old city, except a grand portico of an ancient temple, consisting of twelve pillars, six in a row, nine feet diameter; there are hieroglyphics on every part both of the pillars and of the stones laid on them. I saw on the pillars some remains of paint, and the ceiling is adorned with stars; on several parts there are figures of pyramids, as with a door to them, which Kircher interprets to be (ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων) the good principle; a person sitting, and one offering to him; cut in several parts of the frieze. It appears that the pillars have been built up for about half way between, as in many Egyptian temples. About two hundred paces to the south, I saw some large stones, and a piece of a pillar standing upright, which may be the remains of some building belonging to this temple. I saw also some pieces of granite pillars among the heaps of ruins. I was informed that about a league to the south-west of these ruins, there is a place called Hoar, which from the name one may conjecture to be about the site of the ancient castle of Hermopolis *, on the south side of the great canal, where they took custom of every thing that came out of the Thebaid; it being the first place without that country; as the Theban † castle on the other side was the first place on the Thebaid; which must have been at Taroutoscherif; the provinces of Hermopolis and Antinoopolis being the last before the entrance into the Thebaid. I was also informed that when the waters of the Nile begin to be low, there is no current in this great canal called Baher-Joseph, but that there is always some standing water in it. They told me also that Mount Bibian is about two hours west of this canal; that it was a high hill, I suppose between the mountains, and that there are some ruins there. It was in my return I saw these antiquities. Going up, we stopped only about an hour near Meloui, whilst the master of the boat went to see one of his families who lived here.

We sailed on, and observed a great number of grottos cut in the mountains all the way from Souadi to Manfalouth. Near opposite to this last place where the hills retire to the east, I saw a building on them covered with a dome, which I thought might have been a convent; but they told me it was some old ruined building. I observed that there are several narrow openings into the mountains. About this place I saw great ruins of walls built with unburnt brick, from the river up the side of the hills; they told me they were made by the Kings of Egypt, when the Turks invaded this country, though I should rather have thought they had been built by the Arabs, when they might have had wars with one another. A little further is a convent cut out of the rock; the church of it is served by a priest that comes from Manfalouth. We passed by that town, which I suppose to be Lycopolis, the chief city of a province of that name, in which they paid an extraordinary devotion to the wolf. Some authors mention a fabulous foundation for it, because when the Ethiopians invaded Egypt, they say they were driven back to Elephantine, on the borders of Ethiopia by wolves: Other reasons also are given for this extravagant worship ‡.

Manfalouth is a mile from the river, and above a mile round; it is tolerably well built; a cashif resides here who governs this province: it is also a bishop's see, and

* 'Εξῆς δ' ἐστὶν Ἑρμοπολίτικη φυλακή, τελώνιον τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θεβαίδος καταφερομένων· ἐνέειναι ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐκπολιτασθάνων. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 813. Here it is to be observed that the Greek measure by schœni consisted of sixty stadia each, from this place up to Siene, and from Memphis to this place, they were schœni of one hundred and twenty stadia, as lower they were only of thirty stadia. See Strabo, l. xvii. p. 804.

† Εἶτα ἡ Θεβαϊκή φυλακή. Strabo, xvii. p. 813.

‡ Diodorus, i. p. 79.

there are about two hundred Christians in the place ; but their church is at some distance at Narach, where the common people have a notion the holy family staid till the death of Herod. The Nile here is so deep, and there are so few shallows, that we failed all night, and on the fifteenth we passed by Sciout, about two miles from the river, which I went to in my return ; it is finely situated on a height that may have been made by art, divided into three parts, being highest at each end ; it is in the middle of a very fine country. There is a large lake by the town, which is filled from the Nile by a canal, over which there is a bridge of three high Gothic arches. There are also several pleasant gardens without the town, which stretches about two miles from the south-east to the north-west, and is well built ; and it may be reckoned among the best cities in Egypt : a cashif resides here, who governs this province of Sciout ; there are about five hundred Christians in the town, and a bishop ; but their church is a league off, the hills to the east being about that distance, and are cut into a great number of grottos. This I suppose to have been Antæopolis, capital of the province of that name, so called from Antæus, who was overcome by Hercules * ; and Diodorus says that Osiris committed to his care the countries of Ethiopia and Lybia. This place answers also to the account of Ptolemy †, who places it at some distance from the river.

We saw Aboutig near a mile to the west of the river ; it is a pretty large town, and a bishop's see ; I suppose it to be Hypsele of the ancients. Near the town we saw the encampment of an Arabian sheik, who commands this country. These governors often go round their territories, encamping near towns and villages, in many of which they have houses. This method they take in order to collect the tributes that are paid to them, which are mostly in cattle. Above Aboutig is the port that belongs to the city called Nackele, and almost opposite to it is the country of Seling, consisting of several villages. To the north-east of the most southern village, are two small hills, where I imagined there might have been some ancient town ; and from the name one would conclude it was Selinon, supposing the distance of sixteen miles in the itinerary from Panopolis or Akmin, to be a mistake for six and thirty. In the evening we came to Gaua-Kiebre, which may be the Passalon of Ptolemy, the last place in the province of Antæopolis, though the distances do not well agree. There is here a very beautiful portico of a temple of eighteen pillars, in three rows, (see a print in the original work) ; they have a particular capital, and the columns are enriched with hieroglyphics beyond any that I have seen in Egypt. The manner also in which a wall is built up against the pillars in the front, as for so many door places, is altogether singular. There is an imperfect Greek inscription in the frieze, the middle stone of the inscription being fallen down, and lies on the ground. It appears to have been a very magnificent building, not only from the portico, but from the vast stones that are seen about it ; one I found to be twenty-one feet long, eight broad, and four deep, another thirty feet long, and five broad. Behind the portico, at some distance is a stone shaped like the top of an obelisk. There is a niche on one side of it, which might be for a statue, and hieroglyphics are cut on it. On the sixteenth we came to the territories of the Prince of Akmin, which begin at Raigny. Near this place is the grotto of the famous serpent called Heredy, mentioned by travellers. On the seventeenth we arrived at Akmin.

* Diodorus, i. p. 18.

† Μετρόπολις Ἀνταίου μεσούρη. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

CHAP. II. — *Of Akmim, and the Places near it.*by
he

AKMIM is about a mile to the east of the river, on a little height that seemed to have been raised by art, a canal of water from the river going round most part of the town when the Nile is high. I suppose it ~~have~~ have been Panopolis, famous of old for working in stone, and for the linen manufactures, and at present they make coarse cottons here. It appears plainly from Diodorus, that this is the city which is called Chemmis by Herodotus †, who mentions that Pan accompanying Osiris, on that account was deified; and particularly worshipped in this city. Herodotus says Chemmis was near Neap, as it was the next city to it of any consequence on the east side, and speaks of a temple and games instituted to Perseus here, whose ancestors they pretend went from this city into Greece. It is now the place of residence of the Prince of Akmim, who has the title of emir or prince, and is as a sheik of the country. The family came there three generations past from Barbary, and managed so as to become governors of a little territory, by renting the land of the Grand Signior, according to custom. It is like the other Arab towns, except that the streets are wider; the houses are all built of burnt brick, but all the rest of bricks that are only dried in the sun. I went to the convent of the Franciscan missionaries, being recommended to them by the prefect. I dined and supped with them in their hall, and the first day many of the orthodox Copts came to see me, there being about two thousand Christians in and about the town, two hundred of which they told me were converts to the church of Rome. They have a large room in the convent, where as many of their people as please there come every night, and one of the fathers is obliged to attend to discourse with them and to answer any questions they ask.

I went with my friend Malim Soliman to wait on the prince, with a letter from Croco-Bey, and a present of several vases of glass; he was dressed in the Turkish habit; and after the Arab fashion, and received me with great civility. This prince is much loved by his subjects, especially the Christians, who are on a very good footing at this place, as they were likewise in the time of his father, which is thought to be the mother of this prince, who had been a Christian slave, and it is conjectured that in her heart she always retained her religion, for as long as she lived, she sent a priest to the convent every week; and this prince was thought to be much inclined to that way, having, as they say, shewn some marks of devotion when he was young. The missionaries came here at first under the character of physicians to the Corinthians, and were received by the father, as well as by this prince, into their palaces: but some years ago was accused to the government above, as if he was become a Christian; the five hundred soldiers were sent to bring him to Cairo, but escaping to the mountains he took with him the three missionaries that were there; and having friends in the mountains after some time the soldiers were recalled, and he returned to his capital. The remains of the died suddenly about a year after, greatly lamented by his people. I went to the small remains of antiquity that are about the town, and found to the north of the church.

me other

* Πανών πόλις, λίαν γὰρ καὶ λαθρογῶν κατεκεία σπασαία. Strabo, l. vii. p. 813.

† Τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἐγχωρίας μόνον ἀγάλματα πιστοποιεῖται κατὰ τὸν ἑρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἱππῶνται κατὰ here is a
καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Χίμμις ἢ Χεμμῶ, μετεμμενόμενῃ δὲ Πανὸς πόλιν. Diodorus, i. 1, 16. s of the

‡ Ἐπὶ δὲ Χίμμις πόλις μεγάλη τομὴ τῶν Θεβαίων ἰσχυρὸς Νινὴ πόλις. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσίδων· adorned
τετραγώνων. Herodotus, ii. c. 91.

Herodotus says that this city was the Nomos of Thebes, which probably in his time extended on each
and the provinces of Coptos and Panopolis might be afterwards taken out of it.

an ancient temple, of which there is little to be seen, except four very large stones that near a hollow ground, out of which it is probable they dug the other stones of the temple. One of them, more remarkable than the rest, is about eighteen feet long out the ground, one end of it being under a modern building; it is eight feet wide, and six feet deep, and has a Greek inscription on it, in which the name of Tiberius Claudius Nerva Traianus is mentioned, and some remains, as I take it, of the name of the been. On another side of the stone is a very extraordinary sculpture which has been midcted, and from which I concluded that it was a temple dedicated to the sun. Within from ornaments, there are four circles; in the inner circle is a figure probably representing the sun, the spaces between the two next are divided into twelve parts; in the miles, twelve birds are cut in like seals; in the next twelve figures defaced, that I considered might be the signs of the zodiac. The outer one, not divided, has in it Sciotes of men, if I mistake not, in the same number. In each angle, between the outer church and the square ornaments that are round it, is a figure which may possibly represent the four seasons. A wing extends along one side of it, from a sort of globe provided out in lines, which probably had another wing extending in the same manner, Diodorus be over such another sculpture. These stones, and some others of a temple near, This is large that they cannot move them; nor do they use stones in building, but they the ruins in pieces these fine morsels of antiquity, adorned with hieroglyphics, and make use of them. About a hundred yards higher to the north-east, is another great ruin, a bishop's house, of which are still larger. The entrance of this temple seems to have been to encampment, as that of the other was probably to the north; most of it is a white stone go round with pebbles, and adorned with hieroglyphics, one of them has stars cut on it, have been without doubt covered part of the building. These stones lie all in a hole some them, deep, which has been dug to get out the small stones, and to break the large ones called es. One of these temples might have been dedicated to Pan, and the other to villages, and possibly there might have been a third dedicated to Perseus. Several red imagin pillars stand in a square of the town, where there might be some other ancient conclusion; and in a mosque I saw many pillars of granite and other marble. In the Panopolis of another mosque, there is a piece of grey granite five feet long, and near two Gaus on which there was a Greek inscription, that has been almost entirely erased; it Antæop small letters not an inch long, and probably some law or decree was cut on this portico work); at a day in going to see some places without the town, and went three miles beyond the uninhabited convent of the martyrs, on a low hill near the foot of the against the town; from thence we went into a very narrow valley, between the high steep is an immense, and in two miles came to the convent called Dermadoud, which is one of fallen dismal retirements I ever saw; it consists of nothing but grottos cut in the ing, not except the small church, which is of brick, that has several Copti inscriptions on found to be within. Some of the little cells in the rock have a wall with a door-place and five feet; one very large one seems to have been the refectory. From the con-an obelisk is a very narrow dangerous way cut out of the perpendicular rock, to a glyphics leading half way up the mountain, which might be some hermit's cell. Beyond Akmim, stery there is a very steep ascent up the valley; and the way for half a mile called He came to the convent is so obstructed with the great stones that have fallen in the hills, that the way is impracticable for horses. This might be a retreat of persecution, and afterwards be frequented on account of the fine water that oost of which distils in drops from the rocks, there being a sort of well they aham, which is the only water I met with in Egypt, that does not certainly

• Diodor.

come from the Nile. Near it are several grottos and little cottages, probably built by the Christians, who sometimes come and spend a day here, and have service in the church. I observed the rocks of freestone towards the bottom, have every half foot a layer of black flint about an inch thick, which has a white coat on each side; and the rock in some places having fallen away, it appears like an artificial ceiling. Coming out of this valley, we went on to the west to a village called El-Gourney, over which the hills are cut into sepulchral grottos in several stories about three quarters of the way up; some of these are single rooms, others have two or three one within another; they have mostly three niches in them about three feet deep, and three feet from the ground, being cut up to the ceiling, in which without doubt they deposited their dead. I observed a descent down from some of them that has been filled up, and saw many swaths and bones lying about; several of the rooms were painted, but without figures, except one, in which I saw an ibis represented in the ceiling, and some very odd figures on the sides, particularly a man tied to the body of a four-footed beast.

I went also to the west side of the Nile, to two ancient magnificent convents. We passed through Souadgy, where a Copti invited us to take coffee, and a collation of dates, treacle, and bread, and would not be refused; so laying a carpet before his door, we sat down and accepted of his favour, and at our departure he invited us to return and take a lodging at his house, or to dine with him the next day. Going out of town, we saw a young woman unveiled, with brass ornaments about her neck, sitting by the way-side. We passed by several little lakes of water, made by the overflowings of the Nile, and I never saw so great a quantity of wild fowl together as there was on them. We went on, and came to the convent called Embeshauda, on the edge of the sandy desert: there are several remains of ancient pillars, and stones of red granite, in and about both the convents; so that I conjectured the city called Crocodilopolis was here, mentioned in this part by Ptolemy as distant from the river*; and they have a tradition that there was a large city here that extended from one monastery to another. This convent is built of hewn stone, and there are great marks of magnificence in both the churches; and without doubt it was on the first establishment of Christianity in Egypt, that these convents were built, as the work is executed according to the Greek architecture, though after it had begun to decline: and as I saw a sculpture of an eagle with a cross before it, and another eagle on a crown, it made me conjecture that this great convent was founded by the Empress Helena. The churches of both the convents are built on the same model, with pillars of the Corinthian order, not executed in the best manner; several of them have crosses on them instead of the rose in the capital. It appears that there was a building adjoining to the south side of each of these churches, which seems to have consisted of two stories of cells for the monks, there being in the great convent two stories of oblong square windows. The church is paved with red granite, and on many of the stones are some remains of hieroglyphics; a plan of the church of the large convent, with the supposed apartments to the south of it, may be seen in the last book, with the discourse of the Copti church. The gates of this convent seem to have been of the Doric order, and probably some other parts, for I saw in several places the frieze of that order.

Above a mile to the north is the other convent called Der-Embabshai; there is a fossie round the convent about half a mile in compass; the quoins and doors of the building are of stone, most of the rest is of brick, the gate to the north is adorned with Corinthian pilasters, and an entablature over, with a relief of St. George on each

* *Εἶτα μετὰ τὴν πόλιν; κροκοδείλων.* Ptol. iv. c. 51

side. The architecture of this convent is rather richer than that of the other; the greater part of this church is fallen down, and they now only make use of the east end which is enclosed. Near the west end of this church there is a large vase, said to have been used for a font; it is near the west end of the church, without the present enclosure, which takes up only the site of the church, and the supposed apartments to the south.

I went first to this convent, and as they have no place fit to carry a stranger into, they prepared a collation for us in the west end of the church; which is what they usually do, when any one comes they would shew a particular honour to. We walked two miles on the sand, to the mountains on the west, going by a large burial place of the Christians, to which they are brought from all the neighbouring parts to be buried. We after passed by a small hillock, on which they were some small ruins of a building that seemed to have been round, and it is said was a church. We saw the tract of wolves in the sand, and they pretended to shew the trace of serpents, which they say are here fourteen or fifteen feet long. There are several holes in the sides of the rocky mountains, which do not extend far in; I went up to some of them, and could see that they were places of shelter for eagles and other large birds. I observed towards the bottom of the mountains, the same regularity as on the other side, a layer of yellow flint about an inch thick, at the distance of every eight inches. We returned to the convent, and being a fine evening, we took the refreshment that was prepared for us, sitting on matts abroad at the door of a chapel; they stuck the wax lights of the church into their cakes, instead of candlesticks, and we went to repose in the chapel itself. The next morning we viewed the great convent, where the priests entertained us with coffee, and offered to kill a sheep if we would stay and dine; but we went on through clouds of dust to Akmim, for the wind being high, it raised the sands to such a degree that we could not see before us any further than in a very thick fog; and the dust was so exceedingly troublesome to the eyes, that it would have been a pleasure to have had it succeeded by the most stormy weather, attended with rain. These two convents have their lands of the prince at an easy price; but they are obliged to entertain the Arabs, and even the Bey of Girge when he passes by, which is a great burthen. About this place and Akmim I saw many of the dome trees, the leaf of which resembles that which is called by the botanists the palm of Brasil, with the folding or fan leaf. On enquiry I find this tree as it grows here is not any where described, but may be seen engraved in the last book (see the original), with some other plants I collected in Egypt.

I happened to be at Akmim at Christmas, and sat up almost all the night of Christmas eve to see the Copti ceremonies in the Roman church; for though they become converts to the church of Rome, they retain their own ceremonies, only making some few alterations in part of their prayers, where heretics are mentioned with honour; and this is the method of the Greek, Armenian, and all the other eastern churches. As soon as the service was ended, which is not before day, I had a message from Malim Soliman, that I must come to his house and pass the whole day with him, he having invited me before to dine with him on Christmas day. Accordingly I went to his house; and coffee being served, we all found it necessary to repose on account of the fatigue of the night before. At noon a great dinner was served in an open summer-house, of twenty-five dishes, eight or nine in a row, several of them being repeated three or four times over; they consisted mostly of rich soups, and a sort of ragoos, roast lamb, pigeons, and fowls stuffed with rice, and I was the only person at the table that was served with a plate, or had a knife and fork; his sons-in-law, and some of his relations waited at table; for sons and inferior relations in this country will at no time sit

down before their parents, unless they are desired three or four times ; a great subordination being preserved throughout all the east, with regard to different degrees and stations. First a very rich dram was served, and at dinner wine was given round, that I had presented him with, which was a very extraordinary thing. After we had drank coffee, we walked out of the town to his garden, where we had coffee again, and returning to his house, after supper he asked me if I would lie there or at the convent ? In this manner the day was passed in a Turkish visit ; for such it really was, every thing being far beyond whatever the Arabs pretend to, and after the Turkish manner. I went a second time to see the prince, who said he wondered he had seen me but once ; he desired me to make his house my own, and command what I pleased, and promised to send a man to remove the earth from an inscription I desired to copy.

I agreed here for a boat and four men to go up with me to the cataract, and to bring me back to this place, paying them about the value of half a crown a day, together with a certain quantity of corn and lentils by the month, and to find them in coffee ; and in short as I found afterwards, they expected I should let them have a share of every thing I had ; for it is the nature of the Arabs to desire whatever they see. When we had made the agreement, the Coptis who were present said a prayer according to their custom. Malim Soliman and some other friends came with me to the boat, and his servants brought me a present of a large basket of bread, some fine cakes, and a live sheep : at parting the Coptis said a prayer, and wished a safe return, that we might say another prayer together.

CHAP. III.—*From Akmim to Mensheeh, Girge, Fursbout, Dendyra, Kena, Kept, Cous, and Thebes.*

ON the twenty-eighth of December about noon I left Akmim, to go on towards the cataracts. In some time we came to a ruined convent of red unburnt brick, called Der-El-Hadid ; and opposite to Mensheeh to another, which has four priests in it, and is called Der-Embabsag, to which the Christians of Mensheeh come to church ; it is in a very ruinous condition, but about it there are pieces of entablatures and capitals, which are proofs that there had been some other sort of buildings there. After we had viewed the church, the priest told us there was nothing more to see ; but as soon as he had a piece of money put into his hands, he shewed us the way up some stairs, and brought us to a draw bridge that led to a small chapel, to which they retire in difficult times, or when the Arabs break in upon them.

We crossed over to Mensheeh on the west, a poor ill built town, about a mile in compass ; but there are marks here of a great city to the south of the town, which part is called Embabsag, as they say from St. Sag, a bishop of this place ; and it is at present a bishop's see. I went round part of the fossée of the town, which is about three quarters of a mile long to the south, and half a mile broad from east to west ; probably the ancient town extended also as far north as the present. All along by the river are considerable ruins of a quay, built with several short piers to receive the boats into docks, where they might be sheltered from the weather ; and in one part it is built in a semicircle, with flights of steps in different parts. I saw several pedestals, cornices, and pieces of granite among the ruins. This seems to have been Ptolemais, mentioned by Strabo as the greatest city in the Thebaid, and had a government established after the Greek manner ; so that it is probable that the town was rebuilt under the Ptolemies, and had its name from them. Some think it might be built on the spot of the ancient city,

city, this being mentioned as the capital of this province Thinites; Ptolemy calls it Ptolemais of Hermius, so that it is probable Mercury was worshipped here in a particular manner. Within the compass of the old town is a small lake that is filled with water when the Nile rises, and when the water evaporates, it leaves a cake of salt on the top, as in many other parts of Egypt. The Prince of Akmim having written to an officer of the town to give me some letters for Assouan, I waited on him with a present of rice and soap, which are acceptable here, and he gave me letters to his friends at Assouan, and entertained me very civilly at his house. I went afterwards to see the master of the vessel that brought us from Cairo, who had another family here, and he had invited me to his house in the evening, it being still the fast of Ramesan, he entertained me likewise with coffee, and a hot sharab as they called it, made with sugar and ginger; instead of which, people of better condition use cinnamon, and drink it like tea, it being an extraordinary entertainment. We sat round a pan of coals, and three Mahometans sung Arab songs, beating time with their hands, and playing on a tambour.

On the twenty-ninth we pursued our voyage, and stopped at a proper place on the east to take in a store of wood: an Arab came down from the mountain on horseback after my servant, and approached the boat; but he came in to us and avoided being stripped, as probably he would have been, if the Arab had come to him. After some time we had to the east the high rocky hills almost perpendicular, in which there are many curious grottos. We came to the poor little convent of Girge, on the east side, under the rocks. To this place the Copts of Girge come to church, not being allowed a church in the city. We went about two miles further to Girge on the west, which is the capital of Said or Upper Egypt; it is not above a quarter of a mile from the river, and may be near two miles in compass, is pretty well built, and if I mistake not, mostly of burnt brick. The sangiac, or governor of Upper Egypt, who is one of the beys, resides here, and continues in this office three or four years, according to the pleasure of the divan at Cairo, or as he is agreeable to the people here. I went to the convent of the Franciscan missionaries, who pass for physicians, but privately have a church, and as they told me, about one hundred and fifty converts; but they are often in great danger, for the soldiers are very insolent, all the most unruly janizaries being sent to this place from Cairo; so that the missionaries have been forced to fly two or three times, and their house has been plundered. I went with one of the fathers to wait on the caimacam of the town, who is chief governor in the absence of the bey. This father was detained here to visit this great man, who was in a dropsey. I shewed him the letter I had from Osman Bey to the sangiac of Girge, made him a present of two boxes of French prunellas, and he gave me a letter to Assouan, near the cataract. I then went to the aga of the janizaries, who was sitting according to their custom, under the gateway to his house; he received us with much civility, having been a patient of the father, and gave me four letters to the people above, and I sent him the same present I had carried to the caimacam. We afterwards went to a Turk, who I was told had some superior command over the janizaries of the castle of Assouan; I gave him a letter from the Prince of Akmim, and to the present I made the others I added a large basket of rice: he did not receive us very politely, but said he wondered for what end the Franks went up to the cataracts, and asked if I had a watch to sell; which is a way they have of intimating that they want such a present; however, as soon as he saw what I had brought for him, he ordered me a letter, that he said would protect me as far as the three castles; that is, as far as the Grand Signior's dominions extend.

I went

I went about three miles to the west, to a village called El-Berbi (the temple). It is built on part of a raised uneven ground, which seems to have been the site of an ancient city: asking them where the temple was, from which it had its name, they shewed me a hollow ground from which probably all the stones had been carried away to Girge. This I suppose to be the ancient Abydus, which is the more probable, as it is mentioned * as a city distant from the river, on the west side. It was once the second city in the Thebaid, where there was a famous palace of Memnon†; but in Strabo's time it was only a village. He says some were of opinion that Ifisandus was the same as Memnon, and consequently that the labyrinth was the work of Memnon. He mentions also a fountain here, to which there was an extraordinary descent by steps, and likewise a canal from the great river, which seems to be that which comes from Badjoura to the south. He says also that there was a wood about the canal of the Egyptian Acanthos, which was sacred to Apollo; and possibly the wood about Furskout may be some remains of it ‡.

From this place they went to the upper or great Oasis §, seven days journey, probably about a hundred and forty miles from Abydus, by a way almost inaccessible by reason of the sands; but the place itself was well watered, and abounded in vines: this doubtless is what is called Elouah, in some modern accounts of Egypt, that mention it as a place where they have plenty of water and palm-trees. There the caravans of Nubia first come into Egypt, after thirteen days journey; and the country is governed by a cashif. It is said the army of Cambyfes came to this place when he sent them from Thebes, on the expedition to plunder the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was three degrees further north; in which journey, it is said, the whole army was buried in the sands. To this place the Christians were often banished in times of persecution; and there is an epistle of St. Athanasius directed to them here. The second Oasis was to the west of the Lake Mæris, by some called little Oasis, about one hundred miles from the other: the lake mentioned as six hours west of the Lake Mæris must be too near to be that place. The third Oasis was called also the little Oasis; with regard to which some distinguish both the others by the title of great. This is mentioned as at a great distance from the others, and was near the temple of Jupiter Ammon. This last and the middle Oasis must be meant by Pliny, who speaks of two as being bounded by the provinces of Memphis, Heracleopolis, and Arsinoe.

On the thirty-first I set forward in the boat from Girge, in company with an Alepine of the Roman Greek church, who lived in the convent of Furskout, and I suppose was a lay brother. We passed by the large isle of Domes, called so from that tree; a great number of which grow on it. I first saw in this voyage the large floats of earthenware; they are about thirty feet wide, and sixty long, being a frame of palm-boughs tied together about four feet deep, on which they put a layer of large jars with the mouths uppermost; on these they make another floor, and then put on another layer of

* Εἰτα' μετόχον ὁμοίως ἀπὸ δύσεως Ἀβυδῶν. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

† Ἡ Ἀβυδὸς, ἐν ᾗ τὸ Μενμόνιον βασιλεὺς θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένοι, ἐλόλιζον τῇ αὐτῇ καίσκειν ἢ περὶ τὸν γαυρὸν Ἰφάμιν. Strabo, xvii. p. 813.

‡ Abydus Memnonis regia et Ofris templo incluta, vii. M. ccccc. pass. in Libyam a flumine remota. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 9.

§ For what relates to Oasis, see Herodotus, iii. c. 26. Strabo calls these places that are in the midst of the deserts Ἀνάσις, or rather Ἀνάσις.

§ Κατάσκευον γὰρ ἐν ταῖς οἰκηθεῖσι περιεχομέναις ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἀνδρῶν γῇ· καλῶσι δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας οἰκήσεις Ἀνάσις ἢ Ἀγυπιοί. Strabo, ii. p. 130.

Stephanus takes notice of this difference of the names, which confirms the opinion that the reading of Strabo ought to be corrected to Ἀνασις. Ἀνασις πόλις· Ἀγυπία· πάντῃ δὲ καὶ Ὀασιν καλεῖται. Stephanus de arbibus.

jars, and so a third, which last are so disposed as to trim the float, and leave room for the men to go between. The float lies across the river, one end being lower down than the other; towards the lower end, on each side they have four long poles, with which they row and direct the boat, as well as forward the motion down: it is said crocodiles have sometimes taken men from these floats; a view of one of them is represented in the eighth plate. A few miles to the south of Girge is Bardis, where a great sheik resides, who has but a small territory here on the east and west, but has a large tract of land under him up higher on the east, extending from Kena near as high as Esne, and resides sometimes at Cous. We stopped at a place about three miles from Fushout on the 3d of January, the wind not having favoured us. We mounted on asses without bridles, and only a piece of coarse cloth tied on the back for a saddle; but we were soon met by the president of the convent, who had brought horses for us on notice of our arrival, and we came to Fushout, which is a poor, ill-built, ruinous town, that may be about a mile in compass. The great sheik resides here, who is governor of almost all the country on the west, near as far as Assouan; though in the upper parts they make themselves almost independent of him, and it is with great difficulty that he collects his rents. The country round is very pleasant, most of the roads leading to the town being planted with acacia trees. The Franciscan missionaries have a convent here under the name of physicians, and have a large saloon where they receive their company, which in private serves them for a chapel. I waited on the secretary of the sheik, and presented him with five or six pounds of coffee, and he sent a present of a sheep alive to the convent to entertain me with, and after introducing me to the sheik himself, who was sitting in the corner of his room by a pan of coals: he rose both when I came and when I left him; his dress was after the Arab manner. I gave him three letters, and the servant brought in the present I made him of two boxes of prunellas, two of some other sweetmeats, and several vases of glass. He asked me where I intended to go? I told him to the cataract. He said a boat of Franks went up lately, and that the people said they came to find the way into the country, in order to return afterwards and take it. He then asked me what I wanted to see? I told him the ruined cities. He said we had not such ruins in England; and asked whether if they should go into our country, we would permit them to see every thing. All these questions, though a little shocking, he asked me with a good-natured smile, and told me he would give me letters, and a man to go with me; so that I might be assured I should travel securely. I went to see the sheik's garden, planted in the middle with vines, the other parts being like an orchard full of the acacia, palm, oranges, lemons, and other trees. The interpreter of the Arab language I had taken with me, who was an Armenian, falling ill, I was obliged to send for another to Girge, where they engaged a merchant of Aleppo, who came up to sell goods, to go with me; and on the 8th of January in the morning, the secretary came and had his carpet laid in the convent, and sent to his house for coffee and other refreshments, and we took collation together, and about ten I dined with the fathers; the secretary eating the dinner he had ordered for himself in another part of the convent, sending us a part of it, not being accustomed to sit at a table; and we all set out together and went through Badjoura to the boat. The secretary sent me a present of a large sheep alive, bread, and sugar canes, and about two in the afternoon we set sail, and passed by Hou to the west, a long town on a height that seems to be made by art, and extending a considerable way to the west; this I conjecture might be little Diospolis of Ptolemy: we lay all night near Reisere. On the ninth about midnight we arrived at Dendera, about half a mile from the river: there is a great quantity of wood all round it. I went out to the skirts of the town;

but we did not care to go much about, because it was the first day of the great Turkish feast Biram, after the conclusion of their month of fasting. Some of our men went to the mosque in a habit of ceremony used in these parts, a gown of white cotton sowed up before, so that it looked like a shirt; and possibly from this the use of the surplice might take its rise, as a vest of ceremony used when they went any where in high dress.

I had letters to two Mahometans here, to whom I carried some small presents, and they recommended me to the governor, who sent his brother with me about a league to the south to Amara, where are the ruins of the ancient Tentyra, about a mile from the river, and from the mountains to the south; from which the name of the present town seems to be derived. The people of Tentyra were famous for their enmity to the crocodile, so as to endeavour to destroy that animal by all means, insomuch that they often engaged in wars with the worshippers of the crocodile, and particularly with the people of Ombos. Some imagined, though it is said falsely, that they had a greater natural power over these animals than other people, having encountered them with wonderful success at the public games at Rome. In this city they were great worshippers of Isis and Venus; to each of which deities they had a temple. From the many heaps of ruins that are seen, the city appears to have been large; they extend about a mile from east to west, and half a mile from north to south. The town has been much frequented since the time of its ancient splendour, for the buildings are almost filled up with ashes and rubbish; they seem to have lived much in and about the temples, and to have built their little houses of unburnt brick near them; particularly there are several on the top of the great temple, probably erected there for coolness by night during the summer season; but as this temple is but two hundred feet long, and a hundred and forty-five broad, any one may judge with what reason it has been said, that the temple is so large that a city was built on it. The chief remains of buildings are very near to one another. There are two gates and four temples which seem to have relation to one another; the small temple being without the gate might not belong to the others, and is too small for the temple of Venus: in it is the second capital described in the plate of that architecture. This gate is like the grand kind of gate at Thebes, which may be seen in the drawings of the temple of Carrack: a sort of double frieze is marked out in lines within it, in which one may see something of the metopes and triglyphs of the Doric order, as represented in the plate of cornices and entablatures. The temple has over the capitals two square stones; on the lower stone a figure is represented as on the last pillar in the second plate of columns. This temple is so near the great one, that I should imagine it was a building that belonged to it. Over the door of one temple a hawk is cut, with the usual cap or ornament on his head: in one room there are two friezes, and two stories of hieroglyphics range round it, and a cornice on the outside, with hawks and wings, and a frieze, under which two deities are cut. At the end of the middle room is a niche, Osiris is cut in it in relief, with a high cap, as represented in the small brass statues, but much defaced. Possibly this temple might be the habitation of a sacred hawk. The grand temple itself is intire, except that some apartments which seem to have been at top are destroyed, and six or seven of the rooms below are intirely filled up. There are ten flights of stairs to the top, and near the top are the rooms from which there are six steps to the top of the temple. The particular large capital of the pillars has over it a square stone, with a compartment of reliefs on each side, in the best taste and workmanship of any I have seen in Egypt, and are exquisitely fine, insomuch that I conclude they must have been executed by one of the best Greek sculptors. At the ends of the grand room are four stories of hieroglyphics,

hieroglyphics, in seven compartments, each having two or three figures of men in it, some of which are defaced. There are also four stories of hieroglyphics on the outside; and probably there were five both within and without, before the ground was raised. Colossal figures are cut on the outside of the south end, five of them together, and two more beautiful than the others at each corner. Round the top of this building there are several spouts, with an ornament over them of the head and shoulders of the sphynx: this, no doubt, was the temple of Isis, as may be concluded from the capitals which are shaped like the head of that deity: on the stones that cover it are cut five of the birds Ibis. A third gate in the same style is far to the east-south-east of the temple. It is all over adorned with hieroglyphics, as well as the others, and possibly might lead to the temple of Venus, which we may suppose has been destroyed; and coming to it from the river, the temple of Isis might be said to be behind it*, as described by Strabo.

Having viewed all these fine remains of antiquity with the greatest satisfaction, I returned to the town; and at parting, my friends sent me a present of a lamb; and the governor's brother came to the boat for his present, which was a basket of rice, some coffee, and soap. As there is plenty of wood here, this place supplies most part of Egypt with charcoal. We pursued our voyage with a favourable wind, and came up with Kena, a small town on a raised ground about a mile from the river, which I suppose to be the ancient Cane or Neapolis, mentioned both by Herodotus and Ptolemy †. After Tentyra, Strabo mentions Typhonia ‡, which I do not find in any other author: it is probable it had its name from some ceremonies performed to shew their detestation of Typhon; but whether it were here or on the west side of the river, there are no grounds to determine, only that he mentions the canal that goes to Coptos immediately after it, which is near this place; and I took notice of the canal which comes in and makes the isle of Kena. This city at present is only remarkable for making the best black earthen-ware in Egypt, which is very light and much esteemed: they could never be prevailed on to make the vases with broad bottoms, to stand without danger of falling; so that the people are obliged to have wooden frames to set them on. A little higher on the west, we passed by Etouerat, where those large jars are made which are carried down on floats, on which we saw the people placing them for the voyage. We went on and came up with Kept, a village at some distance from the river: it is the ancient Coptos, said to be so called in the Greek, because Isis was here when she heard of the death of Osiris, and for grief cut off one of the locks of her hair. This city was inhabited both by Egyptians and Arabians. The Nile below the city running to the west, this was the first convenient place for carrying on the trade by the Red Sea, the river being nearer to it here than at other places below; and the difficult navigation of the Red Sea to the north caused the trade for the merchandises of India and Arabia to take this channel. The ancients speak of the Red Sea as six or seven days journey distant, though the people at present say it is only four days journey: the former seem to be nearer the truth, though Pliny seems to make the distance much too great from Coptos to Beronice, in saying it is two hundred fifty-eight miles. The Itinerary also makes it near the same distance, which by supposing a mistake in every distance, I have reduced to about one hundred. As Strabo makes Beronice the nearest port on the Red Sea, and the Itinerary gives an account of the road between these two places; it must be supposed that Ptolemy is mistaken in his latitudes, in making Beronice

* "Ὅραον δι τῆ νῆα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης," *Isidis in uero*. Strabo, xvii. p. 815.

† *Καὶνὴ πόλις*. Ptol. iv. c. 5.

‡ *Ἐστὶν Τυφώνια καλέμενα, καὶ ἣν ἡ Κεπτὸν διέρουσι*. πόλιν κοινὴν Ἀγυπίων τε καὶ Ἀραβίων. Strabo, *ibid*.

so much further south, and Myos so much more to the north. Strabo * also, who was in these parts, was informed that Coptos was near to Beronice; in which it is the more unlikely he should be mistaken, because he says the port of Myos was then the more frequented; Beronice being a bad port, as Cossir is at present, which is the port that was used in the middle ages, and probably is Beronice; there being another bad port north of it called old Cossir, which from the situation, one may conjecture to be Myos. Pliny † mentions Juliopolis as two miles from Alexandria, probably the port on the lake where this trade was carried on, and says that from Juliopolis to Coptos, the voyage of three hundred and three miles was performed in twelve days, when the northerly winds blew. Ptolemy Philadelphus ‡ first made a good road from Coptos to Beronice, and fixed inns at proper distances: wells also were dug, and cisterns made to preserve the little rain water that fell; so that the stations where they stopped had the general name of *Hydrea*, or watering places. The journey before was usually performed by night, carrying water on their camels, and directing their course by the stars. The trade continued on this way in the middle ages to Cossir, till it was interrupted by the depredations of the Arabs: they have notwithstanding sometimes sent corn this way, but very little of the eastern goods have lately come by this road. In the early times of Christianity, this city became famous for the great resort of Christians to it in times of persecution; and it is said that they retired to the grottos of the neighbouring mountains, though I could not be informed that there were any near. This was the first rise of the name of Coptis, which it is said the Mahometans gave in derision to the Christians in Egypt. This town having revolted against Dioclesian, probably on account of his persecutions, he caused it to be utterly destroyed. I went with letters I had to two Mahometans from the Prince of Akmin. Going through the ruins of the old town, half a mile to the left to the village called Kalalikeman, they shewed me all the ruins of this great city, the ground of which is much raised. About the middle of the city I saw some square pillars, and the remains of a fine entablature, all of red granite. At a village to the north are the remains of a small temple much destroyed. To the east of the high ground of the old city is a large basin, as of a lake or pond, about three hundred paces long, and two hundred broad; to the north of it there is a deeper hole, in which there was foul water, but I could not perceive that it was salt. Both these were doubtless reservoirs of water for the use of the city, which was conveyed by the canal, and possibly they might bring their vessels into the large basin. The canal runs to the south of these, and to the south and west of the old town: over it are the remains of two bridges; one at the south-west corner of the town is almost intire, and has five piers; it is not built with arches, but large stones are laid from one pier to another. The piers are built in such manner as if floodgates had been fixed between them to keep in the water when the Nile abated. The other bridge is at the south-east corner: near it I saw several Sarcophagus's, on the lids of which is a mezzo-relievo of a man like a mummy: there are many of them likewise about a rising ground on the canal a mile further, where probably there was a church or convent; for I imagined they were Christian tombs, the ancient Pagan Egyptians not depositing their dead so near their cities. The people find here a great number of medals, and small statues of earthen ware, though but few intire, and also some pieces of rock, crystal, and sometimes precious stones, and particularly the root or refuse of emerald in great abundance; it is of a pale green, and they have an emerald at Cairo which they call the emerald of Said, which is not very transparent,

* See Strabo *ibid.*

† Lib. vi. c. 23.

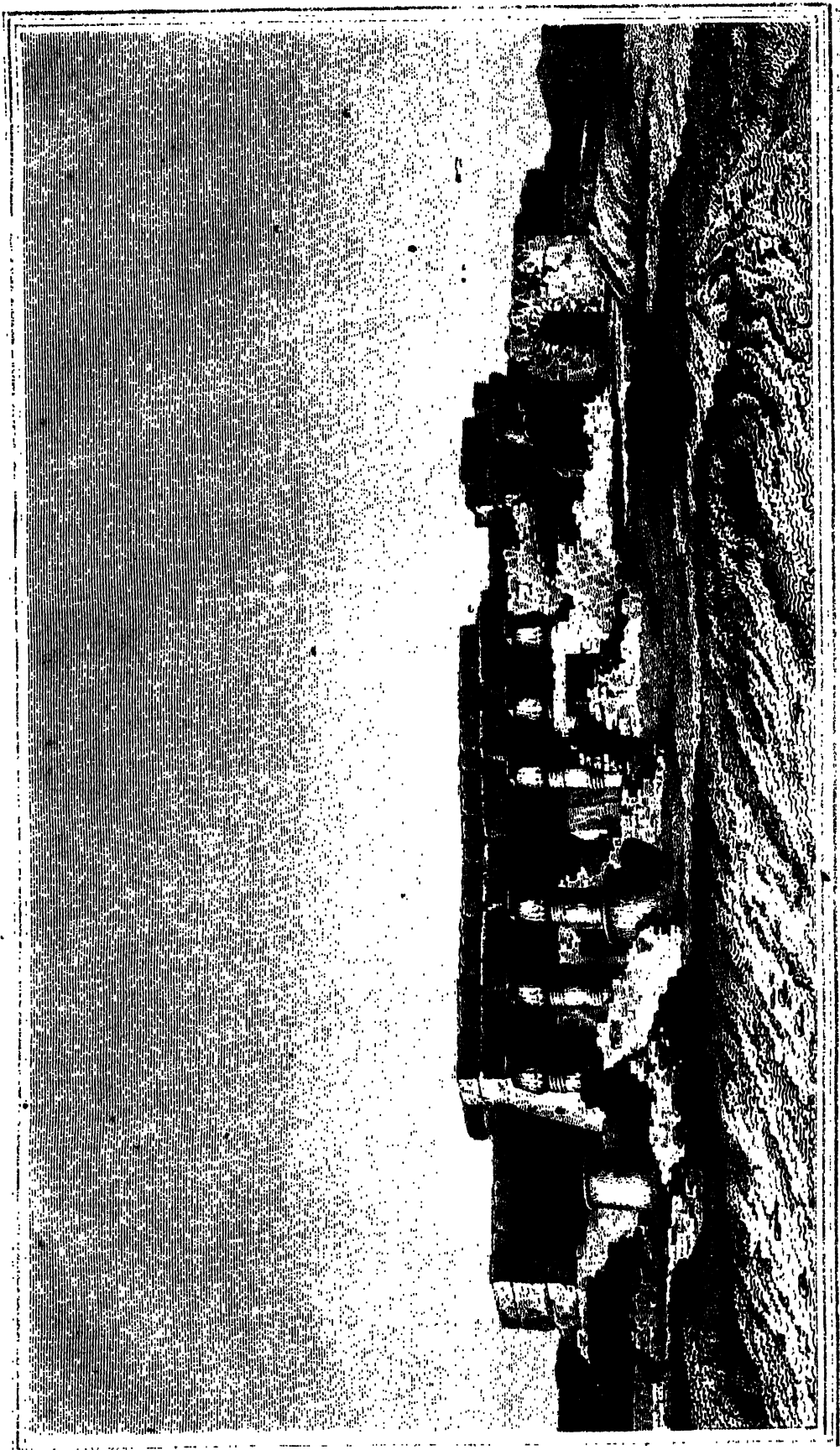
‡ See Strabo, *ibid.*

nor of a bright green. Strabo says there were mines of emeralds and other precious stones here, in which the Arabs worked. Ptolemy also speaks of the mountain of emeralds in these parts, and the mines of emeralds are mentioned in the map of the patriarch, and they say the Arabs have dug for them; but as they belong to the Grand Signior, they are very well satisfied that they should not be known, because he would have the profit, and the inhabitants might be obliged to work in the mines for a very small consideration.

We went on and passed by Nisquade to the port, in which town there are many Christians, and it is a bishop's see, the Diocese extending to the confines of Egypt; for above this place there are very few Christians in any part, except at Elne and the convent beyond it. I was informed that there were two or three monasteries near this town.

We came to the port of Cous, and rid two miles through a flat country full of domes, to the miserable town built of unburnt brick, which was the ancient little Apollinopolis, called by Antonine a village, built on an artificial height, but there are no remains except of one small temple.

As I was viewing the temple, one of the sheik's officers, dressed as a Turk, came and asked me with great civility to drink coffee, but it being late I declined it. These great sheiks have often many Turks in their service, who having been on the vanquished side, have been obliged to fly from Cairo in time of public insurrections, which frequently happen. I was told this sheik had several of these people with him, and I concluded this person was one of them. This is the only antiquity to be seen at Cous. I went to the Christian secretary of the great sheik to be introduced by him, and made him a small present. We sat down on a mat in the open court, where the horses were tied, and had very indifferent fare served to us; a sort of ill-tasted feed mixed with oil, onions, bread, and water; and finishing with coffee, he went with me to the great sheik, who is the same that commonly resides at Bardis. He is a young man of a Mulatto complexion, and a large black eye: being laid down to repose, he was in a small room on his bed on the sofa, having a blue shirt over some other garments, one of his officers sitting by him. I went up on the sofa, and delivered my letters from the Prince of Akko, and an officer of the janizaries at Girge, and then my present, as usual, was laid before him; a bag of rice, tobacco in the leaf, Joppa soap, and a pair of such red shoes as they wear. I told him I desired a letter to see the antiquities of Carnack and Luxercin, which he ordered to be prepared, and desired us to go and drink coffee with his secretary. I went to my boat, the secretary sending me a present of a sheep. I left my interpreter to bring the letters, who came the next morning and said he was at the port in the evening, but could not find the boat; for the men hearing some people at the water side, had put off into the middle of the river. The sheik advised me by him to see Carnack and Luxercin now, and not in my return as I proposed, for that he was going to encamp there, and I should see every thing with greater safety. There is one little church in this town, and towards the mountains there is a mean convent called Aboukter, that has only three priests in it. On the twelfth we went on with a man the sheik had sent to go with me, and stopping opposite to Zenich, where the sheik of Carnack lives, the man went to the camp of the great sheik, who sent us two men to guard the boat by night.



10-10-68

I WENT on till I came to the sheik at Kerdah, who received me from his superior, and the sheik himself made me making him a present of a very good camel, and took care to make a room for a number of a them. I went to the temple, which is part of the ancient Thebes, where there are the ruins of a most magnificent temple. I began to measure the first day I went on the morning, and to make an account of it in my book. The great sheik of Fustat had sent with me, who had no business here, pretended to tell me I should not venture to do so, before I had been with the great sheik, who had encamped near the river to the north. I ordered him to show me the way to him, and they conducted me to the village of Carnack, where I found the sheik I had been with in the morning, who sent a man with me to see the ruins; and the secretary came, who the great sheik had sent to go along with me. I asked him if I might measure and make down my observations. He told me I might do what I pleased, and stay with us two or three hours; and the people of the village came round me, when they observed I was measuring the temple. This first day I had not taken care to have any provisions brought, and desiring the man that was sent with me to bring me some bread, he went and brought me of such fare as they have, and I dined in the temple; and having ordered my boat to lie under the encampment of the sheik, I waited on him in his tent. He asked if we would not be with his secretary; which we excused, being fatigued, and went to our boat. These encampments are in the regular manner of an army: in the middle was the large green tent of the sheik, who sat in a corner of it, with three or four of his officers sitting by him; they go and encamp in this manner all over their territories, to get in their tributes or rents, which is their business. The secretary came with me to the boat, and came into it, and took some little refreshments. I continued here viewing the temple as long as I pleased, and ordered the men to provide a dinner for me in the boat and bring it to the temple, which they did every day. The cavalcade of the sheik passing by, a great number of them went into the temple and talked to me; and one day a single man on horseback came and told me that there was a large cavern under the temple, where often a great number of rogues lay hid, and bid me take care, seeming to desire to intimidate me. The sheik's son of the place came to me, and conducted me to a part of the temple inhabited by the women, and giving them notice to keep quiet in their way, I went in and viewed it, with all sort of liberty. One day the captain of one of the sheik came and dined with me, and I made him a present; and the next day he made me a present of a large

The great and famous city of Memphis was on both sides of the river; some say it was built by Osiris, others by Belus, the god of that name, and that it was about eighteen miles round, others say it was about ten miles in length. On the west side was the part called Memphium, where the temple and house of Memnon were. In the time of Strabo, the city seems to have been chiefly on the east side, and was called the great Diopolis. The most famous temple there to the gods they chiefly worshipped was the temple of Carnak. About a fourth of it is Luxor, the site of another grand building, which was

* Τα μετ' ἐν ἀποδόσει αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοθέντα καὶ παρακαλῶν. *Chabouda, l. p. 48.*

+ Διὰ τὴν ὁρμήν τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα
ἀποφασίζει Καταβολή· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καταβολῆς αὐτοῦ
καὶ μετέπειτα Διὰ πόλιν μεγάλην, Γαλιλ., 17. c. 5.

probably the temple or monument of Osymanduas; and the ancient Diospolis seems to have been between these two temples, as the grand entrances to both are that way. The hundred gates of Thebes are mentioned by many authors, and are commonly thought to have been gates of the city; but there are no signs of walls round it, nor were walled towns common in Egypt. And as there are remains of such fine gates about their temples, it might be thought that these might give occasion, as Diodorus * observes, for this observation of the poet; but as he mentions that two hundred chariots could be sent out of them with armed men, this may be thought not to agree so well with the gates of the temples, unless we suppose that they joined in some solemn acts of religion before they went out to war: others† however think they might be rather so many palaces of princes or great men of the city, who could each of them on any exigency send out so many chariots to the war; and this interpretation seems to be countenanced by the poet, who immediately after he has mentioned the great wealth of their houses, speaks of their hundred gates, and of the chariots and men that could be sent out of them. Carnack is a very poor village, in which the people have mostly built their cottages among the ruins to the south of the temple. There were four remarkable temples at Thebes; and this is, without doubt, the temple mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, as of a most extraordinary size, though in no part incredible to any one, who has examined the great remains of this stupendous building, the ruins of which extend near half a mile in length, and he computes it to have been above a mile and a half in circumference; he says also, that the height of the temple was forty-five cubits, and that the walls of it were twenty-four feet thick, in both which respects it will appear, that this temple, in some parts of it, exceeds the account Diodorus gave, though it has been looked on as an extravagant relation †. *

In order to understand the nature of this temple, and of Egyptian temples in general, I have below given Strabo's § description of them. There are no less than eight grand entrances to the temple, to three of which there were avenues of sphynxes of a great length, two of them having sixty statues on each side, according to the manner of building with the Egyptians, who commonly had before their temples what the Greeks called the Dromos, about a hundred feet wide, and three or four times as long, adorned in this manner. After this, to one of the entrances are four grand gateways, that lead to the temple; they are about thirty-five feet deep, one hundred and fifty in length,

* "Ενοι δὲ φασιν ἡ πύλη· ἐκαστὸν ἔχονταί τινος πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα προπύλαια τῶν ἱερῶν, ὧν ἑκατόμπελοι ὠκοδοῦνται, καθάπερ ἐν πολυπόλει. Diodorus, i. p. 43.

† Thebes, ut Homero dictum est, centum portas, five, ut alii aiunt, centum aulas habent, totidem olim principum domos: solitasque singulas, ubi negotium exegerat, dena armatorum millia effundere. Pomponius Mela, l. xi. c. 9.

‡ Τετάρτων γὰρ ἱερῶν καὶ τετρακισσὸν τὸ τε καλλῶ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον θανμασῶν, ἐν αἷται τὸ παλαιότατον τρισκαίδεκα μὲν σταδίων τὴν περιμέτρου, οὗτος δὲ καὶ τετρακισσὸν πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, ἥκοσι δὲ καὶ τετάρτων ποδῶν τὸ πλάτος τῶν τύχων. Diodorus, i. p. 43.

§ Strabo gives this description of the Egyptian temples.

Their temples are built in this manner:

At the first entrance is a court or avenue, paved with stone, about one hundred feet wide, and three or four hundred feet long, and sometimes more; this is called the Dromos, ὁ δρόμος. On each side are sphynxes, in two rows, about thirty feet apart. After this, is one or more large vestibles, τὰ προπύλαια. After that is the temple, ἱερόν, which consists of a large court or anti-temple, ὁ πρόναος, and the innermost temple, ἐσπίον, which is not very large and in which there is no sculpture, or at least, if there is, it is of some beast, but never of the human figure. At the further end of the anti-temple are four wings, of the height of the temple, the walls being as far distant from one another, as the breadth of the foundation of the walls of the temple; and are so built, as to incline towards one another for about seventy-five or ninety feet in height; on these walls very large figures are cut, much like the Etruscan and Greek works. Strabo, xvii. p. 805.

and must, before the ground was raised, be from fifty to sixty feet high; there is an entrance to them at one end, and a flight of stairs that leads up to the opening, over the door in the middle; for these buildings are open in the middle, as may be seen in the view of them: from this part there is another flight of steps, up the middle of the other side of the building that lands at the top: these buildings lessen very much every way from the bottom to the top, like a pyramid; for which reason I call them the pyramidal gateways. It appears from three medals that have been found, that they put statues over the door-place; in one of them I met with in Egypt, seems to be an eagle; in another I have seen two canopuses, with the lotus flower on the heads of them; and in the drawing of a fourth, a statue with a pike in the left hand, and something in the right. The first of these four gates is of red granite, finely polished, and beautifully adorned with hieroglyphics, in four compartments in the height of it on each side of the gate without, and three in the inside, in each of which are the figures of two men bigger than the life, and of exquisite workmanship; further on each side are colossal figures, with hieroglyphics under them, which are in height about fifteen feet above ground, and in this latter manner the others are adorned, without such compartments as are in the granite gateway. On each side of these gates there seem to have been colossal statues; on the outside of the first, is a red granite statue on one side, and on the other, a statue of a sort of granite composed of small pebbles; one also remains within, of white marble, the head being off; it has round the middle a belt, with a short dagger stuck into it. These statues have each of them in one hand, the cross with a handle, which is said to represent the four elements; I took some measures from one, and found the hand to be sixteen inches broad, and the head five feet six inches long; on the back of the stone, behind their heads, is a tortoise, cut in an oval, and some other hieroglyphics about it; on the other side are fragments of such another statue. I saw likewise on the outside of the gate, many pieces of a rough sort of red marble, like porphyry, and of that yellow spangling marble which is imitated at Venice. The next gate is very much ruined, but has only two stories of colossal figures to the south, and one to the north. The third gate has hieroglyphics all round, and colossal figures of men; here likewise are remains of a statue of white marble, the head of which has a serpent worked on its casque; it is five feet diameter, and measured four feet and a half from the lower part of the neck to the top of the head. The fourth gateway is now a heap of ruins; before it are some pieces of a red granite statue, the trunk of which I found to be seven feet and an half broad. To the east of these gates is a building, and also a large pond, which probably was a reservoir of the Nile water for the use of the temple: these gateways were called by the Greeks anti-gates or vestibules, (*τὰ πρὸ πυλῶνα*). From them walls were built, that extended not only to the other gates, to make the entire enclosure of the temple, but also to enclose the particular courts between the gates and the temple. At the entrance within the enclosure of the temple, towards the obelisks, are ruins of a colossal statue, of red granite. And though this entrance from the south was so grand, yet it was the way only to the side of the temple, the situation of the ground not permitting such an entrance to the front, where every thing else is executed in the grandest manner; which I shall describe in its place.

About a hundred and fifty paces to the west is another superb entrance, with the same kind of avenue of sphynxes leading to a gateway, adorned likewise with hieroglyphics. A hundred and eighty-three paces from this, is a grand pyramidal gateway, and adjoining to it is a large building, divided into several parts, and seems to have

continued on to the temple. I got admission into it by the particular favour of the sheik, though it is the habitation of the women. To the east of this is another entrance, to what I call the anti-temple, which is to the west of the grand building; as there is likewise on the north side of that court. A fifth entrance is the temple itself on the north side, where there seemed to be considerable buildings, now almost entirely buried by the rubbish, which was probably thrown there from some village that formerly was near. A sixth entrance is also from the north, where every thing likewise is buried, and is opposite to the first grand entrance mentioned to the south. A seventh is further to the east on the same side; and another opposite to it. It is probable there was an entrance also further on, for near it is a grand gate; and between that and the temple, ruins of great buildings, which I suppose led to the temple, though by reason of the ruinous state of that part of it, I could not fix the entrance. It is probable there was another opposite to it, and that the twelfth entrance was at the east end, at some distance from the great eastern building. This grand gateway appears not to have been finished, and it is from this to the great pyramidal entrance in the west front I am going to describe, that I suppose the temple must be near half a mile in length. The grand entrance to the west, which may be called, at pleasure, either a gateway or a front to the great court before the temple, is the most magnificent of the kind that probably was ever built in Egypt; and it may be a mark of its antiquity that it is built in the most simple and plain manner, without any hieroglyphics or other ornaments; very much resembling what we call the rustic; it is forty feet broad, the bottom part being a solid wall of that thickness. There seem to have been stairs up to the lower windows, from the north end, where at present it is much ruined, so as that one may easily go up; and probably there was a passage to the other side over the gateway, now a heap of ruins, from whence the stairs might be continued up to the top, as they are in other buildings of the like nature; for in the front there are two stories of eight small windows; the upper story is near the top, which is so ruined in most parts, that at a distance they appear something like battlements. Within this

have square capitals, and on each side of the entrance, at the north end of the temple, there was a very grand colonnade of pillars, above forty feet high, and eight feet diameter, with large capitals like a vase, only worked with some figures in lines: on the top of these capitals is a square stone, as for a pedestal to place statues on: at the further end of these pillars, are two colossal statues of red granite, on pedestals four feet wide, and six feet long; the heads are broke off, and the statues much disfigured: the pilasters behind the statues are adorned with hieroglyphics, and so also is an oval below the navel of the statue. Strabo says, that within the gateways, was the temple, which consisted of the anti-temple, and the temple properly so called, or the inner temple, which seems to be the most sacred part of it: what I have described must be the anti-temple; what follows in the description of the Egyptian temples, is somewhat difficult; for it is said, that at the further end* of the anti-temple are a sort of

* So the word *πρόκλις*, seems to mean, at the further end, or advanced before it, that is, between the anti-temple and the inner temple; so these words, though very obscure, seem to be understood: *Ἐπὶ τὸ πρόκλις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, κατεσκευάσθησαν ἑκατὸν μίαις μέχρι τοῦ πύργου τοῦ ἐν ἑκείνῳ.* This may be in the manner of the pyramidal gates described, in which the walls incline inwards, so as to be much narrower at top than at bottom: possibly the meaning may be, that each wall was built in such a manner on the outside, with a plain, inclining the one towards the other.

wings, of the height of the temple, the walls being as far distant from one another, as the foundation of the walls of the temple, and so built, as to incline towards one another for seventy-five or ninety feet in height*. In this manner the walls, almost entirely ruined, seem to be built between this anti-temple and the inner temple, on each side of that grand entrance, and has more of the beautiful magnificence in it, than any other building I ever saw, the door itself being very high, and yet in a just proportion; and the walls on each side of the passage, as well as the doors, are adorned with most beautiful hieroglyphics, and figures of men, in six compartments, above nine feet high and twelve wide, every compartment having the figures of three men in it; these buildings in the temple being described to have been adorned with sculptures of men, after the Greek and Hetruscan manner. Beyond this, is the inner temple itself, in which there are sixteen rows of pillars one way, and eighteen the other, the two middle rows are eleven feet diameter, the others eight, with capitals of a square stone only on them; over the two middle rows, the temple was higher than in the other parts, having over the space between the two pillars, a sort of windows with twelve lattices of stone in each of them, made something like the holes in the walls of cities, to spy out at, and to annoy the enemy with their arms; these seem to be designed to convey light into the temple, which is something extraordinary, there being rarely any windows in the Egyptian buildings. Every part of this temple is covered, inside and out, with hieroglyphics and other representations, in a very extraordinary manner; and it is of this part of the temple that our author seems to speak, when he says, that they put no statues in it, nor any human figure, but sculptures of animals; and in some other temples I have observed, that the human body has always on it the head of some bird or beast: this must be understood of the inside of the temple; for the outside of this building is beautified in a very grand manner, chiefly on the north side, where there are representations of battles with horses and chariots, one of which I observed was drawn by stags. At the other end of this inner temple there was an entrance, now in ruins, and without it, what I took to be a raised terrace, about thirty feet wide, the front of which has carved on it two barks with covers on them, like the Venetian gondolas; at one end of it is a sculpture, resembling a ray of the sun; in the boat, men are represented working it along with their poles, and one stands towards the head of the bark, and receives the homage of the others. Here is the grand entrance described from the south, and on each side of the entrance into the temple itself, at the east end of it, are two obelisks, having only one column of hieroglyphics, and are sixty-three feet four inches high, and six feet square. Further to the east, are two other obelisks, seven feet six inches square, and seventy-three feet high; the obelisk to the south is fallen down; they have three columns of hieroglyphics all the way down: all these obelisks, are of red granite. A little further, a wall is built on each side to the north and south; and on the west side of it are several colossal busts or half statues very much defaced. Continuing on along the middle to the east, we came at length to the small granite room, with a room on each side of it, which seems to have been a place of more than ordinary sanctity, and the entrance to it is adorned with a very particular sort of square columns; one of them I observed, was a knot of three pillars. It is possible this granite room was the place allotted for the beautiful noble virgin, that was annually consecrated to the deity in a

* I measured the pyramidal top of the great obelisk, which was fallen, and found it to be ten feet nine inches long, and that it was five feet nine inches square, at the bottom of the pyramid.

very strange manner *. All along on each side are several apartments much ruined, which might serve both for the priests and for the beasts they kept for sacrifice. And about a hundred and sixty feet to the east is another large building consisting of several small apartments, on each side of a spacious colonnade, as if for the officers of the temple. To the north, without this enclosure, are ruins of buildings, with the grand gate, before them, which seem to have led to the temple. Further to the east of the other building, are signs of a colonnade, almost buried in the ground; to the east of this is the most eastern grand gate, mentioned as unfinished, where the enclosure of this vast temple ends †.

The sheik's son offered to go with me to a temple four miles to the east of Carnack, and he came early in the morning to the boat with horses, and laying a carpet on the bank of the river, I entertained him with coffee, and we set forward towards the temple; the son also of the Caia, or steward of the great governor went along with us. The plain to the east naturally runs into a coarse grass, much like a rush, great part of it lying waste; and where it is sown, the ground is laid in broad low hillocks, round which there are small irregular channels, the corn not being sown at top of these hillocks, but only near the channels, in order, I suppose, that it may be the more easily watered; for men raise the water out of the Nile into a small canal, which conveys it to all parts. I omitted to enquire how they cultivated the land, which is probably only by harrowing in the corn. About four miles east of Carnack, are the remains of a temple fronting to the north west. It is about two hundred feet north of the temple, and is adorned with four compartments of hieroglyphics. The walls in the front of the temple between the pillars, are about seven feet high, covered also with hieroglyphics. Among those on the gate, a person is represented who offers something that is round, it may be some fruit, to a person sitting in a chair; another offering beasts. The heads, legs, and arms of the figures are defaced. At the further end, where I conjecture there was a door on each side, I saw the remains of a square pillar of red granite, which might be the ruins of a door-case. All this temple is very much destroyed, except the front, which is not perfect. The grand gate is intire; and I saw a sphynx near it about four feet long. It is probable the ancient Thebes extended formerly to this place. The patriarch's map has Maximianopolis, a bishop's see, in this situation, called in Arabic, Medmut, which may be one of the villages of old Thebes, mentioned by Strabo, that might after increase to a small town.

Returning I viewed the ruins of what I supposed to be a round temple, and appeared to have been a hundred and seventy-five feet diameter. I saw also some remains of a grand gate to the west of it. Having viewed these things, we returned, and I entertained my conductors with coffee at the boat, and made the sheik's son a present that I thought would be agreeable to him. This young man had shewn me great civility,

* Strabo, xvii, p. 816.

† About the gates of the temple I took particular notice of the following hieroglyphics. On one a man offers to the deity, in each hand a vase like a chocolate dish, having on each arm something resembling a folded napkin. In another, one seems to offer himself to two deities, which by some emblems, I conjectured to be the sun and moon. A man offers something like apples to one on a throne; four deities being on thrones above, as on another floor. A bird like a hawk, on a pillar somewhat resembling the Corinthian order. A peacock on another, with the bell capital. A man standing before four monkeys, which are on two floors, as I think two on each floor. Three trees on a pedestal. It is to be observed that the heads, hands, and legs of many of the figures are defaced; but those cut on granite remain entire, as they could not be so easily disfigured, by reason of the hardness of the stone.

imagining that I might be a physician, and desired my advice in a certain case. The next day I spent in reviewing the great temple of Carnack, and taking several heights. I had thoughts of going to Luxercin, and so coming from that place to take leave of the great man; but his Caia, who came to me very kindly, told me it was best to take leave of the sheik before I departed, so I waited on him. He was very civil, and told me I might see Luxercin without any trouble; and when I was returned, the secretary sent me provisions from the sheik's kitchen. Part of Thebes, which was west of the river, is now called Gournou; but the Memnonium, which was the most western part, I take to be now called Medinet Habou. When I went on that side, I sent to the sheik, to whom I had a letter from the great sheik of Fushout; he came to the boat, and conducted me to his house at the village of Gournou. The sheik furnished me with horses, and we set out to go to Biban-el-Meluke, and went about a mile to the north, in a sort of a street, on each side of which the rocky ground about ten feet high has rooms cut into it, some of them being supported with pillars; and, as there is not the least sign in the plain of private buildings, I thought that these in the very earliest times might serve as houses, and be the first invention after tents, and contrived as a better shelter from wind, and the cold of the nights. It is a sort of gravelly stone, and the doors are cut regularly to the street. We then turned to the north-west, entered in between the high rocky hills, and went in a very narrow valley. We after turned towards the south, and then to the north-west, going in all between the mountains about a mile or a mile and a half. We came to a part that is wider, being a round opening, like an amphitheatre, and ascended by a narrow steep passage about ten feet high, which seems to have been broke down through the rock, the ancient passage being probably from the Memnonium under the hills, and it may be from the grottos I entered on the other side. By this passage we came to Biban-el-Meluke, or Bab-il-Meluke, that is, the gate or court of the Kings, being the sepulchres of the Kings of Thebes. Diodorus Siculus * makes mention of them as the very wonderful sepulchres of the Kings of Thebes, such as never could be exceeded by any thing that was afterwards executed in this kind. He says forty-seven of them were mentioned in their histories, that seventeen only remained to the time of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, as the historians of that time, and particularly Hecataeus relates; and adds that most of them were destroyed in his time; though probably many of the forty-seven he mentions were built, and not cut into the hills like these that remain, as it is not easy to destroy such sort of monuments. Strabo says that above the Memnonium were the sepulchres of the Kings of Thebes, in grottos cut out of the rock, being about forty in number, wonderfully executed, and worthy to be seen. In them he says were obelisks with inscriptions on them, setting forth the riches, power and empire of those Kings, as far as Scythia, Bactria, India, and Jonia, their great revenues and their armies, consisting of a million of men. The inscriptions on these obelisks were probably hieroglyphical; and they must have been small, it may be of the size of the obelisk mentioned in a window in the castle of Cairo. The vale where these grottos are, may be about one hundred yards

* Είναι δι, Φασί, καὶ τάφους ἰθαῦτα τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων θανμαστῶς, καὶ τῶν μέλανις-ἱερῶν τοῖς ἐς τὰ παραπλήσια φιλοτιμημένοις ὑπερβολὴν ἐκ ἀποδείπειας. Οἱ μὲν ἔν ἑξῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ἔφασαν εἶς τινος ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῖς τετραράκοντα τάφους βασιλικῆς· ἡς δι Ἱστορικῶν τὸν Λάγην διαμῆναι, Φασί, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνδρῶν μόνον, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ κατέφθαζεν καὶ ἡς χρόνους παρεβαλομένῃς ἡμῖς ἐς ἐκείνης τῆς τύπης. Diodorus, l. i. p. 43.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Μεμονίῳ, θῆκαι βασιλέων ἐν σπηλαίοις λαλοῦνται περὶ τετραράκοντα θανμαστῶς καὶ σκευασμένα, θῆκαι ἔξαι. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

It is very probable that what Strabo calls τὰ σπήλαια, are the same as Pausanias calls αἱ σύγγγες, which signifies not only pipes or tubes, but any passages or grottos under ground; and near these, our author says, the famous colossal statue stood.

wide. There are signs of about eighteen of them. However, it is to be remarked that Diodorus says seventeen of them only remained till the time of the Ptolemies; and I found the entrances to about that number, most of which he says were destroyed in his time, and now there are only nine that can be entered into. The hills on each side are high steep rocks, and the whole place is covered with rough stones that seem to have rolled from them; the grottos are cut into the rock in a most beautiful manner in long rooms or galleries under the mountains, which are of a close white freestone that cuts like chalk, and is as smooth as the finest stucco work. The galleries are mostly about ten feet wide and high; four or five of these galleries, one within another, from thirty to fifty feet long, and from ten to fifteen feet high, generally lead to a spacious room, in which is seen the tomb of the King, with his figure cut in relief on the lid, as I saw it on one. In the furthest room of another, the picture of the King is painted on the stone at full length; both the sides and ceilings of the rooms are cut with hieroglyphics of birds and beasts, and some of them painted, being as fresh as if they were but just finished, though they must be above two thousand years old. One sepulchre particularly is most beautifully adorned with hieroglyphics cut into the stone and painted. The entrance, which is a descent, is cut through the rock, being open at top for thirteen feet; then for eight feet more to the door, the ceiling is an inclined plain, as the descent under it; over the door the beetle is cut in a circle, and a man sitting on each side; the galleries within have hieroglyphics cut on each side; first in a sort of a compartment next to the ceiling in manner of a frieze; lower, figures are cut out representing mummies; below these, for seven feet from the ground, are hieroglyphics all down the sides, divided by lines into different columns; in the middle of the ceiling there are figures of men for about three feet in breadth, with stars on each side. Among the hieroglyphics I observed many goats heads. The tomb of a King is of one stone of red granite, seven feet nine inches high, eleven feet eight inches long, and above six feet broad, the cover being made to shut into it; on it is cut the figure of the King in mezzo-relievo, and a hieroglyphical inscription is placed over the tomb, which probably is some account of the monarch. This room is adorned with hieroglyphics in different columns, with figures of men, hawks, and bulls. In the last room are two inscriptions, made probably by some persons who came to see the place*.

In the several sepulchres, the parts that are shaded are niches, commonly about four feet above the ground; the large ones might be to deposit bodies in, and the smaller for little statues. The grotto towards the middle part is a descent, and the several stories of hieroglyphics are cut parallel with the ground; the ceiling of the room where the tomb was is cut archwise; round the pedestal of the tomb which seems to have been there, the room is cut down three feet six inches lower than in the other parts, in a rough manner; the tomb is taken away, but the red granite top remains eleven feet long, and six feet and a half broad. In the furthest room is a figure, I think in relief, with the arms across on the breast; over it is a globe, and a man kneels on each side of the apartment. In the great room there is a statue of a man with a sceptre in his hand, and on the ceiling is a large figure of a man painted at top, with a particular sort of sceptre also in his hand, and wings hanging down lower than the feet, and covering the whole body, being a very extraordinary figure, and the painting exceeding fresh. At the entrance on each side are four men cut into the stone above the natural size, having heads of hawks and other animals;

* This is the other inscription; *Januarius PP VI. DIEI miravi locum filium Eliani Varina valet omnes.*

on the inside a tortoise, and a man with a goat's head are cut within a circle on each of the pilasters. Some of them seem never to have been finished; and two or three have so much rough stone in them, like the chipping of the rock, that those who enter, cannot walk upright in them. Having viewed these extraordinary sepulchres of the Kings of Thebes with the utmost pleasure, by the help of the wax-lights we brought, and being much fatigued, we thought to sit down and take some refreshments we had brought, in this retired place; but unfortunately we had forgot to bring water: the sheik also was in haste to go, being afraid, as I imagined, lest the people should have opportunity to gather together if we staid out long. From Gournou to this place there is a very difficult foot-way over the mountains, by which the people might have paid us an unwelcome visit, though we were under the protection of the sheik, who might likewise be well pleased to protract the time, that he might prolong our stay, in order to have more of our money for his horses and people, and also in expectation of a greater present. Returning from this place, I observed in the plain to the north, many entrances into the rocks, which probably were of the nature of the grottos I observed on each side of the way as I came.

The sheik was so civil and humane as to stay and eat with me, which is what they rarely do. The next day I went into two very extensive apartments cut in the rock, on the south side of those hills we went to the day before, being in between the foot of the hills. To one of them is a descent of ten steps to an area cut in the rock, which leads to a room in which are square pillars cut out of the rock: beyond that there is a long room with pillars on each side in like manner; all the apartments are adorned with hieroglyphics; but the stone is scaled in such a manner, and is so black in some of the first apartments, that there is great reason to think the place has been damaged by fire. Beyond these rooms, the apartments extend to the right, there being several steps down; one part leads to a gallery cut round the rock, which has some apartments on one side; and in this, as well as in the apartments of the other grotto are holes cut perpendicularly down to other apartments below, where I saw doors and openings, and where probably there are as many apartments as above. One would almost imagine that these places were habitations for the living, and possibly might be cut under the palaces of the Kings of Thebes, if they were not the very palaces themselves, to retire to when they pleased, from their tents or other places more exposed to the wind or heat. The other grotto is cut under a small hill, which is near the appearance of a grand entrance in under the mountains. The way to that entrance is by a valley, which seems to have been divided into four parts by walls or mounds, of which there are still remains. That which is most to the east is deep, and looks like a quarry of black flint stone, being much deeper than the others. I thought it might have been a reservoir of the Nile water, and for that reason formerly paved with stones, in order to make it hold the water. The other three parts go towards some remains of buildings. To the west is a room, over which there is a well-turned arch, with a half round at the spring of it; the door at the north end has likewise a half round on each side of it, and is of granite. It appears to have been used as a Christian church, and the hieroglyphics have been covered over with plaister, which are in small columns, exquisitely well cut; Christ with a glory is painted on the plaister. As this was a church, it is probable the arch over this building is a Christian work. In a small room to the south are many bones, which seemed to have been burnt; and if there had not been linen with them, I should not have thought they had been embalmed, but burnt by accident. The rock at the mountain has been made perpendicular by art;

art; the people said there was an entrance there under the hill, and it is probable it was a passage to which there was a descent, and that all has been filled up. I took a particular view of the large temple, a little way to the south-east, for such it seems to have been. At all the square pillars are statues, with the heads broke off, which seem to have had on them the long cap, that is often seen in the hieroglyphics; for there is enough remains of those caps on the pillars to shew what they were. These statues have the lituus in one hand, and the flagellum or whip in the other, as commonly seen with the statue of Osiris. There are ruins of a pyramidal gate to the south of this building, and of a very large colossal statue; it is broke off about the middle of the trunk, the head is six feet broad; from the top of the head to the bottom of the neck, it measures eleven feet, and so it does from the bottom of the neck to the navel; it is twenty-one feet broad at the shoulders; the ear is three feet long, and one foot four inches broad, and the foot is four feet eight inches broad. In the second court are remains of two statues of black granite; that to the west, which is sitting, measured from the hand to the elbow five feet, thence to the shoulder four feet; the head is three feet and a half long, and the ear is one foot in length. The statue to the east is three feet five inches long in the foot; at a distance from it is the head with the cap; it is three feet six inches long, and behind it is the ornament of the dome leaf. Norden and some persons have thought that the last of these is the statue of Memnon. Many other pillars of this building are destroyed, but from the ruins it appears to have been a very magnificent building in this way.

From the temple I went to the statues which I shall call the colossal statues of Memnon; they are towards Medinet-Habou. The sheik hurried me from this place, saying he was near his enemy: so I set out early the next morning, and spent above half a day at these statues: they are of a very particular sort of porous hard granite, such as I never saw before; it most resembles the eagle stone. That to the north is thirty feet long, and seventeen broad, the pedestal of the other is thirty-three feet long, and nineteen feet wide, and they are about thirty feet apart: that to the south is of one stone. The statue to the north has been broken off at the middle, above the arms, that lie on the hams; and it has been built up with five tiers of stones; one to the top of the clench of the elbow, another almost half way up the arm, one to the arm-pits, the fourth to the neck, and the fifth the head and neck, of one stone. The other tiers have two stones in front, except that the middle tier has three, and there are two stones in the thickness of the statue. The feet are broken a quarter off from the toes; but as I did not take a particular draught of the parts of the statue that are maimed, I thought it better to give it entire from the drawing and observations I did make. I found the height from the bottom of the foot to the top of the knee, to be about nineteen feet; from the bottom of the foot to the ankle, two feet six inches; to the top of the instep, four feet; the foot is five feet broad, and the leg is four feet deep; the ornament behind the head seemed to be the dome leaf, as I have it on a statue of Harpocrates. At the side of the legs are two reliefs, and one between the legs, of the natural height, but much defaced. Between the former and the great statue are hieroglyphics. The pedestal of the imperfect statue is cracked across, at the distance of about ten feet from the back part; there are also some flaws and cracks in the other statue, but it is of one stone, which I dare positively affirm, and in which I could not be mistaken, having been twice at the statues. I spent half a day there, and took down in my notes an account of every stone, of which the upper part of the other is built. On the pedestal of the imperfect statue is a Greek epigram, and on the insteps

and legs, for about eight feet high, are several inscriptions in Greek and Latin, some being epigrams in honour of Memnon, others, the greater part, testimonies of those who heard his sound, and some also in unknown characters; all the inscriptions are ill cut, and in bad language, both on account of the hardness of the stone, and the ignorance of the people, who probably made money by cutting these inscriptions for those that came to hear the sound. I copied them with all the exactness I possibly could, though many of them were very difficult to be understood, for I was not entirely undisturbed whilst I was doing it; but, after I had been at this work some time, the Arabs came about me, and said, they would not permit me to copy every thing in that manner, and some of them attempted to pull me away; but I continued on copying them out, till I had finished them all. The common people have the weakness to imagine that inscriptions discover treasures.

Going on from these to the north-north-west, at a hundred paces distance in a line from the broken statue, are the very imperfect ruins of another statue lying on the ground, and one hundred paces farther, such another, two hundred paces from that, is another statue, of which there are greater remains, being broken and fallen down; the back part with hieroglyphics on it lies uppermost, and is thirty feet six inches long; it is of a mixture of white and brown marble. Further on a little to the right, among the trees, is a statue almost entire, being a yellow granite, in very small grains, with some little flints in it; the statue is twelve feet long, from the head to the fork, and the shoulders were four feet broad above the ground, a small part being sunk into the earth. Going on to the hills, I observed an area cut out of the rock, and many stones lying about it, with hieroglyphics on them; this seems to have been a part of the grand temple to which these statues lead, as a sort of avenue; and I suppose there were other statues, in a line from the great ones. About half a mile from this area, are the remains of Medinet-Habou, to which probably the buildings of this temple extended; and all this together, I take to be the ancient Memnonium; the ruins of the other temple on this side, being a mile to the east, and seem to have no relation to these. The name also of Medinet-Habou is a confirmation that this was the Memnonium, for in the itinerary it is called Papa, a word almost universally used for father, so that Medinet-Habou seems to signify the city of the father, and, as I observed elsewhere, Abydus may have the same derivation, where there was a famous temple or palace of Memnon.

I have already remarked, that in the temple to the east there are remains of two statues of black granite, one has been thought by some to be the famous statue of Memnon, which at the first or second hour, they pretend, uttered a sound, occasioned, as some would have it, by the rays of the sun striking on it; others are of opinion, that it was the statue I have already described, with the inscriptions on it; in order to judge of which, it may be proper to consider what the ancient authors say on this subject, and the arguments on each side.

Strabo* speaking of Thebes, says, that there were in his time several villages on the site of it, part of them on that side which was in Arabia, where the city then was, part on the other side, where the Memnonium was. Here were two colossal statues of one stone, near one another, one being entire; the upper part of the other was fallen down from the seat, as it was said, occasioned by an earthquake. It was thought, that once a day

* Μίρον δ' εἶναι ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ, ὅπῃ τὸ Μεμνόνιον ἐταῦθα δι' δυοῖν κολοσσῶν οὕτων μονηίδων ἀλλήλων πλησίον, ἡ μὲν σώζεται, τὸ δ' ἕτερον τὰ ἀνω μέρη τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς καθέως ἐπέπλεκε καὶ σμῆνεν γυνέοντος, ὥς φασιν. Περὶ τούτου δ' ὅτι ἀπαξ καθ' ἡμέραν ἰκάνειν, ψόφει, ὡς αὐτὸν πλὴν τοῦ μεγάλου, ἀπολείπεται ἀπὸ τοῦ μείονος ἐν τῷ θέρει καὶ τῇ βροχῇ μέγιστος. . . . Διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον τῆς αἰτίας, πᾶν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἐρχεται πιστεύειν, ἢ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λίθων ὅτω τελεγγεμένον ἐκπέμπεσθαι τὸν ἦχον. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

a sound was heard as of a great blow, from that part which remained on the seat and base. When he was there, with Ælius Gallus and others, he heard the sound, and whether it came from the base, or the statue, or the people about it, he could not say, the cause not appearing, he would rather believe any thing, than that a sound should be occasioned by any particular manner in which the stone is composed.

Pausanias * says, that Cambyzes broke it, and that then the upper part, from the middle, was seen lying neglected on the ground; the other part, every day at sun-rising, uttered a sound like the breaking of a string of a harp when it was wound up †. Philostratus gives this account: he says, the place where the temple was built, was much like an ancient forum, of which sort of forum there are remains in the most ancient cities, with fragments of their columns, and the foundations of their walls: moreover, they say, that statues of Mercury are seen there, partly destroyed by time, and partly by force; but the statue of Memnon, representing a youth, is turned towards the sun; it is of black stone, both the feet of it are set even together, according to the manner of making statues ‡ to the time of Dædalus; the hands rest on the thighs, as if in a posture to get up; the manner and look of the eyes and mouth appear like a person speaking; but this they less wondered at, as they were not yet acquainted with the virtue of this statue; but when the rays of the sun came on the statue, which was about sun-rising, they related what was very wonderful, they say the statue spoke as soon as ever the rays of the sun came to its mouth; and Pliny, speaking of Basaltes, (which, he says, was of the colour and hardness of iron) reckons among statues of this stone, that which was thought to be the statue of Memnon at Thebes, in the temple of Serapis, which, they say, made a noise every day about sun-rising, when the rays of the sun came on it §. Tzetzes calls it the column that uttered a sound when it was day, and says it was of a mixed red or spotted stone. For some account of the history of Memnon, and of the arguments that are used on both sides, in relation to this statue, see below ||. We went in between the hills to the north-east, and came to

* "Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ καθήμενον ἄγαλμα Ἡλίου, Μέμνονα ὀνομάζουσιν ἢ πολλοί. . . . ὁ Καμβύσης διέκοψε, καὶ νῦν ῥιπώσιν ἐκ κεφαλῆς; ἐκ μέσσης σώμα τῇ ἀπερριμένον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν καθήμενόν τε καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἡλίου βλάττει, καὶ τὸν ἦχος βάλλει· ἐκαστὴ τῶν καθάρας ἢ λύρας ῥαγιστὴς χροῆς. Pausanias, i. c. 42.

† Τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἵδμεθα, φασὶ μὲν προσποιεῖσθαι ἀγορᾷ ἀρχαίαν, οἷον τῶν ἀγορῶν ἐν πόλεσι ποτὶ ἀκρόπολιν ἐπιπλῶν παρεχόμενα τρυφή, καὶ ταχῶν ἵχνη, καὶ δάκους καὶ φιλίας. Ἐμὼν τε ἀγάλματά τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθόρота, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χροῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τετραφύει πρὸς ἀκτῖνα, μητρὶ γυναικῶν· λίθῳ δὲ εἶναι μέλανθ'. Συμβιβητικὴν δὲ τῷ πόδε αἶμψον κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλματοποιίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλει, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερριπὲν ὁρθὰς ἐς τὸν δάκον· καλῶσθαι γὰρ ἐν ἱερῇ τῇ ἑλληνισσάσθαι. τὸ δὲ ἵκμα τίττο, καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν, καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι ὡς φθιγγόμενον ὄρεται· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἥτον δαυμάσαι δάσει· ἔπειτα γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεται· προσβαλίσσης δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς ἀκτίνης, τὸ δὲ γίνεσθαι πτερὰ ἡλίου ἐπιτολὰς, μὴ καταχῆναι τὸ δαῦμα· φθιγγασθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἀκτίνης ἐλθείσης αὐτῇ ἐπὶ σώμα. Philostratus De vita Apollonii Tyaneii, l. vi. c. 3.

‡ So ἐπὶ here seems to mean, and, not as some have interpreted it, *after the time* of Dædalus, who may be presumed to have brought in the manner of setting one foot before another in statuary.

§ Invenit eadem Ægyptus in Æthiopia, quem vocant basaltem, ferrei coloris atque duritiæ. . . .

Non absimilis illi narratur in Thebis delubro Serapis, ut putant, Memnonis statua dicatus; quem quotidianis solis ortu contactum radiis crepare dicunt. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxiv. c. 7.

|| Memnon was, by the account of all authors, the son of Tithonus and Aurora, which is mentioned in the eighteenth inscription on the right leg of the statue of Memnon, as may be seen in the plate (original edit.), in these words, Παῖς Ἡῶς τε καὶ Ταύωνιο. Tithonus was son of Laomedon King of Troy, and brother of Priamus; so that he was probably born about the year 2680 of the world. As he went into Asia, towards the east, and carried his arms as far as Ethiopia, this, according to Diodorus, gave rise to the fable of his marriage with Aurora, and that he had Memnon by her; and it is probable he might really marry some eastern prince, by whom he might have Memnon born, when he was in Ethiopia. Ancient authors indeed differ about the place of Memnon's birth; Pausanias says that he did not come from Ethiopia, but from Susa in Persia. Suidas relates that he commanded the Ethiopians, but was born

near

to the temple, which had been a convent. There are no hieroglyphics on the outside, the cornices over the doors are fluted, and adorned with the winged globe; the capi-

near Sufa, on the river Choaspes; and yet Pausanias says that the Thebans pretended he was an Egyptian; but that others affirmed he was born in Ethiopia, and extended his conquests as far as Sufa. Wherever he was born, he was certainly at Sufa; and Dionysius in his *Periegesis*, calls it the city of Memnon (*Μεμνονόπολις*); but it is most probable that he was born in Ethiopia, because Philostratus speaks of him, as having a black complexion; and Virgil has the expression of "*nigri Memnonis arma*." Philostratus says that he reigned in Ethiopia for five generations; but how many years that was, may be difficult to determine. It is probable likewise, that he reigned in Egypt, as such great honours were paid to him, particularly at Thebes; and his palace is mentioned at Abydus. He went to the siege of Troy, to assist Priamus, his uncle, where he was killed by Achilles, as mentioned by several authors, and is confirmed by the words of the epigram, cut on the base of the statue of Memnon; though it may be difficult to make out the entire sense of them, as it may be seen in the plate (original edit.):

Τὸν δὲ μυχῷ σπώγειτον Ἀχλλεύς.

Which words must refer to his being killed by Achilles, and plainly shew the falshood of what is affirmed by an author quoted by Philostratus, that Memnon was not at Troy, but reigned in Ethiopia. And yet Philostratus in another place mentions, that he was killed in the Trojan war by Achilles. Dictys Cretensis says, that Himera, the sister of Memnon, carried his ashes to his country Palliochen, in Phœnicia. Simonides, quoted by Strabo, affirms, that he was buried about Paltus in Syria, on the river Bada, Paltus being between Tripoli and Laodicea. Josephus likewise speaks of the monument of Memnon, at the Lake Cendwin, near the river Belus; and it is certain, that the river Belus does rise out of a small lake: possibly, the remains of Memnon might be brought somewhere to these parts; and as to the different places that are mentioned, that might be occasioned by honorary monuments erected to him.

Some are of opinion that this is not the statue of Memnon; but that it was a small statue in the temple, a mile to the north, and look on it as a proof that that statue is of black marble; that it is in a building they think answers to the account of Philostratus; that this temple was like the ancient forum, and they suppose the statues mentioned in it, to be the Mercurial statues he speaks of; that they would have a greater respect for the statue of Memnon, than to cut inscriptions on it; and moreover, that Javenal in his time mentions it as a statue, half of which was broke off, and that it is not probable that it should have been built up after his time; and that the testimony of Tzetzes, not a very ancient writer, is of no great weight, who says it is of a mixed red colour; and it weakens his authority, as he calls it a pillar, instead of a statue.

Those who are of opinion that the statue with the inscriptions on it, and an epigram in the front of the pedestal, was the statue of Memnon, say, that they cannot be informed of any statue of basalt in this place, as Pliny affirms it to be, who was often misinformed as to the facts he relates; that the outside of these statues is blackish, as may be seen by pieces that have been brought away; that where it is broke, it is of a spotted mixed red colour, as Tzetzes mentions, which may reconcile the different accounts of authors, some mentioning it as a black marble statue, and one of a red stone: that the temple where the others stood, seems to have been covered, being divided into several apartments, and probably this very part was covered, there being a row of pillars behind these statues, and the square pillars have been represented in a drawing, as covered; so that these two statues seem to have been under cover; that though the walls do not remain on each side, yet probably there were walls, as the building is divided into different apartments, so that if the statue stood towards the entrance of the temple, it faced to the south, and not to the rising sun; that the other great statues stand facing to the south-south-east, as was found by a compass; that if the two great colossal statues made a part of the avenue to the temple, and were within the district of it; they think that it may account for its being said that they were in the temple, as some very ancient temples consisted only of an open enclosure, these statues seeming to answer the sphinxes mentioned by Strabo, in the dromos of the temple; all these parts being called (*τὸ ἱερόν*) the temple, as may be seen in Strabo's Description of the Egyptian temples. They add, moreover, that the temple these statues belonged to, might be built like the ancient forum, and that there is no determinate figure or circumstance mentioned in the forum, to prove that this temple was in that form; all that is mentioned of them is, that there were seen fragments of pillars, and some traces of the walls of them. As to the mercurial statues that were in the temple, if we suppose that they were the statues of Mercury, it is observed that it is not well known what the emblems of the statues of the Egyptian Mercury were. Anubis seems to be their Mercury; and possibly those figures that are represented with something in each of their hands that hangs down, and one foot before another, as in a posture to glide swiftly along, and execute the commands of the deity, may

tals of the pillars are much of the same sort as those of Assouan. After I had viewed all these things, I returned to the river.

The people had come rudely to the boat when I was absent, and had said that they would see whether this stranger would dare come out another day, having taken great umbrage at my copying the inscriptions; and they had dropt some expressions as if

be the emblems of the messenger of Jove; but these statues have in their hands the lituus and whip, the common emblems of Osiris, and it may be of Isis also. But if by Mercurial statues are meant statues of a certain form, such as were commonly placed to direct the roads and to shew the bounds, which originally might be statues of Mercury in a certain shape, such as we call Terms, and seem to have their rise from the statues represented as bound round like mummies; these are very common in Egypt, and probably few temples were without them; and such statues there might be in the temple, to which these two great statues led. As to the cutting inscriptions on the statue, it is said, that it is probable they thought they could not do a greater honour to the statue, than to cut on it the testimonies of so many persons that heard the sound, so many epigrams in honour of the statue, and one particularly in the front of the pedestal, all which would make any one conclude, that this statue was something more than ordinary. Nor is it probable that they should cut these testimonies on a statue near a mile from that which uttered the sound; it is more rational to think they would have cut them on the walls or pillars near that statue if not on the statue itself: and whoever this great statue represented, it is probable it was a person or deity as much to be regarded as Memnon, to whom such a vast figure of one stone was erected, the largest it may be, in Egypt: to whom it would be a much greater dishonour to cut these inscriptions on his statue that were in honour of another, who was a King of Egypt, though we suppose he was deified.

As to what Juvenal mentions,

Dimidiū magicæ resonant ubi Memnone chordæ. Satyr. xv.

no more can be implied than that the sound came from the half of the statue that remained. Though the testimony of a poet is of no great weight, yet it must be observed, that it was the half that remained of the statue that uttered the sound; that whenever it was repaired, the stones laid on it were not to be considered as a part of the miraculous statue, as they pretended it to be, but only what was left of the ancient statue that made a noise about sun rise; not but that the statue might be as well repaired after Juvenal's time as before it, and if it was repaired before his time, Juvenal might be ignorant of it when he writ that Satyr: and in case it was then repaired, and that he knew it, yet it might still be said, that the half of the statue uttered the sound. It may also have some weight, that there is a tradition among the people, that this is the statue that made the noise. They have also the circumstance of the time, and if they are asked if it sounds now, they answer it does; but are so absurd as to say, they know nobody that ever heard it.

These statues being also towards Medinet-Habou, doubtless the ancient Papa, as has been observed, may be of some weight.

Sicard also mentions these two statues, as those of which Strabo has said so much; and yet, as if he had not well considered that author, speaks of a third statue as the statue of Memnon, that made a noise at sun rising.

“Trois statues colossales, les deux premières, dont a tant parlé Strabon, sont remplies d'une vingtaine d'inscriptions, soit Grecques soit Latines; la troisième est la statue du Roy Memnon, que, selon la tradition des anciens Egyptiens, rendoit un son au lever du soleil.” Vol. vii. ch. 7.

They mention also one argument more, which they think has not a little weight, and this is founded on the observation of Pausanias; that the Thebans denied this was the statue of Memnon, though the opinion of every body else, (as appears by these inscriptions, and several historians,) seems to have been, that it was his statue; but the Thebans said it was the statue of Phamenophes, an inhabitant of that country: and what is remarkable, Vanleeb gives an account which he had from Father Portais; that at Habou are two statues to be seen a great way off, one being of a man, the latter of a woman, the former is called Sciama, the other Fama; so that the remains of the ancient name seem to be plainly retained.

Pausanias's words are these, Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα ἐν Θηβαίοις λέγουσι, Φαμένωφά δὲ ἦναι τῶν ἐγγυτέρων. Pausanias, l. i. c. 42.

And Vanleeb expresses himself in the following manner: “A une lieue deçà il y a une ancienne ville appelée Habu, où l'on voit aussi plusieurs belles curiosités, & entre autres des momies. On y decouvre de fort loin deux statues, l'une d'un homme, & l'autre d'une femme; les gens du pays appellent celle-ci Sciama & celle-ci Fama: elles paroissent être pour le moins aussi grandes que l'Abulbon ou le sphinx, qui est vis-à-vis du Cayre.” Vanleeb, p. 410.

they would assault the boat by night, if I staid, which, without doubt, they said that they might make me go away, for they seemed desirous that I should leave the place ; as strongly possessed with a notion of a power that Europeans have of finding treasures, and conveying them away by magic art ; they might also be envious of the sheik, imagining that I made him great presents. I talked, notwithstanding, of going abroad the next day, being desirous, if possible, to see the temple of Medinet-Habou, which the sheik's son seemed to promise me ; but I found these two governors of the neighbouring villages were not friends, and when the sheik came to the boat, we informed him of what had passed ; he said I had seen every thing very well, and wrote a letter to the sheik of Fushout ; and then he advised me to depart, and to go on as fast as we could all night. This place I saw in my return.

When I had seen Carnack, I went up the river, a small league to Luxercin, or Lacser on the seventeenth of January, being very early in the morning. I carried a letter and a present to the sheik ; and the sheik's son of Carnack came to me here, and very civilly provided a dinner, and staid with me all day. I viewed the remains of the large and magnificent temple there, which without doubt was a part of the ancient Thebes on the east side of the river. That grand building answers very well to the particular description Diodorus gives of the sepulchre of Olymanduas, which, he says, was a mile and a quarter in circumference.

First he says there was a gateway * two hundred feet long, exactly answering to the measure of the pyramidal gate : it was sixty-two feet and a half high. From the upper part of two statues above this ground, without this gateway, it appears that the ground is very much risen ; the gateway is now about fifty-four feet above the ground, and I should imagine that the gate was higher than Diodorus mentions, as the ground seems to have risen more than eight feet and a half ; but these statues being thirteen feet and a half above ground, if we suppose they were sitting, they must be near twenty feet at least under ground ; unless they were half statues, such as are mentioned in the temple of Carnack. They are of grey granite marble that has large spots of white in it ; the shoulders are about three feet and a half above ground ; the neck and head, to the cap, measure five feet, and the cap as much more. These are probably the statues mentioned by Diodorus, but he seems to speak of them as in another part of the temple, and describes them as twenty-seven cubits high, each of them made of one stone. The statue to the west differs little from the other, except that on the forehead there is an ornament of a serpent ; the pilaster behind them, cut out of the same piece, in one is square like an obelisk, and comes half way up the cap behind ; the pilaster of the other not being so thick ; the ornament on the head seems to be the half of two dome leaves ; the head itself may be supposed to have been designed to be as high as the part of the cap that sets out, being three feet deep, and the remainder of the cap three feet more, so that the head being near seven feet long, the whole statue, if standing, would be about fifty feet high, and sitting, about thirty-four feet high, computing seven heads to the whole body ; so that if they were sitting, the ground must have risen above seventeen feet. To the north of these, are two obelisks, that probably are the finest in the world ; they are now above the ground sixty feet high, and might be seventy or eighty according as the ground has risen. They are seven feet and a half square, and at bottom might be eight feet : the hieroglyphics are

* Ὁ Πυλῶν. Diodorus, i. p. 44.

† Κατὰ δὲ τὸν τελευταῖον τοῖχον ὑπάρχον ἀνδριάντας καθήμενους· δύο μονολίθους, ἐπὶ καὶ ἑκαστὴν πηχῶν. Diodorus, i. p. 45.

cut in with a flat bottom, an inch and a half deep; and the granite has perfectly retained its polish, which is the finest I ever saw. The hieroglyphics are in three columns down every side; at top, on each side, a person sits on a throne, and one offers something on his knees: These figures are likewise below. Lower are three hawks, then three bulls, and at about the distance of every four is an owl. I also observed among the hieroglyphics, serpents; insects, dogs, hares, monkies, birds, and heads of camels; they are exceedingly well preserved, except that about half of the pyramid of the western obelisk is broke off, and the south-west corner of the eastern one is a little battered for about six feet high.

In the front of the pyramidal gate there are windows over the false doors which are about ten feet from the top of the building; in the front of it, among other figures, is one represented sitting on a throne, holding out one hand, which has a staff or sceptre in it; the figures are in postures of adoration. On the other side, one who has on the same sort of cap as the other, is represented on a car as galloping and shooting, with a bow, and many chariots after him. This may relate to the wars of this King against the Bactrians*, which our author describes as cut on the walls in another part of the building; as the other may be the homage the captives paid to him, mentioned also as carved on the walls†. Next he gives an account of a court‡ four hundred feet square. This may be the colonnade, though the measures do not answer. Possibly it might have been near four hundred feet wide, extended a hundred feet further to the water, and as much on the other side. Instead of pillars, he says it was adorned with beasts cut out of one stone four and twenty feet high, executed after the ancient manner, and it was covered with stones twelve feet long, the ceiling being adorned with sculptures of stars, and painted with azure. In that manner a portico might be built on each side, with the colonnade as represented in the middle. This court is almost all inhabited, and filled up with little cottages, so that I could not go into it; but from the pillars I saw, I concluded the colonnade was continued as it is represented. I saw the top of the cap of a statue of red granite, just above the ground, which might be the remains of one of the smaller statues, and there seem to have been colossal statues at the pedestals. Beyond this colonnade he says there was another entrance and gateway much the same as the other, except that the sculpture was still finer. This seems to have been the pyramidal gate as I took it to be, which is much destroyed. At the entrance he mentions three statues, each of one stone, the work of Memnon Sicnites, who doubtless was a very famous sculptor; one of them was sitting, and the largest in Egypt, the foot of it being ten feet and a half long. He makes mention of many other particulars of the statues, and especially the very remarkable inscription that was on this vast colossus §. “I am the King of Kings, Osymanduas: if any would know how great I am, and where I lie, let him exceed the works that I have done.” This statue, without doubt, has been broken to pieces and carried away, as there are not the least signs of it. Beyond this gateway was another court|| much finer than the last, containing the history of the King, cut all round the walls, and there was a very large and beautiful altar in the middle of it, in the open air. This seems to comprehend the courts, unless the one might be looked on only as the entrance to the other, which

* Ἐν τῷ ἡλυφᾷ ὑπάρχον παντοίας, δηλασταὶ τὸν πύλινον τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ἐν ταῖς Βακτρίαις ἀποστάσεις. Diodorus, *ibid.*

† Ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τοίχῳ τῆς αἰχμηλώσεως ὑπὸ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἀγομένης. Diodorus, *ibid.*

‡ This he calls τὸ περίπυλον, a colonnade.

§ Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων Ὀσυμανύας αἰμὶ· ἡ δὲ τις αἰδῶσι βῆ· ἴαι πολλὰ καὶ αἰμὶ, καὶ πᾶσι καὶ μαί, καὶ πᾶσι καὶ μαί, καὶ πᾶσι καὶ μαί. Diodorus, *i.* p. 44.

|| Ὁ περίπυλος. Diodorus, *i.* p. 45.

is not improbable. The supposed gateway is only from conjecture, there being nothing but a rude heap of stones; and the area seems to be a very proper place for the magnificent altar that is described. And possibly those ruins I suppose in the plan to be remains of a pyramidal gateway, might be the buildings of this altar, which might be of such a design as that of the temple of Jerusalem, built of large stones. The pillars in this court are forty feet high. The work of the capitals is not in relief, but only cut out in lines. He next mentions a place like those rooms, that were built on purpose for music, which may be the apartment, though, his measures do not agree. He after speaks of several apartments to walk in, and gives a particular account of the beautiful sculpture they were adorned with, which might be some porticos and rooms on each side, that are now destroyed.

He then gives an account of the sacred library, with that remarkable inscription on it: "The repository of the remedies for the soul*." This might consist of the two rooms. In those rooms are several figures; one is a deity carried in a sort of boat by eighteen men, preceded and followed by a person with a particular ensign in his hand; the upper one has no person appearing on it, but a sort of cover in the middle of it, and is carried only by twelve men, there being no one before it. I observed one figure on the walls had a tortoise on the head for a cap, in another part a man leading four bulis with a string, which were cut as on four floors marked with a line one over another, and in several parts instruments of sacrifice. I remarked also in a compartment, a figure sitting, and one kneeling before it, on whose casque the sitting figure puts his left hand, having the cross, with a handle to it, in his right. Another with a hawk's head holds his left hand over the head of the person that kneels, having the same sort of cross in his right hand. Behind him is a short figure, which seemed to have wings on the side of his head. Below them are three persons kneeling, with hawks heads. It is difficult to say whether or no this might be the King offering gold and silver to the deity, that he received yearly out of the mines of Egypt, which Diodorus says was cut on some part of the walls of the temple†. I observed a door here with a strait top within; but without it was cut in an arch, something like the shell of a niche, which might first give the thought for the arch in Egypt. With the library he mentions about twenty apartments, in which were the representations of Jupiter, Juno, and the King, with several rooms about them, in which were cut in the most curious manner, all the sacred animals of Egypt. These seem to be those several apartments on each side, and many more that have been destroyed, which probably made the building all the way of the same breadth. At last he comes to the sepulchre itself. He speaks of ascending to it, and over the grand apartment there is another low room, where the body of Osymanduas might be deposited; in which, it seems, there was a plate of gold that probably often went round the room, so as to be three hundred sixty-five cubits in length and a cubit thick, or rather broad; on each of which cubits was cut the rising and setting of all the stars for every day in the year, and the effects the Egyptian astrologers attributed to them, according to their different dispositions. This great treasure they say Cambyfes and the Persians carried away. The entablature round this room is very rich. Our author also observes that near the library were figures of all the gods of Egypt, with the King making a proper present to every one of them; and these I take to be the figures represented in the front of the building of the supposed sepulchre, where it is probable the middle figure sitting is Os-

Ἰουχῆς ἱατρῶων. Diodorus, *ibid.*

† Diodorus, *ibid.*

ris, with five gods on each side*. The stone below, which is represented with a dark shade, is a very particular red stone, which I saw went through to the upper room, and possibly on it might be cut a relief of the King offering his gifts to the several deities. This was certainly a very proper representation at the sepulchre of this great King, to set forth, as our author observes, to Osiris and the gods that were with him, that he had finished a life spent in acts of piety towards the gods, and of justice to mankind. Another thing is very remarkable in the front, that a building is marked out on it, that shews something of a very fine taste, and that the Egyptians had a notion of a beautiful disposition of lights, and of architecture in general, where it was proper to make use of such buildings, which we may suppose was not convenient for temples, that are generally built without windows, and with massive walls, that have no other variety in them, than that of hieroglyphics.

Here I finished my observations on the ancient city of Thebes, celebrated by the first of poets and historians that are now extant; that venerable city, the date of whose ruin is older than the foundation of most other cities; and yet such vast and surprising remains are still to be seen of such magnificence and solidity, as may convince any one that beholds them, that without some extraordinary accidents, they must have lasted for ever, which seems to have been the intention of the founders of them.

As the city of Thebes was so ancient, sciences flourished in it very early, particularly astronomy and philosophy; in which the priests† especially were very well versed, and first set themselves to regulate the time, and measured it by solar months and years.

I must not omit to observe that some are of opinion that Sheba is Thebes; and suppose the Greeks, having no way of writing the former name, altered it to Thebai.

CHAP. IV.—*From Thebes to Erment, Esne, Etfou, Ombos, and Assouan the old Syene near the Cataracts.*

I LEFT Luxercin in the evening, and we came to Erment on the west, which is the ancient city Hermonthis, in which Apollo and Jupiter were worshipped‡; it was the capital of a province of that name. I saw the ruins of it when I returned. We went to the sheik's house, who conducted us to the old city, the ground of which is very much raised, in the midst of a large plain; it seemed to have been between three and four miles round. There are remains of a small temple, which seems to be of great antiquity; it might be the temple in which Apollo was worshipped, because of the great number of hawks that are cut in it; the frieze is adorned with them in a very particular manner, as in the drawings of the entablatures. The anti-temple is very much destroyed; the enclosure round it, and the temple itself, are very particular, but little remains except the foundations. The inner temple is intire; there are stairs up to the top, through the wall, on one side of the building, which is about

* These words of Diodorus seem to be a very just description of these figures; in which the gods are made as sitting below Osiris, as a sort of assessors to him.

Καθ' ὅπερ ἐδοκυμμένοι πρὸς τὴν Ὀσίριν, καὶ τῆς κάτω παρῖδρος, ὅτι τὸν βίον ἐξετίλισεν εὐσεβῶν καὶ δικαιοπραγῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν. Diodorus, *ibid*.

† Λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀστρονόμοι καὶ φιλόσοφοι μάλιστα οἱ ἐλαῦθα ἱερεῖς. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

Οἱ δὲ θεῶν τοῖς φασὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἦναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ παρ' ἐαυτοῖς πρώτους φιλοσοφίαν τε ἐνέησθαι καὶ τὴν ἐκ' ἀκρότης ἀστρολογίαν. Diodorus, i. p. 46.

‡ Μῖται δὲ θεῶν Ἑρμῆος πόλις; ἢ ὅ, τὴν Ἀπόλλων τιμαῖται, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς τρέφεται δὲ καὶ ἐλαῦθα βῆς. Strabo, xvii. p. 816.

twenty-five feet high ; it is adorned with hieroglyphics within and without. On the outside are four stories of hieroglyphics of men, but only three appear within. In the ceiling of the first room there are five hawks with spread wings ; in the second room seven, and two rams face to face ; the rest of the ceiling is adorned with stars, and on each side are some small hieroglyphics with human bodies, and the heads of a great variety of beasts ; and on each side of a large hawk are two persons holding out both their hands to the bird. It is said that a sacred bull was worshipped here ; and one would imagine that this was the place where he was kept, for at one end of the inner room two bulls are cut in the stone, and a great number of women with children in their laps held to their breasts. A little nearer the river, on one side of the temple, is a deep basin, as of a pond : at some distance from that are the ruins of a building that was erected on a beautiful plan. I should think the design too fine for a Christian church, built on the first establishment of Christianity in the fourth century, and should rather imagine that it might have had some alterations made in it at that time ; for it appears to have been a church, from crosses cut on some of the stones, and Coptic paintings and inscriptions in many parts of it that are plaistered ; but there are very little remains, except at the west end, where the rooms had galleries over them, which might be for the women. I observed some of the niches, which appeared to have been hewn into a rough shell at top, as if they had been built at first with a strait top ; the pillars seem to have been of one stone of red granite, after the Greek architecture of the Corinthian order ; it is probable the semicircles and rooms at each end were made by the Christians. This might be the temple to Jupiter, and rebuilt in the Greek taste under the government of the Ptolemies.

On the eighteenth we went on with very little wind, and shot at a crocodile, as he was on his legs going into the water from a sandy isle, and had reason to think the ball struck him ; for, contrary to their usual custom of walking in slowly, he opened his mouth after the shot, and jumped five or six feet into the water. We passed by two little hills on the west, called Jebelin (the hills) ; on one there is a sheik's tomb, and there seemed to me to be some ruins on the other. This I thought might be Aphroditopolis, that is the city of Venus, rather than the city of Crocodiles that Strabo first speaks of, for a reason I shall hereafter mention. On the nineteenth we came to Esne on the west, a considerable town for these parts ; we went ashore and staid about an hour, and the men wanting a large stone for ballast, the people knowing we were Europeans, would not let them take it into the boat, saying, that the Franks, if they took away that stone, would, by their magic art, draw away their hidden treasures. The Arab interest here is under the sheik of Fursouth ; under him there are two serifs or relations of Mahomet, that have the chief influence in the town ; but there is a cadî, and also a cashif, who, as I apprehend, is sent under the bey of Girge. There are about a hundred Christians in the town, and two priests, who have a large church.

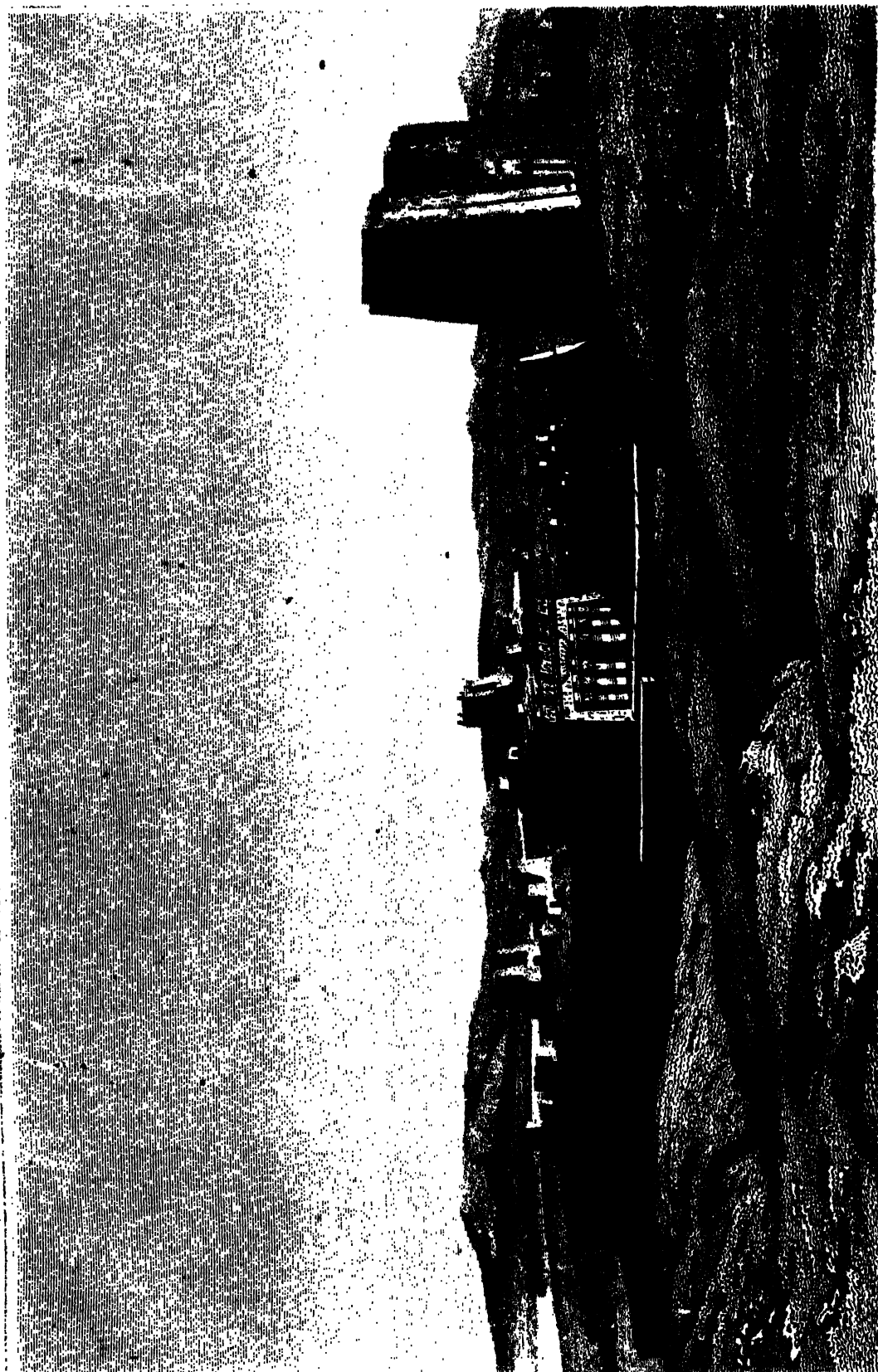
I saw this place, and the antiquities about it, in my return. I had letters to the cashif, who was absent, but I had seen him above, so his people were ready to go with me. I carried letters I had to one of the serifs, and likewise a present, and he went with me to see the temple on the north side of the town. I carried also letters and a present to another greenhead, who seemed to be a very worthy man. I had not been long in my boat before he sent me a present of bread, a kid, and some other things I wanted, and sent to me to draw my boat near to his bark, where he said I should be more secure by night. The next day he went with me and the cashif's people

about three miles to the north-north-west, to an ancient temple. As I saw the figure of a woman sitting, cut in several parts of the wall, I conjectured that this might be the temple of Pallas at Latopolis, where both that deity and the fish-latus were worshipped. The narrow passage on each side seems to have been for the same design as in some other temples, some way or other to impose on the people; and a little cell might be to keep some sacred animal in: it is about three feet above the floor of the rooms, and near eight feet high. The capitals of the pillars in this temple are something like the Corinthian, but with a very flat relief, some of them being but little higher than if marked out with lines. There are several sorts of capitals, one of which is the fourth in the plate of capitals. Within the temple are three stories of hieroglyphics of men about three feet high, and at one end the lowest figures are as big as the life; one of them I observed had the head of the Ibis. The ceiling is curiously adorned with all sorts of animals, and painted in very beautiful colours; among them I observed a figure sitting on what appeared like a boat, with a circle round him, and two instruments at one end. I observed also a ram with a cross on his head, somewhat like the handle of a sword, and across his neck was something resembling wings. Among the animals I observed the beetle, and a sort of scorpion; all the hieroglyphics are very well cut, but some of them are defaced. This temple appears to have been used as a church, and I saw some Coptic inscriptions on the wall in black letters, and they told me that there had been a convent there, so that the temple seems to have been turned to that use. On the north side of the town of Esne, there is another temple. The twenty-four pillars are almost all different, but something approaching the Corinthian order, and shaped like the capital mentioned before in the other temple. This whole building is very richly carved with hieroglyphics. I saw one man with the goat's head, and a man with a crocodile's head is cut over the middle door that is opposite to the entrance. There are several others in the walls with crocodiles' heads likewise, and also some crocodiles, which makes me think that this was the city of Crocodiles, where that beast was worshipped, as Strabo observes*; though he mentions the city of Crocodiles before Aphroditopolis and Latopolis, whereas if the city of Crocodiles were put last instead of first, it would agree with the situation I give these places. The old city seems to have been to the north about this temple, and at the end of the town I saw the remains of an ancient quay of rustic stone work, with stairs down to the river. A mile to the south of Esne is the monastery of St. Helen, by whom they say it was founded: it has been more commonly called the Convent of the Martyrs, and it was a place of great devotion. It appears to have been a great burial ground, the spot where they buried the dead not being less than a mile round. Many of the tombs are magnificent, being a dome on four arches, with a little cupola on the top, something resembling the holy sepulchre, and built of brick. Some of them have a cross, others the eagle cut on them, and a short Greek inscription†. It is a very indifferent convent, and the church is mean. There are only two monks in it, who cannot marry; but their relations, both women and children, live in the convent: this is the last church in Egypt. I made them a present of some incense, knives, and

* *Ἡ πόλις Κροκοδείλων πάλαι τιμῶσα τὸ θῆρος ἦν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ὀνόμαζεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λατοπόλιν, τιμῶσα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ ἰχθυόεν.* Strabo, xvii. p. 817. Here Crocodilopolis is put first, but possibly the order of the words may have been transposed.

many of them, as well as about the convent, these words are cut:

Ἐκ Θεοῦ ἡ βοήθεια.



sheep, came into the boat, and ordered a letter to be written to the great sheik. We set sail, and near an hour after the sheik's son came riding to the river, to let us know that his father had been informed I had given money to have my book restored, and had obliged them to return the money, and had sent it to me; thus I experienced in this brave Arab such an extraordinary instance of fidelity as is rarely to be met with.

Above Esne the country is very thinly inhabited, and the Nile broad. We approached towards Hajar-Silcily, and some time before I came to it, I saw the rock on the west cut out as for a grand gate, and south of it some ruins and pillars: a little further south, I saw five regular entrances into grottos, cut equally distant in the rock; above them a cornice or half round appeared to have crowned the work, for only the half round remained, it had also half rounds at the angles. Going on to Hajar-Silcily, or the rock of the chain, I took particular notice of this remarkable place, where the Nile is very narrow, I suppose not above a hundred yards over; the rocks come to the river on each side, and the current is very strong. It has its name, because it is said a chain was drawn across to defend the pass, and they shewed me a rock on the east side, where they told me the chain was fixed. The rock on the west side is cut into four sorts of niches, or small open temples for the worship of some deities, as they seem to have been designed; they are adorned with cornices, pilasters, and hieroglyphics. Here also are some pillars cut out of the rock, which are entire, with their pedestals; I measured them exactly, to see if the Egyptian architecture could be brought to any rule. On the rock over these works is a relief cut in an oblong square compartment, after the Greek taste, consisting of a tree, a man on a horse, and another before as leading the beast, with a pike in his hand, and an inscription of eight short lines, exceedingly defaced. There was probably a garrison at this place, and the people who were here might from time to time cause these things to be hewn out of the rock, in the way of their religion. In our return, when I staid some time ashore, the boatmen cut down a tree; some labourers near spoke to them not to do it, and I likewise discouraged it; but when the labourers were gone away, they carried it into their boat: but after we had put off, we soon saw some horsemen appear, who probably had notice of our landing, and if they had arrived sooner might have had the good fortune to plunder us. The village of Pthonthis, mentioned by Ptolemy, as distant from the river, twenty-four miles from Elephantine, and twenty from Apollinopolis, might be at some distance to the west, as the situation agrees pretty well with this account. We lay above this passage, where the Nile is very wide; there is a sandy ground on each side, being a gentle ascent, and so has been washed away by the waters, that must be much confined above this streight. We afterwards passed by several sandy islands, on which we saw many crocodiles: on one there were near twenty of them, which seemed to be from fifteen to twenty feet long; we shot at them, and about half of them went into the water, and firing a second time they all went off; there may be more crocodiles here than in any other parts, as well because the Ombites worshipped them, and suffered none of them to be killed, as also by reason that the cataracts are so near; for when the crocodiles meet with rocks they retire, so that if they come from the lower parts, and can go only a little higher, it may be natural for them to settle about these islands, so convenient for their lying out of the water in the sun, and it may not be agreeable to them to go down the strong current at the streight. We came to a large island, and opposite to it on the east side to Com-Ombo, or the hill of Ombo, which is the ancient Ombos; there are great ruins about the hill, especially of an ancient temple. The capitals of the pillars are

in the best Egyptian taste, adorned with leaves; and there seems to have been at each end of the small area, before the temple, such a grand gate as has been described at Thebes, of which the building to the south seemed to be some remains. The people of Ombos were famous for the worship of the crocodile, and Ælian* gives an account that they fed them in their marshes, which I suppose were these low islands; they were perfectly tame, and obeyed when they were called. We went on to the port of Lasherrad, where the cashif of Esne was encamped; we would have passed him, but they called to us, and the boatmen dared not to proceed: they stopped us the rather, as by the covering of the boat they conjectured we were Europeans: I had letters to him, but did not know that he was the person to whom they were directed; I carried him a present of tobacco, coffee, and some other things, (of which he said there was no need) and told him I was come to see the antiquities, and desired him to give me leave to view Com-Ombo, to which he readily consented; but the Arab sheiks of Lasherrad, who were present, when they heard of it, immediately cried out, that I must not go to the hill; and then their discourse ran on the Europeans coming in search of treasures. When I departed, the people of the cashif came aboard, and demanded pipes and other things they saw; and it was with much difficulty, by giving them a little, that I got rid of them, and proceeded on my journey. When I returned, the boatmen told me I might go ashore and see the ruins; but I was contented with making the best observations I could from the water, suspecting that the people of the country knowing my boat, might have lain in ambush; and if they had caught me ashore, would at least have plundered us, if not detained me till they might have a large sum for my ransom; the people here being very little subject to any government. We went on and came to the isles Alakiah and Mansunah, both of them fine fruitful spots; the former having a village on it; and the country on the east is well cultivated: higher up, the hills to the west stretch towards the Nile in pretty high cliffs, and on one of the hills over the river there is a square tower, which I observed, lessens as it rises; and they say, it is an ancient work. We after came to a sandy isle; at the end of it are several small rocks, which are the first I saw in the Nile: going a little further, on the twenty-first in the evening, we arrived at Assouan.

CHAP. V.—*Of Assouan Syene under the Tropic, Elephantine, the Quarries of Granite, the Cataracts, Phylæ, and the Borders of Ethiopia.*

ASSOUAN is a poor small town, with a sort of fortrefs, or rather barrack for janizaries under their governor. These soldiers have in reality the command of the country. There are only two Christians in this place, one the secretary of the Caimacam, the other a servant of the aga's. I waited on the aga of the janizaries with letters from Mustapha, aga of the janizaries at Girge, and from the sheik of Fushout; he treated me with coffee, and made me a present of a lamb, and I sent him a present of rice, tobacco, coffee, and some other things. He was so civil as to send two janizaries to guard the boat, and invited me to take a lodging in an apartment that belonged to his house, but separate from it. The Christian, secretary of the Caimacam, or civil governor, came to me and signified that I should make his master a present; but the people and janizaries in and about the boat suspecting him, asked what he said, and ordered him to go out of the boat, there being a jealousy between the military

* Τοῖς Ὀμβίταις καὶ συνήθως ἐστὶν, καὶ μὲντοι καὶ ὑπακίσσονται καλεῖν αὐτῶν οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἐν ταῖς λίμναις ταῖς ὑπὸ αὐτῶν πεποιημέναις. Æliani Hist. Animal. X. c. 21. De crocodilia.

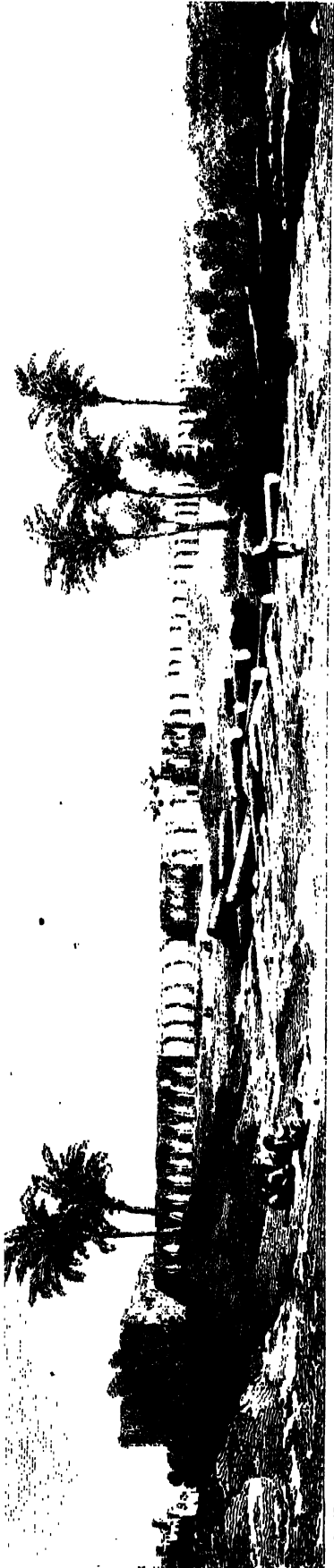
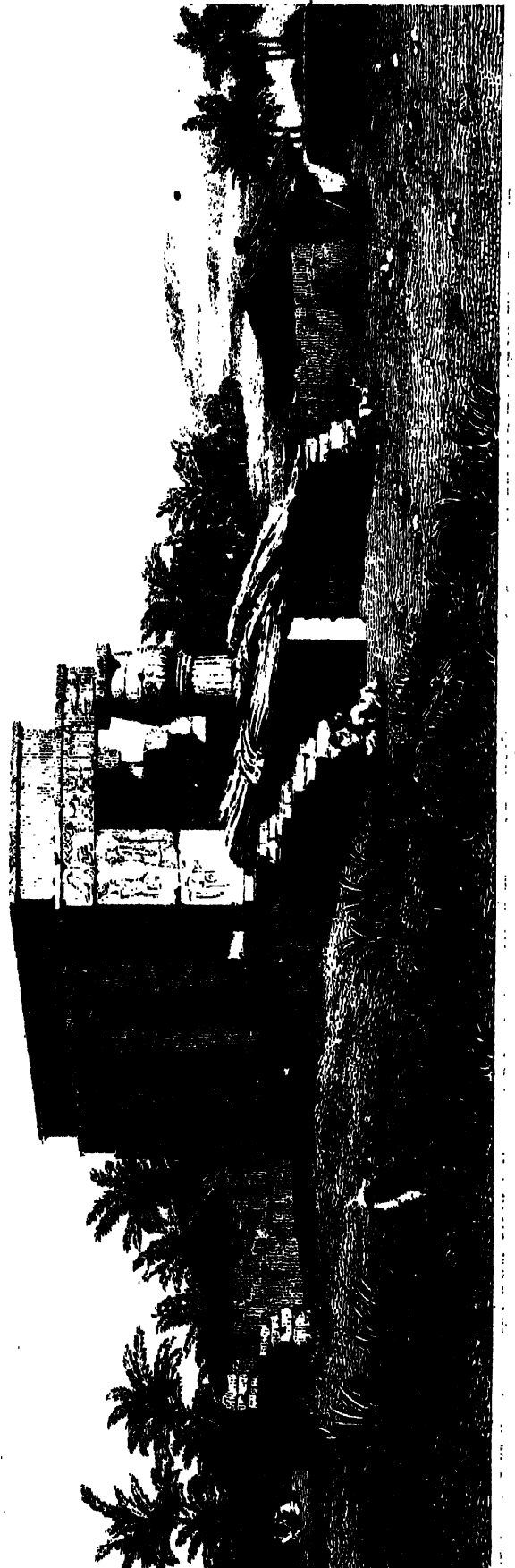
and civil power: this coming to the aga's ears, he sent me word I had no need to take any precautions; and when I went to wait on him, he repeated the same, and would take me under his protection, so that no one could injure me, and he showed me to the lodgings he allotted me. A Turk, who was there on the part of the aga, to collect some taxes, had come to the boat, and kindly offered his assistance. Some other Turks came to see me, and one, as a token of respect, brought me so trifling a present as a bunch of radishes. The aga also came

to see me. The ruins over Assouan are the ruins of the ancient Syene*, which is exactly the same as the city of Cancer. The present fortress, which has two or three flight walls, is no more strength than a common garden fence. It is to the south of the river, which is on a gentle rising from the river, and extends to a height that is above the water; that I should think was the north end of the ancient Syene, the principal part of which seems to have been on a lower hill to the south, though very high above the river, and extended to a hill still further south, higher than the other, and extending further to the west, being a rock of red granite, and full of ruins of ancient buildings, which we may suppose to be the remains of Assouan, of the middle

Syene, and particularly the ancient forts there, are mentioned by Pliny as in a peninsula, and this description may agree with a hill to the north, that is to the west of the present fort, which has water on three sides of it; or whether a fosse might be dug through the low ground on the north and south sides of the site of the ancient Syene, and so make it a fort of peninsula, it is not easy to determine. Going further to the south, between the two hills near the river to the south-west, I saw two oblong granite pillars, and two sort of extraordinary triangular pillars with their tops broken down. I conjectured that possibly folding doors might turn on the two pillars of them. Nearer the river I observed two oblong square granite pillars, which were the remains of some ancient temple. About the middle, between the river and the hill to the east, I found the building which possibly might be the observatory built over the famous well, for making astronomical observations, which is mentioned by Strabo†. I imagine that the holes at top, which are much larger than those above, were in order to try the experiment in relation to the fixed stars, as mentioned by Strabo. The building fronts to the east, and whether the windows on each side could be of any particular use in an observatory, I cannot say; but it is to be particularly remarked, that the windows in the two rooms are not placed opposite to one another. Strabo gives an account that there were a garden here of three Roman cohorts.

From viewing the ruins of the ancient Syene, I went about a mile south-east to the ruins of the city, all the country to the east, the islands and the Nile, being all of the same stone, which is the Thebaic stone mentioned by Herodotus. The quarries are not to be seen, but the stone is hewn out of the sides of the hills. I saw some of the stone cut out in the quarries, and shaped on two sides, particularly one

* *ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρου τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀφρικανίας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πόλει ἔχουσιν ἱερὸν Κνώβιδος, καὶ ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἔστι τῆς διασημαίας τῆς Συήνης τροπῆς, καὶ διότι ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἔστι τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἡ πόλις αὕτη.* Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 817.



one, which might be designed for an obelisk; they seem to have worked in round the stones with a narrow tool, and when the stones were almost separated, there is reason to think they forced them out of their beds with large wedges, of which there are great signs in the quarries in all parts; in some places I observed channels marked out about three inches wide, and holes cut in those channels at certain distances, as if for their chisels to go in, so that probably they worked down with the chisels at the bottom and on one side of the stone, and then forced the stone out of its bed with wedges. I could not find any other ground why some persons have affirmed that there are pyramids here, but certain quarries cut out into steps up the sides of the hills, which may have caused ignorant people to take them for the remains of pyramids, as some of the pyramids are built in that manner.

Opposite to Syene is the island Elephantine, in which there was a city of that name. The island is about a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad to the south, ending in a point at the north; there was a temple to Cnuphis in this island, and a Nilometer to measure the rise of the Nile; on it are remains of a small temple. Before the temple is a statue, sitting with the hands across on the breast, being about eight feet high, with a lituus in each hand, which is particular. There is a wall built round part of it about a foot from the wall of the temple, there being just room enough for a person to enter, which probably was kept concealed, and might be built, as observed before, to carry on some arts to deceive the people. On the wall before the temple is a Greek inscription, which is defaced in many parts. In the middle of the island there are remains of one side of a grand gate of red granite, finely adorned with hieroglyphics, which I suppose to have been one of the entrances to the temple of Cnuphis, of which the above-mentioned building might be a part. The earth is raised up very much about this gate, and all over the south end of the island, probably by the rubbish of a town of the middle ages that might be on the island, as there is now a very small village on it. The south end of the island is high, being a rock of red granite, and on the east side are great remains of a high wall built by the water side with windows on it. It is very probable that all this part of the island was defended by such a wall against the violent current, at the time of the rise of the Nile.

About this isle there are several smaller islands, as two to the west, and four to the south, which are high above the water, and also several large rocks of red granite; two of them appear to have been worked as quarries, as well as the south end of Elephantine. Out of one of these islands, probably, that entire room was cut of one stone, that was carried to Sais, taking, it may be, the advantage of the situation of the rock, so as to have only the labour of separating the bottom of it from the quarry, and having first probably hollowed the stone into a room of the dimensions described when I spoke of Sais.

I crossed over to the Libyan side, on the south-west of the island, where there is a sandy valley, which probably was the bounds on the west side, between Ethiopia and Egypt. Going about a mile in this valley, I came to a large ruinous uninhabited monastery, which I conjectured was dedicated to St. George, his picture, as big as life, being painted on the walls; and there are several other bad paintings in the church, and some Copti inscriptions about the walls. The east side of the Nile was inhabited by Arabs, as far as Meroe; but Herodotus speaks of Egypt as beginning at Elephantine, and says that the Ethiopians inhabited one half of the island*, though Ptolemy takes into Egypt the tract called Dodecaschoenus, on the east side, near a degree farther south, in which country Metacompso seems to have been, which was forty-four minutes south

of Syene, and he seems to put Pselcis also in Egypt, opposite to it; for Egypt on the east side probably extended about as far as where De Lisle's map makes the Nile to run to the north, after it has taken its course a considerable way to the east. It is indeed probable that the Nile, as it runs to the east, and the mountains there, were the most ancient bounds of Egypt, as they are at present of the Grand Signior's dominions, about the castle of Ibrahim; so that Egypt seems to have ended about Elephantine on the west, though it extended further to the south on the east side.

Returning to Assouan, I went ashore under the rocks to the east, opposite to the south end of Elephantine. The rocks here are very high, on which the ancient Syene was built; on one of them I saw hieroglyphics, and the middle figure sitting in a niche, and much defaced. The following account of some accidents that happened to me there, may give some insight into the nature of these people; for by the greediness of those that went with me, and by the imprudence of my people, I had like to have been embroiled with the aga. I had not given exactly the same present to an inferior officer, the brother-in-law of the aga, that I had given to the aga's brother, who was in a greater post; and coming afterwards to demand the same present I had given to the other, I complied in part with his request. On this my servant talked to a favourite janizary of the aga's he had appointed to be with me, as if he was a spy, and had informed what presents I had made. This disgusted the aga, as well as my taking a person with me that did not belong to him; so the aga sent for my servant, and told him I might stay as long as I pleased, but that I should see nothing more. I found also that he was not satisfied with the present I made him; for afterwards the uncle of the aga, a good old man, came to me, and intimated that those that came there must be liberal, that I should see every thing, but that it must be in the company of the aga's relations. The Turk I mentioned before, came after this happened to see me, who I found was so disagreeable to the aga, that he ordered him to leave the house, giving it this turn, that he would not permit the people to come and teaze me for presents. I took it in the light they would have it, and desired the favour of the aga to come and drink coffee with me, which he accordingly did, and the whole affair

* Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀνω Ἀιδίσις ἡδὲ καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ ἡμῶν Ἀνγύπιοι. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 29.

† Above Syene, in the country called Dodecascœnus, Ptolemy mentions Hierafycaminos, Philæ, and Metacompso, opposite to Pselcis. Hierafycaminos, I apprehend, should be put last, as it is in the itinerary, and may be Derra, derived from Hiera. On the west side the itinerary has the places in this order.

Contra Suenem				Tutzis	-	-	xx.
Parembolen	-	-	xvi.	Pselcim	-	-	xii.
Tzitzzi	-	-	ii.	Corte	-	-	iv.
Taphis	-	-	xiv.	Hierafycaminon	-	-	iv.
Talmis	-	-	viii.				

On the east side it has the places in this manner.

Contra Pselcim	-	-	xi.	Philæ	-	-	xxiv.
Contra Talmis	-	-	xxiv.	Syennem	-	-	iii.
Contra Taphis	-	-	x.				

It is probable that the two or three ruins that have been found above Philæ, may one of them be of Pselcis, a place perhaps of more consequence than the others, being mentioned by both authors; another might be the ruins of Metacompso, the only place except Pselcis and Hierafycaminos, that Ptolemy mentions; though the itinerary has many other places, and possibly Metacompso may have another name in the itinerary; for as Ptolemy speaks of it, we may suppose that it was a considerable town. See Strabo, l. xvii. p. 819.

seemed



seemed to be made up, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning, when I was to go abroad, the ~~agent~~ ^{agent} ~~sent~~ ^{sent} him the present I had made him, small, that I ought to have given him a cloak, and that if I had none, two leopards, worth about a guinea, might have served him, otherwise I should see no more; so I sent him what he demanded, and gave him at liberty to do what I pleased. From Assuan I rid to Philæ, passing many ~~small~~ ^{small} ~~hills~~ ^{hills}, and going along the road that seems to have been made level, ~~by the~~ ^{by the} ~~removal~~ ^{removal} of the little hills and rocks of red granite: some of them are in the manner of a ~~single~~ ^{single} ~~rock~~ ^{rock} standing up like a pillar, and a large rock on it, hieroglyphs being on some of them: The outside of the granite is turned blackish, which occasions some to take of them as black stones; though it is much he should not mention the granite statues, out of which the obelisks were doubtless cut, that were carried to Rome, as such extraordinary master-pieces of art, and at so great an expence. The road we went in is divided into two parts, by a mound along the middle of it. Going further on, I observed the remains of a thick wall of unburnt brick, ending at a hill north of the plain, opposite to Philæ; there being a watch tower of the same materials south of it, on a high rock of granite. This fence was probably made by the southern people to defend themselves against some incursions, it may be, of the garrison of Assuan; for we cannot suppose it to be a work so old as to have been built either by the Ethiopians, or as a defence against them, about the time that they made incursions into the Thebæ, and attacked the garrison of Philæ and Elephantine, and overturned the temple of Casius, under the first Roman governor Zilius Gallus. The island of Philæ is ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~small~~ ^{small} ~~†~~ [†], not being above a quarter of a mile long, and half a quarter ~~wide~~ ^{wide} ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~river~~ ^{river} ~~on~~ ^{on} to be rather nearer to the east side, and was inhabited by the ~~ancient~~ ^{ancient} ~~Egyptians~~ ^{Egyptians}. The city indeed itself seems to have been on the east side, for there were no other buildings on the island, but what related to the temple; for ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~temple~~ ^{temple} seems to say that no person but the priests went on the island, by reason that it was esteemed very sacred, from an opinion that Osiris was buried there; so that of this island there could not be a more solemn oath than to swear by the statues of Osiris deposited in this island. This deity we may suppose was worshipped here under the shape of the Ethiopian hawk. The whole island seems to have been walled round, something in the manner of a modern fortification; great part of this wall still remains. The particular sort of Ethiopian hawk worshipped here, I observed among the hieroglyphics in several parts; it is represented with a long neck, and wings spreading very wide, and a serpent coming out from it, something resembling the winged globe. It is probable this bird was kept in the middle room where there is a small cell which was probably made for it, being about three feet high. The temple is near the water, on the west side of the island; it is built all of freestone. The pillars on each side of the court are of the same order having over it the head of Isis every where. There are the six last pillars on the east side of the grand area; the others, especially in the long area, have a great variety of capitals. That court seems to have been annexed to the temple, for the pillars on the west side are not finished; and were not finished by accident, or on account of the shape of the island, it is not built in a square, but in a long narrow one, and in the court before it, the rooms

* Strabo says that the road was ~~very~~ ^{very} ~~rough~~ ^{rough} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~country~~ ^{country}, δι' ἡρατοῦ σφιδας ὁδοῦ, though a rougher face of things, can hardly be imagined. ~~It may be~~ ^{It may be} ~~favourably~~ ^{favourably} ~~interpreted~~ ^{interpreted}, if the text be corrected by making it ~~wide~~ ^{wide}, an error which may be easily corrected by the word only to the road.

† Philæ insula est aspera et undulosa. ~~Quæst. Nat. iv. c. 2.~~

† Τοῦ δὲ καταπλάτου μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοιοῦς τῇ πλάτει τοῦ Ἰσίδου, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ καὶ Νερούου, καὶ ἄλλων. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 818.

to the west seem to have been made to deceive the eye, that this great irregularity might not be perceived. There are very large colossal figures cut on the south side of the great pyramidal gateway. At the entrance to the east, which is near it, there is an obelisk on each side within; they are of red granite, about two feet square. A little more to the west is a lion on each side, as I find I took them to be, though, if the heads were broke off, they possibly might have been sphynxes. Between the west side of the grand area and the water, there is only a narrow terrace with doors to it from the portico, the whole ending at the water to the south, with a parapet wall, at which two obelisks about two feet and a half square, are raised on their pedestals, as well as two square pillars at the end of the colonnade. The island is there twenty or thirty feet high above the water, and there being a prospect about a mile south to the high granite hills, where the Nile having made a turn, the view is terminated by those hills in a most agreeable romantic manner, all together making a noble and beautiful appearance that is very extraordinary. To the east of the great temple is a beautiful oblong square temple; it is open all round. The capitals of the pillars may be reckoned amongst the most beautiful in Egypt, and probably were of the last invention, being the only capitals of that kind I saw in Egypt. Strabo* mentions that they crossed over to the island on a float made of rods, like a sort of basket work, which I take to have been much the same sort as they use now, made of palm boughs tied together, with the shells of pumpkins under them to bear them up; on which they go down the river, and when they return home, carry them on their backs.

Returning I took a view of some extraordinary high rocks of granite, in a regular figure; on them are cut hieroglyphical inscriptions and figures of men, and they directly face the north end of the isle. In our return we went to see the famous cataracts of the Nile; the hills lock in, and shut up the view of the Nile to the north of Philæ. Returning about half a mile in the way we came, we went out of it to the west, and going about a mile, we came to the Nile at the port of the boats that come from Ethiopia, where we saw most of the people black. Here is no village, only some little huts made of mats and reeds. At this place they unload their goods, which are carried by land to Assouan, and so they bring the goods by land to this place, that are brought up to Assouan from lower Egypt. The chief import here is dates, which the people of Assouan buy both for their own use, and also to send into the lower parts of Egypt; so that on the one side and the other, the Egyptian and Ethiopian navigation end at the cataract †. I never saw a more rough face of nature than at this place; on the east-side it is all rock, on the west the hills are either sandy or of black rocks: above to the south there seems to be a high rocky island, and higher up rocky cliffs on each side, and below to the north there are so many rocks, that little of the water is seen. We went on to the north, the Nile running through the rocks. The people knew I came to see the cataract, and stood still; I asked them when we should come to the cataract, and to my great surprize, they told me that was the cataract ‡. The rocks of granite cross the bed of the Nile; and in three different places, at some distance from one another, divide the stream into three parts, making three falls at each of

* Διέσχην δὲ ἡς τὴν ἡσσαν ἐπὶ πάλιν, ὃ δὲ πάλιν διὰ συνιστάμενον πεπεγνός ἐστι σκαῖον, ὡς εἰκέναι διαπλοκίνη. Strabo, *ibid.*

† Navigationis Ægyptiacæ finis. Plinius, l. v. c. 9.

‡ Μικρὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἐστὶν ὁ μικρὸς καταρράκτης, — κατὰ μέσον τὸν ποταμὸν πειρώδης τις ὄψις, ἐπὶ τῇ μὲν ἀνωτέρῳ, ὡς δὲ χεῖρας τὸν ποταμὸν τελευτῶσα δ' ἢ κρημνὸν, καθ' ἣν κατὰ ῥήγνυται τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡσσαν, ὁ μάλιστα καὶ ἀναπλυνῶν ἔχει ἀναπλυνσάνης ὡς ταύτην, κατὰ ῥήγνυται ἐπὶ τὸν καταρράκτην, καὶ ὠθέναι μὲν τῆς σκάφης ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν, καὶ σύζονται σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπαθῆναι. Strabo, vii. p. 817.

them.

them. The first we came to was the least of all, I thought the falls were not above three feet. The second a little lower, winds round a large rock or island, which to the north may be about twelve feet high, and they say at high Nile the water runs over this rock; but supposing the Nile to be then five feet higher below the rock, the fall may be about seven or eight feet; to the east and west of it runs a stream. To the west are other rocks, and again to the west of that there was a third stream, but at high Nile these two streams unite. This seems to be the cataract described by Strabo, which, he says, is a rocky height in the middle of the river; the upper part of it is smooth, so as that the water could run on it, but ended in a precipice, down which the water fell; it had a channel, he says, on each side, by which boats could sail, that is, as we must suppose, at high Nile, when the two western branches might be united. Sailing over this rock they come to the very fall of the cataract, and the water carried them down the precipice with safety. Going somewhat lower to the place where the road to Assouan turns off from the river to the north-east, I observed a third cataract, the fall of which appeared to me to be greater than the others, and I judged the middle fall to be about five feet. As to the catadupes, those high cataracts that fell with such a noise that they made the inhabitants deaf, I take all those accounts to be fabulous*. There is another cataract at Ibrim, which they call twelve days journey from this place; some say also that there is a third cataract; and others, that there are seven mountains and seven cataracts.

Here I saw the corn in ear in January, and the colocintida full grown, and the little apple called Nabok, near ripe, which in Delta was ripe in November; and I suppose that in the lower parts of Egypt, the time of growth for such fruit, is after the overflow of the Nile, but that here it is after the great heats are past, which must hinder the growth. I saw them driving the camels loaded with fenna, and they told me that a camel's load cost about two hundred medins, that is about twelve shillings and six pence. The pasha grants a licence to one person, generally a Jew, to buy all the fenna, who is obliged to take all that is brought to Cairo, and no one else can purchase it; one English merchant only has the privilege of buying it of him; and so the price is very considerably raised.

When I returned to Assouan, the relations of the soldier I had brought with me from the sheik of Fushout, sent me a supper ready dressed, which is a piece of civility and respect; but what is chiefly intended, is to get a present in return, of greater value: and the last evening the aga sent me likewise a supper of pilaw, a soup of barley with the husks taken off, like rice, and goats flesh boiled and well peppered, and hot bread; and desired that what was left might be given to the boatmen, and not to his people; but his own dependents came notwithstanding. The next day, the twenty-sixth of January, I had all my goods put on board, and took leave of the aga, some of his relations attending me to the boat. The wind rising, we could not begin our voyage; so I passed the day in my boat, several people coming to see me, most of them begging something or other of me. A genteel man, brother of the caimacam of Girge, came to see me, whom I had seen at the aga's; for I was in a country where I thought I met with a friend, if I could see a Turk, or one of the middle parts of Egypt; he seemed to be a good sort of man, and said if I had come to him at first, I should not have been used in that manner, and he would have sent a man with me that would have shewed me all, though I knew he had it not in his power to protect me, being only a

* Ubi Nilus ad illa quæ catadupa nominantur, præcipitat ex altissimis montibus, ea gens, quæ illum locum accolit, propter magnitudinem sonitus sensu audiendi caret. M. T. Cicero. somn. Scipionis, c. 5.

sort of a collector of the customs here, and probably his chief intention was to see if I would make him a present. The Christian secretary of the caimacam put into my hands, with a letter, a sum of money to the value of three or four pounds, a great sum in that country, and for such a man, to be delivered as he directed in Akmim; a trust he would hardly have reposed in one of his own people that were going to Cairo; and I was a person going out of the country, whom he would certainly never see more; he presented me at the same time with a live sheep, and I made him a present in return.

CHAP. VI.—*From the Cataracts dozen to Grand Cairo and Damietta.*

ON the twenty-seventh of January we left Assouan, with a very cold wind that was not favourable, and were obliged to lie by for some time on the east, about a league below the town. They have in all these parts a great scarcity of fuel; so that they commonly use either the reeds of Indian wheat, or cow dung dried, the latter is the fuel in general of the poor people of Egypt; but the greatest scarcity is in all the country above Cous. We made very little way this day and the next. I observed they draw water here to their land with four buckets one over another. On the thirtieth we passed by Com-Ombo: I saw what they call the wild goat, of a reddish colour, and white behind, which I conjectured to be the antelope. We were obliged to stop by the wind; but in the evening we went a little lower, to be near the cashib, for greater security, who was still in these parts. On the thirty-first I took a view of Hajar Silcili, and arrived at Etfoi in the evening. On the first of February I experienced the great honour and fidelity of the worthy sheik of that place. I observed here that they draw water out of the river with the Persian wheel. On the second I came to the wall, which I took to be the city of the Hawks. I went ashore to examine it, and found a deep dry channel above it, so that the wall seemed to have served for two purposes, to turn the water into the canal, and also for a quay for the vessels to lie at, for there are remains of stairs down the side of it; the wall is fourteen feet wide, being built with four large stones in breadth, in ten tiers; about the middle of the upper side it sets in eighteen inches, and what remains of it is one hundred and fifty-three feet long; it is entire at the west end, but the earth is washed away from it; the east end is ruined, so that it might have gone further out into the water. On the west side a little lower are remains of a wall of no great extent, but pretty high, appearing like the ruins of some tower. We arrived at Esne in the afternoon: I carried my letters to the two sherifs, or relations of Mahomet, saw the church and the temple near the town. On the third I went to the temple three miles north of the town, and to the convent a mile south of it. In the afternoon we pursued our voyage, and going all night, were opposite to Jebelin in the morning. The sheik of Cous, who had afforded me his protection on the east side of Thebes, was encamped near Salamea, and I saw a great cavalcade of his people to the east. We went ashore at Erment, and viewed the antiquities there. On the fifth we passed Luxerein, and stopped at Gurnon, where we staid till the seventh in the evening, when we found it was time to leave such bad people, and sailing all night, we arrived at Kept. I staid here two days to see the antiquities, and to get medals and other pieces of antiquity, which they brought to the boat. One of the Mahometans I had a letter to, came to me the last day, and would conduct me abroad to see some things the other had not led me to, and returned with me to the boat, and earnestly requested me not to depart so suddenly, but to stay till I had heard further from him, and in some time after he very kindly sent me a

present of a kid, and two baskets of bread. We arrived at Kena in the night; on the tenth I walked to that town, saw their manufacture of earthenware, and went on to Dendera, and from thence to Amara, and saw the great antiquities of Tentyra.

On the eleventh we arrived at the port of Badjoura, and went to the convent of Furlhout. I waited on the great sheik, whom I found sitting with the Mahometan priest, and eating beans boiled in the shells. I delivered him my letter from the sheik of Elfou; he asked me, smiling, whether the people attempted to detain us, and if they tore my book; and laughing, said, they thought we were in search of treasures. I returned to the boat; we sailed all night, and on the twelfth we arrived at Girge, and went to the convent. The bey was encamped to the south of the city, when I went first to the camp, he was in town at the Harem with the ladies, but he soon came on horseback, attended by about eight slaves; the music played in the camp on his arrival, for about a quarter of an hour. I went to his magnificent tent; he sat on the sopha in the corner on the right hand as one enters; was a person of a fine countenance with a graceful smile, but when he pleased, could put on a stern and majestic look, and I thought his manner most like that of our great men in Europe, of any I had seen in Turkey. I delivered him the letter I had from Osman Bey, and my servant placed my present before him, about a dozen boxes of French prunellas, and a fine covered glass vase for shirbet. He received me very civilly, desired me to sit, and ordered coffee. I requested the favour of him to give me some letters to the governors under him. He asked where we had been, and smiling, demanded if I had found any treasures. I went to the secretary's tent, where the letters were writ, and brought them to the bey to put his seal to them.

From Girge I went to El-Birbi, where, as mentioned before, there was a temple, and I suppose this place to have been the ancient Abydus. When I returned to the boat, in order to depart, I was informed they had taken away the ours, demanding a duty of about fifteen shillings: I sent to the governor about it, and found they had demanded three times as much as their due. We came to Mensieh, where the men would stay all night with their families. On the fourteenth in the morning we arrived at Akmin, where I went to the convent, and waited on the prince, who gave me some letters I wanted in the way to Cairo. On the sixteenth I went to see the convents I have described to the east. I had agreed with the boatmen so far by the day, and here I made a new agreement, giving them about five pounds to carry me to Cairo, and to stop where I pleased, except that on the east side we were to go ashore only where they should think it safe. All my friends attended me to the river, making me presents of sheep and bread, and I set out for Cairo on the sixteenth. The next day early in the morning we came to Raigni, where the religious sheik of the famous serpent called Heredy, was at the side of the river to receive us; either seeing our boat, or having had an account of our coming from Akmin. I carried the letter of the Prince of Akmin to the sheik of the village, who entertained us with a grand collation. He went with us to the grotto of the serpent that has been so much talked of, under the name of Sheik Heredy, of which I shall give a particular account, in order to shew the folly, credulity, and superstition of these people, for the Christians have faith in it as well as the Turks. We went ascending between the rocky mountains for about half a mile, and came to a part where the valley opens wider. On the right is a mosque built with a dome over it, against the side of the rock, like a sheik's burial place; in it there is a large cleft in the rock, out of which they say the serpent comes; there is a tomb in the mosque, in the Turkish manner, that they say is the tomb of Heredy, which

which would make one imagine that one of their saints of that name is buried here, and that they suppose his soul may be in this serpent; for I observed they went and kissed the tomb with much devotion, and said their prayers at it. Opposite to this cleft is another, which they say belongs to Oghli-Hassan, that is Hassan the son of Heredy; there are two other clefts, which they say are inhabited by saints or angels. The sheik told me there were two of these serpents, but the common notion is that there is only one. He said it has been here ever since the time of Mahomet; the shape of it is like other serpents; the great ones appear of different sizes, from a foot to two feet long; the colour is of a mixture of yellow, red, and black; they may be handled and do no harm. He comes out only during the four summer months, and it is said that they sacrifice to it; but the sheik denied it, and affirmed they only brought sheep, lambs, and money to buy oil for the lamps; but I saw much blood and entrails of beasts lately killed before the door. The stories they tell are so ridiculous that they ought not to be repeated, if it were not to give an instance of their idolatry in these parts in this respect; though the Mahometan religion seems to be very far from it in other things. They say the virtue of this serpent is to cure all diseases of those that go to it, or of such as have it brought to them, for they often carry it to great people in a bag, to whom he is not always shewn, probably pretending to carry him sometimes when they have him not. They are also full of a story, that when a number of women go there once a year, he passes by and looks on them, and goes and twines about the neck of the most beautiful, which must be a certain sign of extraordinary qualities, with those who have formed to themselves the idea of a Mahometan paradise. They have also a story that a prince came to see the serpent, but at first refusing to shew him, when they afterwards produced him, the prince caused him to be cut in pieces, and being put under a vessel, the serpent immediately became entire again; but it is said that a Christian, who was desirous to have exposed the fraud, offered a considerable sum to be permitted to cut it to pieces, but could not be allowed to try the experiment: they add also, that it cannot be carried beyond Girge or Meloui, and if they attempt to go further it disappears. Endeavouring as much as I could to sift into the bottom of this affair, I was surpris'd to hear a very grave and sensible Christian say, that he always cured any distempers, but that worse commonly followed on it; and some Christians who pretend to have more learning than others, and really believe that he works miracles, say they believe it is the devil mentioned in Tobit, that the angel Gabriel drove into the utmost parts of Egypt. It is probable that they have some serpents here they have bred tame, and it seems to be some remains of the heathen worship of those harmless serpents mentioned by Herodotus, that were esteemed sacred to Jupiter, and when they found them dead, they buried them in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes*. I went on and came to Gaua-Kiebir, where I went ashore. The sheik, to whom I had a letter, was not at home, but his brother sent one with me to view the temple a second time. The wind not being favourable, we staid at this place; it rained in the night, and began to rain again after it was day, on the eighteenth; but it cleared up. We pursued our voyage, and stopped early at Sciout; and it rained again in the evening. Here we met with some Turkish merchants with black slaves, which they buy up

* Εἰπὶ δὲ περὶ Θεῶν; ἐπὶ ὅφιν; ἀνθρώπων ὑδάμα διλήμονες; οἱ μεγάλῃ ἰόντες μικροὶ, διὸ κ' ἔρα φερέσι πεφυκότες ἐξ ἀρετῆς καὶ φιλοφρονείας; τῆς ἀποθανούσης βασιλίσσης ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Διὸς; τότε γὰρ σφενδαίνας τὰ θεῶν φασὶ εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτῇ. Herodotus, ii. c. 74.

It is to be observed, that these serpents are mentioned as small and harmless, and as having horns. The horned viper is very common in Egypt, but I suppose is noxious; the horns are something like the horns of a snail, but are of a hard substance; I have one of them preserved in spirits.

towards Ethiopia, and bring them down into the upper parts of Egypt, where they are prepared for the seraglios, under which operation they sometimes die. On the nineteenth I went to Sciout, and took a view of the town. On the twentieth we came to Mansalouth, where I delivered a letter I had to a Christian of that place, but as there was nothing to see there, so we went on and came to Meloui. I waited on the fardar with a present of English cutlery ware and some other things, and he was very obliging, and said, if he could he would go along with me himself to see the temple of Archemounain, to have half the treasures I found, or he would send his secretary. The next day I went to the town, and the cavalcade of the fardar was going out towards Archemounain with the caia, attended by a great number of people with kettle-drums and other music, and I followed on a very indifferent ass; and when they passed through any village, the music played. The secretary was sent with me to view the temple. I returned to the caia, whose carpets and cushions were laid on a height, on which he sat with the standard by him, that is carried before him when they go out in this manner. I sat down with him, and coffee was brought; the fardar himself came after, as incognito. I returned to my boat, and on the twenty-fourth we went forward, and came to Minio about night, where the men were obliged to pay twenty medins, which is about a shilling, for the boat. On the twenty-fifth we passed by Samalut, and after by Galosana on the west, where I saw in the water two rows of hewn stone about twenty feet in length, as if it were the remains of an old wall. We approached two villages, Sheik-Faddle on the east, and Benimfar on the west. These two villages had a dispute about an island that was between them. It is said on applying to a great bey their landlord, who was not willing to disoblige either of them, he bid them fight it out. This happened to be the important decisive day between these two villages. We heard guns fire, and after that a noise and shouting as for victory, and saw many people standing on the west side. Soon after we perceived people throwing themselves into the water from many parts of the island, and swimming to the east, others following them to the water, firing at them or pelting them with stones. We saw plainly we were in the midst of a battle, and it was too late to retire. However, we prepared our arms to defend ourselves in case we should be attacked. As we observed that the chief fire was from the eastern side, the battle being on the west, where they were engaged, we were determined to go on the east under the cover of their fire. We saw great numbers swimming over to the east, with their clothes and pikes in their hands; one of them laid hold of our boat, and came in to rest himself, so that we were afraid the people on the west side might fire on us, as protecting their enemies; for the western people had gained the victory, and most of them were retired from the island, and displayed their standard on the other side. We saw the women on the east coming to the side of the river, to see if they could spy out their husbands, clapping their hands and beating their breasts. The village of Sheik-Faddle on the east had manned a boat, put it out into the river, and were firing on the other side, and the fire was returned on them. Passing by this boat, we were in great danger. When we were below the village, we judged we were safe, and I got out to see what passed, and in a very short time I perceived a ball fell into the water, only three or four yards from the boat, which without doubt they fired at us. Thus I saw this battle, which perhaps may not be much inferior to some of the little engagements of the Greeks, described by Thucydides with so much pomp and eloquence.

We passed by Sharony on the east; to the south of it is a small hill, on which there appeared to have been buildings, and there are many stones on the bank of the river, which

which seem to be the ruins of a thick wall of a quay, which together with the likeness of the name, made me imagine that either Ptolemy is mistaken in placing Oxyrinchus on the west, or that this city which from Ptolemy I place about Abougirge, might in latter ages be neglected and suffered to run to ruin, and that a new city might be built on the east side, and take its name. On the twenty-sixth I went ashore at Beniueif, and we after passed by Bouche, which I suppose to be Ptolemais, the port of Arsinoe. To this place they usually come to go to the monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Paul, in the deserts near the Red Sea; the latter being the founder of the hermit's life, and the former of the monastic life in society: they were cotemporaries. St. Anthony the abbot founded a monastery in this place; and at the convent of St. Paul, a small day's journey to the north, they now live in the monastic way, though formerly they were hermits. Some say they lived in the time of the Emperor Philip, others of Decius, who persecuted the Christians; and it is said St. Anthony lived till the time of Constantine. The convent of St. Anthony is a large enclosure, the entrance to it is by a window, as at Mount Sinai; they have a great number of palm, olive, and other trees within it. I met a monk of this convent at Faiume, who gave me some account of it. The patriarch is head of the convent of St. Anthony: I know not whether it is always so, or that the patriarch being chose from thence, might have presided over this convent, and continue to do so; he has a deputy there. There are three other persons who have a share in the government of the convent, four more that are priests, and twenty-three that are lay monks*. They have every thing within themselves, and particularly a tower for a storehouse, defended by a draw-bridge, in case the Arabs should any way break in upon them. They have three springs of water running into the convent, that are a little salt. And it is probable that in these convents are the only bells in all Egypt.

At the convent of St. Paul there are twenty-five monks in all; they cannot marry, but widowers may be admitted. A woman is not permitted to enter the convent. They are not allowed so much as to smoke in the convent, nor to eat meat, but the good monks think they do not break through their rule if they do both without the convent, which is what they commonly practise; but their usual diet is olives, cheese, that they bring from Faiume, and salt fish, with which they are supplied from the Red Sea, which is about seven miles from these convents. It is indeed said that they eat but once a day, except on Saturdays and Sundays. Those who go to these mountains will do well to enquire if there is a very thick high wall in these parts, said to be twenty-four feet wide at the bottom, and to examine all particulars about it, and of what extent it is†. The person who made the sketch of the country about these convents in 1716, from which I have taken what relates to the modern geography in that part, observed on the 1st of June, and the second day of the moon, that the tide went out there at the Red Sea from twelve at night to six in the morning, one hundred and ten paces. He observes also that there is water in the several torrents only in the middle of the winter.

On the 27th of February in the evening, 1737, I arrived at Old Cairo, and went to Cairo to the consul's house, having performed this journey up above the cataracts and back again, with the greatest good fortune, exactly in three months.

As the convent of Mount Sinai was not at peace with the Arabs, and it was impossible to go there on that account, I determined to be at Jerusalem at Easter, to see

* The deputy they call rubeti, the three next gumous, the priests keshkishi, and the others ruban.

† See Mallet's description of Egypt, p. 321.

Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus, and to return into Egypt to make that journey and some others I proposed; so staying only three days in Cairo, on the 3d of March I got into a boat for Damietta, in order to embark for Joppa, not sailing till early the next morning. A merchant of black slaves had a number of them in one part of the boat, and I saw a young woman among them, that had seven holes bored in her nose for rings, one in the middle, and three on each side. The first day we made about a quarter of the voyage, and stopped at Miselcafer. On the fifth we sailed by Benalhaffar, which I suppose to be Bubastus and Phibeseth of the scripture. In the evening we were about half way. On the sixth we lay by part of the day near Abousir, the wind not being favourable. We went on and anchored at night out in the river, as I suppose they apprehended some danger; and hearing a gun fire, the people of the boat shot off their pieces two or three times. On the seventh we passed by Mahalla, Mansoura, and Dioft. This latter is on the west, and about four hours west of it is the convent of St. Geminiani, where there is yearly a great resort of Christians for devotion, and much talk of something like spirits, which, as far as I could find, is nothing but the shadow of the people passing, seen in a room by a small hole. The next day I arrived at Damietta, and went with letters I had to a person there. I was so disguised with my dress and beard, that he would hardly believe I was an Englishman. I was very handsomely entertained accidentally by some Greek merchants to whom I was not recommended, with all sorts of shell-fish, and roes of fish; for in Lent they are not allowed to eat any other, and only the roes of fish that have blood in them. In the evening I went down to the port at the mouth of the river. A French ship was hired to carry the pilgrims, who paid about a guinea a head to the merchant for their passage. Most of the pilgrims met on the narrow sandy point on the west side of the mouth of the river. To the west is a bay about two leagues over; and on the west head, a large Turkish ship of Alexandria was lost in November last, with seven hundred people in her, the captain only being saved: the bey, who had carried the Grand Signior's tribute out of Egypt, was on board, and came to land alive, but soon after died, as it is said of the fright. In the evening we returned up to the port, passed the night in the boat, and on the tenth went on board the ship with the other pilgrims, and sailed for Joppa.

BOOK III.

FROM GRAND CAIRO BY THE RED SEA, INTO ARABIA PETRÆA, TO MOUNT SINAI,
AND BACK TO CAIRO, ROSETTO, AND ALEXANDRIA.

CHAP. I.—*From Grand Cairo to Suez, and the Red Sea.*

HAVING seen Palestine, Syria, part of Mesopotomia, and Cilicia, and the island of Cyprus, I landed again in Egypt on the 25th of December 1738. I saw at Cairo the grand procession of the caravan to Mecca, and of the hafna or treasure, that is, the Grand Signior's rents, which are yearly sent to Constantinople. I also made the journeys to Faiume, the labyrinth, the pyramids of Saccara and Dashour, and the catacombs of Saccara, and went twice to the pyramids of Gize, near Cairo, which

are commonly seen by travellers; and prepared for my journey to Mount Sinai, which is to be looked on as the most difficult of all the eastern voyages.

The monks of the convent had made peace with the Arabs; the occasion of the breach between them was a murder they had committed on a monk of the convent. The method that is taken to make this journey, is to agree with the monks of Mount Sinai, who have a convent at Cairo, to furnish so many camels, giving about four pounds for each; they take care also to procure the common provisions for the road; and it is the custom to lie at their convent the night before the departure. On the 27th of March I went to the place from which the caravan was to set out, but found they would not depart that day; so I returned to the consul's, and the next day in the evening I went out to Keyd Bey, to a large yard where all the camels were together, that were to make up the caravan. In this open yard we lay; the caravan consisted of about two hundred camels laden with corn, going to Muellah to the east of the Red Sea, to meet the caravan coming from Mecca; the bey that always goes out to meet the Emir hadge being gone before to Adjeroute. My bed was laid on my camel, a bag of provisions on one side, a skin of water on the other, and a wooden bottle of water to slake the thirst in this hot climate. We ascended the mountain called Jebel-Macathum, and went east along the sandy hills. I observed in the road many stones that looked like petrified wood, being very numerous in some parts; if this is really petrified wood, as this place seems never to have been capable of producing trees, I do not know whether it may be looked on as a probable conjecture, that the people travelling in these parts, and carrying some wood with them for their use, might leave it behind when they approached towards the great city, and that having been covered with sand, it might petrify, and the sand be afterwards blown away; though indeed I saw one piece that seemed to have been a large body of a tree. We came to some uneven ground; and all of a sudden the caravan was alarmed, by seeing four men at a distance riding swiftly towards them from the south. All the people alighted from their camels and took their arms, and went towards them to meet them, on which all but one of them retired, who coming on, they went in a body towards him, and as he perceived he was like to meet with a warm reception, he thought fit to withdraw. The long step of the camel causes a very great motion in the riders, which to some is very disagreeable; they commonly lie down to be mounted, but when any one dismounts on the road, the way of getting up is on the back of the Arab, who stoops down, and so they climb up the neck of the camel. The pace they go is not above two miles and a half an hour. We lay in the open air, as they always do in this journey; having travelled thirteen hours without stopping. As soon as the caravan halts, if it is not dark, they let the camels browse a while on the little shrubs, and the people go about and gather the wood of them for fuel; they then make the camels lie down, bind one of their legs to hinder them from getting up, and commonly tie them together with a small rope, to prevent any of them from going away without disturbing the others, and making a noise; so they place their goods in the middle between themselves and their camels. They feed these useful beasts with balls they make up of barley meal, which they put into their mouths. In these parts, where it is not very wholesome to lie abroad, strangers especially take care to be well covered, by a carpet laid over the head: for though I carried a tent, it was not proper commonly to make use of it, for fear of passing for a considerable person, that might be worth plundering. On the thirtieth we set out an hour before day, and in about eleven hours we came to a narrow valley called Tearosaid, between
very

very low hills. In about an hour and a half we came to a narrower valley, with a high ground on each side; this is called Haraminteleh, and there seem to be ruins of a wall built across, to defend the pass. After I left the place, I thought possibly the canal might pass this way, and that this wall might be the remains of the buildings of one of the flood gates, which any one who goes in that road may take more particular notice of, to see if they can trace the canal that way. I saw no sort of beasts in the desert till I came to this place, where I observed some birds; and in the desert I had seen several holes, which they said were made by an animal called Jerdaon, and I could not be certainly informed, whether or no it was what the Europeans call the Pharaoh's rat, and is thought to be the Ichneumon. All the desert is gravelly, having in some parts shrubs and aromatic herbs. We after came into the open plain, and saw Adjeroute, at which place we lay, having travelled sixteen hours without stopping, and the afternoon was so very hot, that my leg, that was exposed to the south, blistered, being uncovered, according to the fashion among the common people, whose dress I always imitated, but I was after obliged to defend myself better against the heat.

Adjeroute is only a square castle with a garrison of soldiers in it; this, as I shall observe, has been supposed to be the ancient Heroopolis; it is distant from Cairo four hundred and eighty deraies (as the Arabs call them in their journey to Mecca, fifteen of them making an hour,) which is thirty-two hours, but according to my computation it is only twenty-nine hours; the three hours difference may be in the road the caravan takes farther round, being much about the distance that the lake of the Pilgrims is from Cairo, where they encamp and begin their journey. On the thirty-first we set out before sun rise, the great caravan taking the road to the south-west to Mecca, which is called the eastern road (Derb-el-Charke), we went on south towards Suez, in a sort of a hollow ground, in which, as I shall observe, the sea formerly might come, having first a rising ground to the east. In about two hours and a half we came to the well of Suez (Bir-el-Suez) where there is a cane; it is a fine large well, in which the water was drawn by a wheel, but not being kept in repair, the men draw it up with ropes: it is so salt that it is not fit to drink. About two miles further to the south is Suez, at the north end of the Red Sea. This sea makes two gulfs to the north, divided by that point of land which seems to have had the general name of the desert of Pharan, from a place of that name towards the south of it; that to the east was called the Elanitic Gulf from Elana, at the north end of it, as the western was called the Heroopolitic Gulf from Heroopolis. I suppose Suez to be the ancient Arsinoe, by which Strabo * says the canal run into the Red Sea, so that it must have been at the north end of the sea. To the east of Suez there is a small bay, that divides again into two parts, extending some way to the north: whether or no Heroopolis was on this most northern point of the sea, or about Adjeroute, where it has commonly been thought to be, it is not easy to determine: it might either have been there, or on the high ground to the south-east. This I suppose to be Migdol, mentioned in the journey of the children of Israel, different from Magdol near Pelusium. Strabo seems in one place to make Cleopatris the same as Arsinoe, where there must be concluded to have been some alteration in the words of the author, as he afterwards † says, that near Arsinoe was Heroopolis, and Cleopatris on the Arabian gulf next to Egypt: he speaks of ports, canals, and lakes near Arsinoe, the latter possibly made by the tide, and might be about the small bays to the north-east of it. This passage of Strabo

* "Αλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐκιδύσα μὲς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβίῳ κόλπον καὶ πόλιν Ἀρσινόην. Strabo, xvii. p. 804.

† Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης, καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἰβηῶν ἐστὶ πόλις, καὶ ἡ Κλειοπατρίς ἐν τῇ μυχρῇ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ κόλπῳ, τῇ πρὸς Ἀφρικήν, καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ καλοῦσιν διώρυγες, καὶ πλοῖα, καὶ γίνονται πλοισιόζουσαι τέλει. Strabo, ibid.

also is a proof of an error in Ptolemy, who places Arfinoe forty minutes south of Heroopolis. It is likewise very doubtful where Cleopatris was, unless it might be on the high ground to the north of Suez; this I suppose to be Pihahiroth. If Heroopolis was on the most northern height I have mentioned, the Red Sea must have lost ground; and indeed by the situation of places there is great appearance of it; the valleys, and the high ground, with broken cliffs, looking very much like such an alteration; and we may suppose, that if the sea retired in this manner, Cleopatris might first be built more to the south than Heroopolis; and that continuing to retire, Arfinoe might be built still farther to the south, which I suppose to be Baal-Zephon. Arfinoe, with great reason, is supposed to be where Suez now is, as one sees to the west and north of it plain signs of an ancient city. It would be a very fine situation for a port, if the ships could come up to the quay, as probably they did formerly. It is situated on a small promontory, making out eastward into the Red Sea. The old city extended about a furlong to the west of this promontory, and the north-west corner of the Red Sea is about two miles to the west of the town. Two small bays of the sea extend about a league to the north-north-east of the town. The port seems to have been between the western bay and the town, to the west of which there is a raised ground, that seems to have been the site of an ancient castle to defend the shipping; for the old town extended also to the north-west of the present. Here the shipping lay secure from all winds, only a little exposed to the east, which could have no great force, the passage over to the other side into Asia not being above a mile. When the tide is out, there is to the south of the town, a large sandy bank about two miles long, to the east of which is a road to go out to the shipping, and when they have no wind, they draw the boats along by this bank; about a mile south-west of it are the ships, a league from the town, the deep water being on the west, where it is a bold shore, there being shoals on the east side, where the land is low, whereas there are high hills all along on the west. Suez is governed by a captain, which is the title of an admiral, the high admiral being called captain bashaw, or head admiral. His business is more particularly with the ships, and he has under him a caimacam, the ordinary governor of towns, who both together, or separately, govern the affairs of the place; the latter commonly resides here, the other when the ships are in the ports; and a sheik Arab, who lives here, has really all the power, whenever he pleases to interfere; and what gives him much authority is the great scarcity of water, which is brought six miles from Naba, to the east-south-east, on the other side of the Red Sea; so that on the least discontent with the people or their governors, they will not permit water to be brought to the town, and they are obliged to drink a salt water brought near a league from the north, from (Beer-el-Suez) the well of Suez, so that on this account it was a very great advantage to have a canal cut from the Nile, as the canal of Trajan was; for water is now sold at Suez in the smallest measures. There are four mosques in the town, and a Greek church in a house, there being about a hundred and fifty Greeks here, and three or four Coptis.

Part of the way from Adjeroute is in a sort of fosse, that is thought to be the canal of Trajan, and seems to have run close to the west end of the old city: from Cairo, through which it conveys the water, it goes north, and north-east and by north, and supplies all the country with water for several miles, and by a branch from it, that large lake called the Birke or Lake, is filled, in which the water remains most part of the year. It is about eight miles from Cairo, and a league north of Matarea; it may be seven or eight miles long, and four broad; here it is the pilgrims for Mecca meet, near a week before their departure, and set out altogether on that journey. The canal after makes

a great circuit round the hills to the north and north-east, inſomuch that the common people ſay it goes near to Gaza, which muſt be falſe. That lake repreſented in Sicard's map with a canal going to it, which I ſuppoſe to be part of the ancient canal, may poſſibly be the lake ſpoken of by Strabo *, in the Sethreitic province to the ſouth of Peluſium ; for he ſpeaks of canals going into this lake, and ſeems to ſay that one of them went to the Red Sea by Arſinoe, though in the whole, the ſenſe of the author appears to be ſomewhat difficult.

The trade of Suez is only to Jedda on the eaſt of the Red Sea, near Mecca ; it is carried on by one fleet of between thirty and forty ſhips, that ſet out about the ſame time from Jedda in the Hamſeen ſeaſon, that is, the fifty days before the middle of May, when the Meriſy or ſouth winds generally blow ; and if they chance to be too late, they muſt wait another year ; and when thoſe winds fail on the voyage, they ſometimes are obliged to paſs a twelvemonth in ſome bad harbour, as they have often done at Coſſeir. They return laden with corn and rice in October ; the loading from Jedda is principally coffee, incenſe, ſome few Indian and Perſian goods, the richeſt being carried by land with the caravan from Mecca. There are other ſhips that bring the coffee from Feſeca in Jemen, the ancient Arabia Fælix, among which are five or ſix Engliſh and French ſhips generally employed : five of the ſhips which come to Suez belong to the Grand Signior, the others to merchants. Each bag of coffee weighs between three and four hundred pounds, and pays thirty medines, which is about two ſhillings, when it comes out from Jemen. At Jedda the tenth bag is taken, and half of it goes to the captain for his freight, and half to the paſha there, and at Suez it pays a duty of near a penny for every pound weight. When it is bought by our merchants it is purified, and ſent very clean into England, but of late the Weſt India coffee, which is not ſo good, has ſold ſo cheap, that it does not turn to account to ſend it to England. This Weſt India coffee is carried into Syria and other parts, and ſold cheaper than the coffee of Arabia, and ſometimes, to deceive, is mixed with it. They can alſo bring coffee round by the Cape of Good Hope, much cheaper than this way. The ſhips that go between Jedda and Suez, are built moſtly in the Indies, rather clumsy, after the Dutch manner, and probably many of them may be built at the Dutch ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. Moſt of them are large, and they aſſured me that the biggeſt was forty-eight pikes high, that is, about double the number of feet ; but probably they meaſure in two decks they have at the ſtern above the middle part of the ſhip ; they have alſo one deck raiſed before, above the middle ; on this they have on each ſide a little room for a moſque, where they pray, and to the corner of each is raiſed a little pole with a flag on it, marked with a half-moon. On the end of the bowsprit is a little ſhort maſt, and a yard and ſail on it, and over it is a ſmall gallery, on which the pilot ſtands to look out and give the word to the helm. They do not uſe pumps, but draw the water up with a leathern bucket, by the help of a windlaſs. On each ſide of the well to receive the water that enters into the ſhip, there is a ciſtern about fifteen feet long and eight feet wide, going down near to the bottom of the veſſel, being made of wood ; in theſe they put their water, and draw it up with leathern buckets, and put it into large earthen jars for preſent uſe. Theſe ciſterns hold enough for a voyage of eight months, though they always take in freſh water at Tor. Inſtead of a handle to the rudder in the ſhip, they have a pole fixed in it, inclining upwards beyond the ſhip, being about fifteen or twenty feet long. A beam is laid acroſs the upper deck, which extends on each ſide about fifteen feet beyond the ſides of the ſhip ; to each end of this is tied a yard or

* Strabo, *ibid.*

pole perpendicularly, so as that either end of it may be moved backwards or forwards towards the ship, as it is drawn. To the lower end of this comes a rope from the pole, which is fixed into the rudder; to the upper end a rope is fixed, which is carried to a block at the corner of the stern, and brought again to another block at the upper end of the yard, and thence crosses the ship over the great beam, and goes to the other yard, to which and to the stern it is carried in like manner, as on the other side. When the ship is to be worked, the rope of communication, which goes across the ship, is drawn to a post nearer the stern, where there is a stay made for it, in which it is drawn either one way or other, as the pilot directs, and moves the helm by the ropes fixed to the lower end of the *aforefaid* yards; and when one is drawn nearer, and the top of the yard comes nearer to the ship, the bottom consequently flies out, and the other pole is left perpendicular in its natural direction. When there is a storm, and they let the ship drive, they loose the rope off from that post, and let the helm play as it will: and this seems to explain what is mentioned in Saint Paul's voyage, Acts xxvii. v. 40. "That when they had committed the ship unto the sea, they loosed the rudder bands, and hoisted up the main-sail to the wind." For these ropes, which direct the the helm, may be very properly called the rudder bands, by which it is either fixed or moved one way or other. The voyage to Suez is very dangerous, more especially south of Tor, where there is much foul ground, and those trees of *Madrepore*, a sort of imperfect coral, which are about Tor and south of it, are as dangerous as rocks to the ships; and in those parts, where the water is not deep, they come to an anchor every night. The mariners say, that from Tor to Mount Houlfan it is three hundred miles, from which mountain to Mount Jamba are three hundred more, and from that mountain to Jedda four hundred, though the calculation seems very much to exceed the distance. And as Jedda is only six degrees, or three hundred and sixty miles south of Tor; it is possible they may compute by some measure that is about the third part of a mile, unless I might be any ways deceived by my interpreter. They sometimes tie their cables to these trees, or stones on the rocks. When the ships are unloaded at Suez, they leave them without any body in them, fastened with two anchors, to each of which are tied four or five great cables, made of a part of the date tree, and the custom-house officers attend here only during the short time that the ships are unloaded and loaded again; so that, except at those seasons of business, the little town of Suez is very thin of people. I was informed that the port of Cossair is exceedingly dangerous, which I suppose was used when the trade of the East Indies was carried on that way to Kept and Alexandria; that north of it is another bad port, called Old Cossair, and north of this is a fine port called Hamromyos, being like a round basin; one would conjecture that this was the ancient Myos (Cossair being Beronice) as doubtless most convenient for Kept, the ancient Coptus; to which place, situated on a canal of the Nile, the merchandizes were carried both in the ancient and middle ages. It is said that the west side of the Red Sea is much deeper than the east side, all the way to Ethiopia, but that they are not acquainted with that road. From Suez the passage is about a mile over the sea to the east side of it; the boats go twice a day, both for water, which is brought in skins by camels to the sea shore, and also for wood; for of all places, Suez is the most destitute of every thing that the earth produces. They have neither water, grass, corn, nor any sort of herb or tree near it, and not one garden about the whole town.

Egypt seems to have extended as far as the Red Sea, and in a line from the east side of the Heroopolitic gulf to Sihor, called the river of Egypt. It is probable the mountains to the east were the bounds between it and Arabia Petræa; for we have

Heroopolis on, or near the Red Sea, as a capital of the last province of Egypt; the Casiotis was on the sea, and the province of Phagroiopolis in the middle between them.

CHAP. II. — *Of Arabia Petræa; from Suez to Tor, and Mount Sinai.*

ARABIA was divided into three parts. Arabia Felix, between the Red Sea and the Persian gulf, part of which is the territory of Mecca, and the other part to the east and south-east is called Jemen. Arabia Petræa, which has its name from being a rocky country, consisted of this point of land between the two gulfs of the Red Sea, and extended away to the east of the Dead Sea, and the river Jordan. To the east of this, and of great part of Syria, was Arabia Deserta, bounded to the east by the Euphrates. In Arabia Petræa we were in Asia; and Ptolemy mentions the black mountains which run along this promontory between the two gulfs, extending as far as Judæa*. The first country on that side was the ancient Sarracenæ†, possessed by the Arabs, called Sarraceni, who at length extended themselves as far as the country about Elana. From these all those Arabs, that under Mahomet and his successors, overrun these countries, had the name of Saracens among the European writers, for I could never hear of this name in the east, or in the eastern authors. This part of Arabia Petræa consists of mountains, narrow valleys between them, and sandy plains. On the west there is a sandy plain on the sea two or three leagues broad, which extends about thirty miles in length to those hills of a white stone that are at the vale or winter torrent called Corondel. These hills stretch southwards by the sea for above twenty miles, to a long valley two or three leagues broad, called the vale of Baharum, having on the west to the sea the hills of Gah, and on the east the granite mountains, which take up near the whole breadth of this promontory, Mount Sinai being about the centre of them. This plain extends southwards beyond Tor, to the end of the promontory. East of the mountains of Corondel, and those called Pharaone, there is a long ridge of high mountains that run to the east, within thirty miles of Accabah, the ancient Elana, on the north of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, which does not come so far north as the western: by about a degree, as near as I could compute. These mountains are called Jebel-Te. South of them, for about twelve miles, is a sandy desert called Rembla (the sand), and south of this begin the granite mountains, which extend to the east, and south to the sea. In all this country there are but three or four villages, which are Tor, Jebele, Gedeheich south of it, somewhere in those parts, and Sharme, which I had apprehended was to the east; but I have since reason to think it is towards the south-east corner of this promontory, a day and a half from Mount Sinai, where they have boats, and from whence the convent is chiefly supplied with fish. About north-north-east of this place, as I conjecture, on the sea, and three days from the convent, they told me was Dahab, which some people have thought to be Ezion-geber, because of the name, which signifies gold; so, excepting these, there are no other names of places, but what are given to mountains, vales, winter torrents, and springs.

The whole country is inhabited by Arabs, its natural inhabitants, who live under tents, and stay in one place as long as they have water, and shrubs, and trees for their camels to feed on, and they find it otherwise convenient, for there is no tillage nor grafs in all this country. All their riches consist in camels, a few goats, and sometimes sheep; so that they live in great poverty, having nothing but a few dates

* Διαίρησι δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὰ καλεῖται Μετὰ ἀνατολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Φαραὶν μύχου, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδοῖαν. Ptol. v. c. 17.

† Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν δύοσις τῶν ὀρίων τούτων παρὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίον, ἣ τε Σαρακηνή παρῆκε. Καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν Μεσυχάμει. Ptol. ibid.

and a little goat's milk, and bring all their corn eight or ten days journey from Cairo. The Arabs are in different nations or clans, 'each under its great sheik, and every encampment under its particular sheik. All round by the sea side are the Misenides and Penuafi, who are a good people. On the mountains, south-east of Suez, are the Aiaidi, a bad people, and have possession of the water they are supplied with at Suez. At Suez are the Arabs called Beni Soliman, who have also of their nation at Tor; their sheik is, the most powerful of all, and has an influence over all the rest. About the convent are three clans maintained by it: they are but a bad people; those who are called Elecat are the best. Next are the Soualli, and the worst of all the Weccadifaid, which may be a people from Said, or upper Egypt; and I observed among the Arabs of the convent the particular manner of music they have in Said, or upper Egypt. All these Arabs are united in a sort of league together; are very honest among themselves with regard to property, and if one gives them to eat, there is no danger of any injury from them; they are indeed liberal themselves; and if they kill a sheep, they eat it all at once, though they have nothing but bread for their food the day after, which is an universal custom among the Arabs; and they provide of what they have for all that come. Any one of these Arabs is a protection against all the rest, for they strictly observe that law with one another for their mutual advantage. The Arabs about Accabah are called Allauni; a very bad people, and notorious robbers, and are at enmity with the others. Though the Arabs in these parts do not live in houses, yet in most places where they find it convenient to dwell, they build little houses for their grain, some of which I saw forsaken, because the water had failed.

I went, in Suez, to the house of a Greek priest, and the next day met with a Turkish captain of a ship, a very obliging man, who gave me several informations in relation to the navigation of the Red Sea. Before I departed, the good priest asked me my name, that they might pray in the church for my good journey, which is only a way they have of desiring charity. About noon on the the first of April, we crossed over the bay to the east, the camels being sent round before. They had received an account that the Gedda fleet was coming; and this afternoon we saw many of them, and others the next day.

As I observed before, Nabah or Nabate is to the east; from which place they bring the water, and over it are the mountains called Nouebah. These names, one would imagine, were some remains of the ancient name of the Arabs, called Nabataei*, that were in Arabia Petræa, inasmuch that the whole country has been called from them Nabatæa. The mountains here go by the general name of Te, but the particular parts of them have distinct names.

Three or four hours south of the landing place from Suez, are several springs on little hillocks called Ein-Moufeh (the springs of Moses.) On these rising grounds, wherever they make a hole, the water comes up. There are about four or five open now, though I saw the places where about a dozen springs had run. The water where it rises, brings up the sand with it, which is like a quagmire all round, and it is dangerous to approach too near. I could not find the bottom with a pole, and they even say that camels have been swallowed up in them. The waters are warm, saltish, and I believe there is some small mixture of sulphur in them. One of the springs notwithstanding affords tolerable good water. Some of them have been walled round,

* Παραπλυσαν δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐκδέχεται κύμα. Αἰλαϊνίτης, περιεικόμενος, πολλὰς κύμας Ἀραβῶν τῶν περισηγορευμένων Ναβαταίων. Diodorus, iii. p. 176.

probably to keep up the water for cattle to drink, and one seemed to have had stone channels made from it. There are two or three palm trees about this place. One would be apt to conjecture that these springs have their source in the neighbouring mountains. From this place a point stretches out a great way into the sea, being south-east of the shipping, and breaks the sea when the south-east wind blows. Clyfina might be near opposite to this point which Ptolemy places twenty minutes south of Arfinoe, and probably it was between mount Attakah and mount Gewoubee. Here I imagine that the children of Israel might pass over the Red Sea. We lay here in the open air, as we did every night in this journey, and were careful not to have any fire after it was dark, not being as yet in a safe country, and only five in company. I saw about the plain much of the small tale, and the next day many little hills full of it. On the second we went on through the sandy desert, and came to a rising ground covered with little shrubs, being the point that makes out to the west, opposite to mount Gewoubee. Here we stopped, after having travelled four or five hours, and I ventured to pitch my tent, to be under the shade of it, and defended from the heat of the sun. And travelling near three hours more, we came to the plain at the beginning of Birk-el-Corondel, which is the name they give the great bay of Corondel. We were alarmed by seeing two men running towards us from the east. The Arabs threw off part of their garments, laid their arms bare to fight with the sabre, and prepared their firelocks. They proved to be two persons of Suez that were in these parts with their camels; who notwithstanding would probably have robbed us, if we had not been too strong for them. We came to the desert they call Shedur, the old Shur, and went on an hour longer, and came to a place full of shrubs, and staid there for the sake of grazing the camels. Four of the Gedda fleet were anchored near, and we had opposite to us the castle of Shedur on the hills to the east. On the third we went on, and in an hour we came to the bed of the winter torrent, called Ouardan, about a quarter of a mile west of the road. In this torrent is the spring of Ouardan (Ein-El-Ouardan) where if they dig a hole three feet deep, the water comes plentifully into it, probably from the sea. The water seemed rough, but not salt. There are a few palm trees here. The Arabs made a shallow hole in the ground, and laid in it a round piece of leather, and taking the water out of the deep hole with a bowl, they poured it into this leather, and so the camels drank, that were unloaded and brought to the spring. We staid here about two hours, and going on came to a sandy plain, and in three hours to a hill consisting almost all of tale. We passed over it in two hours, and came to a vale between the hills, in which we travelled about two more, and ascending again, we had on the east Jebel-Houffan, and on the west Jebel-le-Marah, where to the west there is a salt spring. This seems to be Marah, mentioned in the old testament. We came to the vale, or the bed of a winter torrent, called Corondel, having travelled about eleven hours in all. This place is full of shrubs, and has many tamarisks in it. Here we staid all night, but found no water. The day had been cool and windy; and towards the evening the wind raised the dust in such a manner, that we could not see far before us. Being now in a country where there is no danger, I pitched my tent whenever I pleased; which I always found convenient in the middle of the day, against the heat of the sun.

Beyond the vale of Corondel, is a mountain on the sea called Jebel-Hamam-Pharaone (the Mountain of Pharaoh's bath.) On the side of this mountain there is a grotto by the sea side, to which there are two mouths; one of them leads by a narrow, low passage, to a source of very hot water, which I believe exceeds in heat the baths of Abano near Padoua. As soon as one enters this passage, there is heat enough to

make any one sweat very plentifully. A little further in, it is excessively hot; and many people have died that have gone as far as the water, by a vapour that extinguishes the lights. The water runs through the rock and sandy banks, in a great number of little streams into the sea for a quarter of a mile, and it is even there exceedingly hot, and so are the stones, which are incrustated with a white substance, that I suppose is of salt and sulphur. The water is salt; and having brought a bottle to Cairo, it was found to be impregnated with much earthy gross sulphur, a neutral salt, and a small quantity of allum, but no proportion of vitriol*. It is of so nauseous a taste, that it could not be taken inwardly, but must be used by bathing. These waters are esteemed much for barrenness in women, and impotency in men, and are judged to be good in most cutaneous and nervous disorders. They have the water poured on them first without, and then in the passage, to make them sweat more plentifully; this they do only once, and for forty days eat nothing but oil, honey, and bread made without salt, and drink only water with dates steeped in it.

On the fourth we came in three hours to the mountain torrent, called Wouset, where there are several palm trees, and a salt spring, that I thought had a chalybeate taste. In three hours we came to Taldi, where there are date trees, and as they told me a salt spring. In half an hour more we passed Reifimah, so called from a sheik buried there; on whose tomb the Mahometans throw a piece of bread as they pass by, out of devotion. In an hour more we came to a narrow valley called Menetfah, where the road to Tor goes to the south, and that to Mount Sinai to the east; but in order to have company, my Arab would carry me a day's journey round about, so we went in a long valley to the east, in which we lay. On the fifth, continuing in it, we turned to the north, up a gentle sandy ascent, and having a hill to the south-west, called the House of Pharaoh (Bait-El-Pharaonc) we came to the place that was near the encampment of our Arabs. Here one of them, who had a difference with one of the company, as he was in his own country, came and brought him a flower, as a present, which being accepted of, was a sign that all was made up. From this place on the sixth, I pursued my journey, only with one Arab, going west, and leaving the road to Mount Sinai in order to go to Tor, and soon came into a narrow valley, which is the bed of a torrent which was dry, as all the others were. The hills are very high on each side, consisting of a great variety of red and grey granites, mostly with small grains; and in some of these valleys I picked up specimens of the most beautiful granites, of which there are great variety. After we had travelled a few hours, we stopped, and the Arab left us and led his camels to a spring at some distance, having been near four days without water. In the evening we passed by an encampment of Arabs, who invited us to stay all night, offering to kill a kid; but the Arab, knowing

* These observations were made on this water in Grand Cairo:

1. Scrapings of gall being put into it, produced very little change in the colour, till it had stood a considerable time, when it turned greenish.
2. Two ounces being mixed with a dram of spirit of sal armoniac, it became turbid, and there was a settlement of a little dark grey powder.
3. It hardly changed colour when mixed with sugar of violets.
4. Two ounces mixed with 3j of a solution of sacch. Saturni, it became immediately very turbid; but standing twelve hours, there was a great sediment of a dark brown colour, the water remaining white and troubled.
5. Two ounces mixed with 3j of a solution of sublimate, it turned presently yellow; but after standing some time, a little woolly unctuous matter settled at bottom.
6. Two ounces mixed with 3j of ol. tartar. per deliq. it turned turbid, and of a pearl colour.
7. Two ounces mixed with 3j of spirit of vitriol, it suffered no manner of change as to its colour or clearness.

we did not choose to stop where there were any people, told them we were in haste. We passed by one place where we saw some garments hanging on a tree, no one being near, and expressing our surprise at it, the Arab said there was no danger here, they were all honest people; and if any thing was lost, the next encampment was obliged to make amends. We came into a plain country, and to the road we should have come in, and after to the torrent of Pharan (Waad Pharan), the bed of which is a quarter of a mile broad. On the seventh we turned southward, and passed over a hill into the plain of Baharum, about five miles wide, having only the mountains of Gah between us and the sea; we travelled this day thirteen hours. On the eighth we came into the valley of Tor, and in three hours to the palm grove of Tor (Nach-El-Tor). At the first entering of it there is a salt spring, the water of it spreads over the ground, and the salt making a cake on the surface, it looks like dry ground, which was the occasion of an accident to me, which is looked on as extraordinary, even among the Arabs, and is generally very disastrous; for the camel going on this ground slipped and fell down, and I came off; it was well the ground was soft, for if a camel falls on stones he is certainly spoiled.

Tor is a small village on the east side of the Red Sea, and lies above a day's journey near west of Mount Sinai, so that it is a day further to go by Tor than by the direct road. Near it is a ruined castle, inhabited by the Arabs; the Greeks call this place Raitho (*Ραιθω*), which might have its name from being inhabited by some of those people, called by Ptolemy Raitheni, towards the mountains of Arabia Felix*; it is inhabited by Arabs, and about twenty families of the Greek church. The monks of Mount Sinai have a convent here, to which they have sometimes retired when they could not conveniently stay at Mount Sinai; only one priest resides in it for the service of the church. There are a sect of Mahometan Arabs here, called Seleminites, as it is said from their having a particular regard for Solomon, as they have also for Abraham; they seem to be the ancient inhabitants of the place, for they have the principal mosque to which all the others go every Friday; and these in their prayers make mention of Solomon as well as Mahomet. It is possible they may be descendants of some people in these countries, who in some manner adhered to the Jewish religion; or perhaps may be of the race of Jethro the father-in-law of Moses. About a league north of Tor is a well of good water, and all about it are a great number of date trees and several springs of a salt warm water, especially to the south-east, where the monks have their garden. Near it are several springs, and a bath or two, which are called the Baths of Moses; the Greeks as well as some others are of opinion, that this is Elim. The greatest curiosities at Tor are the productions of the Red Sea; the shell fish of it are different from those of the seas to the north of it; but what are most peculiar to it, are the several stone vegetables, the Madreporæ, a sort of coral, the fungi or mushrooms, and the red pipe coral. I went to the house that belongs to the convent of Mount Sinai, where I was entertained by the priest: I had a letter to the steward of the convent, who being absent, his son came to me and brought me a present of fruit and shells, invited me to eat at his house, but excusing myself, he sent his provisions in for me.

To the south of the town is a ruined castle under an Arab governor; and three or four miles to the south there is a village called Jebblee: beyond it is the bay of Raie, where the ships going to Suez often stay when the wind is contrary. They say the Red Sea here is half a day's sailing over, though I think it cannot be above ten leagues.

* Παρά δὲ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Ἐρυθρίας ἡ Ραιθω. Ptol. v. c. 17.

Opposite to Tor is Jebel Garib, and south of that is Jebel Zeit, that is, the mountain of oil, which they say has its name from a healing water there, which they think has the effect of oil. I went twice into the Red Sea, swimming over the groves, if I may so call them, of coral or madreporæ, which is somewhat dangerous, and pulled several of them up. I could not observe that they were in any part softer at first taking out than they are afterwards, but I took notice that they changed their colour in a very short time; some that were reddish to a deep yellow, and those that were white to a pale yellow. I saw none of the fungi, or tube coral growing: the latter is found at about the distance of a day and a half: I got a finer piece of it than ever I saw, which shews plainly how it grows with a round head like a colly-flower.

On the ninth we pursued our journey towards Mount Sinai. Crossing over the plain to the east, and travelling about six hours, we lay near the entrance into a narrow vale, having joined some company that were going that way. At Tor they demanded of me a small caplar, but I did not pay it, and a sheik that was in the company took four that were due to him on the road, and another four for Mount Sinai, because his ancestor having assisted a merchant, who had like to have had a dangerous fall at Mount Sinai, he gave him four medines, which they have demanded of every one that has come since to Mount Sinai; so dangerous a thing is it to give the Arabs money on any account whatsoever. We saw a hill within the rest, called Jebel Mefeka, where they say there was formerly a convent. On the tenth we came to the torrent called Waad Hebran between the high hills of granite. I observed some inscriptions on the large rocks that lay about the valley, and after saw several such inscriptions at Mount Sinai; there are many palm trees in this vale. We came to the fountain Hebran, which is a little running stream; and to such another half a mile further. We passed through the country called Diar Frangi (the country of the Franks), because they say formerly the Franks used to come there. We had on the left Jebel Mosinewm, that is, the hill where Moses slept; we had left the convent of Pharan to the north, and going on, we lay out of the road in a little valley; for they seemed to think there was some danger here, probably being near the Arabs of Mount Sinai. On the eleventh, after travelling some time, we turned to the south-east, and went up a narrow vale called Negeb-Houah, which has a gentle ascent, and water and palm trees in it, there being the bed of a winter torrent to the left. We here passed over a square spot encompassed with loose stones; where it is said they first designed the convent, but they pretend that the architect by some miracle was led to build it where it stands. We went on and arrived at the Greek convent of St. Catharine's, commonly called the convent of Mount Sinai, being on the foot of Mount Sinai, at the north-east side of it. I was drawn up in a machine, by a windlass, about thirty feet high, and conveyed through a window into the convent. The archbishop of Mount Sinai was not here, but his deputy and the chief of the convent received me at the window, and asked if I would go first to my room, or to the church; I went to the latter, where they sung a hymn, and conducted me to the shrine in which the body of St. Catharine was deposited, and then shewed me the way to the apartments they have allotted for strangers.

CHAP. III. — *Of Mount Sinai, and the Places about it.*

MOUNT Sinai in general, is called by the Arabs Jebel Moses (the mountain of Moses). It is one hill with two summits: the Greeks divide the mountain into four parts. Half way up the mountain is a little plain. Between the two summits to the north of it, is what they call Mount Horeb. To the south is the height called properly
Mount

Mount Sinai. Mount Serich is a long narrow hill to the west of Horeb. East of the great convent, and at the east end of the narrow vale, which is north of Mount Horeb, is a round hill which the Greeks call the Mount of Moses. It joins to Mount Sinai on the south, and to Mount Elisteme on the north. But the mountain is more commonly divided into Sinai properly so called, and Horeb. I shall speak of the several parts of Mount Sinai in general, as they are distinguished by the Greeks. The convent of Mount Sinai is situated on the north foot of Mount Horeb, and west of the Mount of Moses; for so I chuse to express myself, though the valley runs from the south-west to the south-east. At a well in the convent, called the Well of Moses, they say, Moses met the daughters of Jethro; that on the Mount of Moses he was feeding the flock of Jethro his father-in-law; and that in the spot where now is the chapel of the Holy Bush, adjoining to the east end of the great church of the convent, grew that tree which appeared to Moses as if it burnt and was not consumed, and out of which God spake to him. In a garden near, the fathers have planted a bramble, such as are common in Europe, and say it was such a bush in which this miracle was wrought; though such brambles do not grow in these parts; but they tell you that formerly they did. To the west and south of Mount Sinai, and that part of it called Mount Serich, is a narrow vale, called the vale of Jah, that is, the vale of God. The vale to the west is certainly the vale of Replidim, where the Israelites encamped when they came out of the deserts of Sin. Here they shew the rock which, they say, Moses struck, and the waters flowed out, when God told him he would stand before him upon the rock in Horeb, which was after called Massah and Meribah; it is on the foot of Mount Serich, and is a red granite stone, fifteen feet long, ten wide, and about twelve feet high. On both sides of it, towards the south end, and at top, the stone, for about the breadth of eight inches, is discoloured, as by the running of water; and all down this part on both sides and at top are a sort of openings or mouths, some of which resemble the lion's mouth that is sometimes cut in stone spouts, but appear not to be the work of a tool. There are about twelve on each side, and within every one is an horizontal crack, and in some also a crack down perpendicularly. There is also a crack from one of the mouths next to the hill, that extends two or three feet to the north, and all round the south end. The Arabs call this the stone of Moses; and they put herbs into these mouths, and give them their camels, as a sovereign remedy, as they think, in all disorders. It was in this valley that Israel fought with Amalek; and at the south-west end of it, at the foot of Mount Sinai, is the convent of the forty martyrs, where the fathers have only a servant who takes care of the large garden. Here are the only fruit trees in all these parts, which they have of almost all sorts. From that they ascend very high to the south-west, up to the mountain of St. Catharine's, and on the summit of it, pretend to shew the print in the rock where the body of that saint lay; who being tied to a wheel at Alexandria, under the Emperor Maxentius, in order to be put to death, it is said the wheel snapped in pieces; and being afterwards beheaded, her body (according to her prayer, that it should not come into the hands of infidels), they say, was carried by angels to the top of this mountain, and was brought to the convent by the monks, soon after it was finished. About a third of the way up is the spring of partridges, which the Caloyers say was discovered by partridges, who flew after the body; when the monks resting there, who brought it down, and suffering with thirst, the birds all went to this spring, by which means, as they say, they found the water. This mountain is much higher than any other in these parts; and when one is at the top of it, Mount Sinai north-east of it appears but low. From the top of this high mountain I saw both the arms of the Red Sea, and on

on the east side, a part of the sea south of this promontory; and on the other side into Arabia Felix. This hill is a sort of a speckled stone or marble, which may be reckoned among the granite kind; many parts of which are dendrite stones marked with beautiful figures of trees; as are also some of the red granite stones of Mount Sinai, but are inferior to these in beauty.

The vale of Jah does not extend the whole length of Mount Sinai and Horeb to the north, but opens into a plain near a league over every way, which is called the vale of Melgah. This also to the north opens into the vale of Raha, which is to the west of the vale of the convent that is between Mount Horeb and Mount Episteme. Opposite to the vale of Melgah to the north is the vale of sheik Salem; it is to the west of Mount Episteme, of which I shall have occasion to make mention. These two vales of Melgah and Raha, I take to be the desert of Sinai, into which the children of Israel moved, before Moses was called up into the mount; and they remained here about two years. It is to be observed that the summit of Mount Sinai, where God gave the law, is not to be seen from either of them, and from very few places; not from any that I could observe to the north or north-west, being hid by Mount Horeb. In the plain of Melgah is a well dug through the rock; and west of the vale of Raha there is a narrow passage to the east, between the mountains; and such another well is dug at the entrance of it, which is called Beer Aboufely. In this passage there is water and palm trees; and it is probable the encampment of the children of Israel extended this way, which might be a part of the desert of Sinai. From the south-east corner of this vale there is a gentle ascent, between Mount Serich and Mount Horeb, which leads up to Mount Horeb, passes by the chapels of St. Panteleimon and St. John Baptist, between the summits of Mount Horeb, and so goes into the little plain between Mount Horeb and Mount Sinai. This is called the road of Serich; and, according to a tradition they have, it is very probable that Moses went up to Mount Sinai this way being the easiest ascent of the three ways up to the mountain, and nearest to the supposed desert of Sinai. Coming out from this road, into the vale of Rahab, about a furlong to the west, is the spot where they say Aaron cast the head of the calf; for there being a hole in the rock somewhat in the shape of a head, they will have it that the head of the calf was cast there, which the Israelites worshipped; for they speak of the head of this animal as the object of their adoration. Near it is an advanced rock, which seems to be formed naturally into steps. They say the idol was placed on it; and certainly a fitter place could not be chosen to expose such an idol on, as it is seen from all the neighbouring vallies. On the north side of the vale of Melgah, is a sort of a narrow bed of a winter torrent which the Greeks call Dathan and Abiram, and say those sinners were there swallowed up by the earth; but when this happened, they had left the desert of Sinai: and the last place mentioned before this account is Hazeroth, in the desert of Paran.

It is conjectured by some that the derivation of the name of Mount Sinai, is from (סנה) in the Hebrew, which signifies a bush, on account of the dendrite stones of this mountain, which are full of the figures of trees or shrubs; or, it might have its name from some part of it abounding in such shrubs. Since, also in the Persian language, signifies a breast; so that probably it has its name from the Hebrew, or from the other eastern word, as Mount Sinai and Mount Catharine are the highest hills in all these parts, and possibly might be likened to the breasts of the human body. It is also in the eastern writers often called Thor, by way of eminence, which signifies a mountain; and sometimes it is called Thour Sinai, though some eastern writers pretend that both the mountains and the town had their name from a son of Ishmael.

The most usual way up to Mount Sinai, is that which is called the way of the steps, which begins at the convent on the north side of Mount Horeb, the steps are narrow, of the rough red granite of the mountain : in the different parts of which there is a great variety of granites, some being of the grey kind. Ascending, one passes by a fine spring, and after a chapel of St. Mary, concerning which they have some histories. Further is a narrow gateway at a pass up the mountain, and beyond that a second. It is said that all Christians used to receive the sacrament on the top of Mount Sinai, and delivered a certificate to the keeper of the first gate, that they had confessed at the convent below ; and receiving another paper there, delivered it at the second gate, which is just at the entrance into the little plain spot between Horeb and Sinai, where there is a well and a pool of water to the south. To the west is the road called the road of God (Derb le Jah), which has its name from the vale it leads down to, in which is the convent of the forty martyrs. To the north-west is the road before-mentioned, which Moses is thought to have used, called Derb Serich ; it passes between the little summits of Mount Horeb, which hill abounds in small shrubs and aromatic herbs, where they feed their cattle. There are also among them several white thorn trees, which I had not seen any where in the east, except about Antioch ; and if the monks had not determined it to a bramble, one would rather imagine this was the tree which is called a-bush, and also that this was the spot, being a retired place and proper for pasturage, whereas the other has no herbage about it ; but it is certain that in Justinian's time, when the convent was founded, the tradition was of the place of the convent, though I don't find that they had this tradition in the Empress Helena's time, who built a tower within the site of the present convent, when she came to this place from Jerusalem, and made those steps up to Mount Sinai, of which there are still some remains ; though some say that she founded the chapel of the holy bush.

About Mount Horeb there are four chapels : St. John Baptist, the holy girdle of the Virgin Mary, St. Panteleimon, and St. Anne. On a height over St. Panteleimon, there is a long cell cut out of the rock where they say two brothers, the sons of some King, lived as hermits. And near St. John's chapel is a building with three cells in it, which belonged to a hermit of the name of Gregory. Returning to the plain, to the south-west of it is a cell under a rock where St. Stephen a hermit lived. At the very first ascent up to Mount Sinai, from the vale of Elias, are two chapels adjoining to one another, dedicated to Elias and Elisha, and on the north side of them is a chapel now ruined, dedicated to St. Marina. Within the chapel of Elias there is a little grott, where they say that prophet dwelt when he fled to this place : and now the Arabs call the way to Jerusalem Derb Helele, which they told me signified the road of Elias. Going up that steep ascent to Mount Sinai, southward, is the print or shape of a camel's foot, for which the Mahometans have a great veneration, and they say it is the print of the foot of Mahomet's camel ; for they have a story that he and his camel were taken by Gabriel up into heaven, that another foot was in Cairo, the third in Mecca, and the fourth in Damascus ; and though such a camel must have been of an extraordinary size, yet the figure of this foot is not bigger than ordinary. A little higher is a great stone hanging out from the rock, and they have some story that Elias was there forbid to go further, as to ascend higher was permitted only to Moses. At length we arrived at the top of this mountain which is but small. It consists of two little summits ; one at the landing-place, the other a little to the south ; on the latter is a small mosque under a rock, at the south-east corner of it is a little grott, which is likewise a sort of a mosque in the possession of the Mahometans. Here they say Moses fasted forty days ; and there is an imperfect Greek inscription on the stone, which seems to be older than the beginning

ning of the Mahometan religion ; it is the tenth inscription in the fifty-fifth plate. On the other summit of the mountain, is the Greek church of our Saviour, and north of it a smaller belonging to the Latins. According to the tradition they have in the country, Moses received the law on the spot where these churches are. To the north of these churches; and adjoining to the church of the Latins, is a great rock about nine feet square, which is almost as high as the top of the church. It is somewhat difficult to get to the top of it, being the very highest point of the mountain. Under the west side of this rock is a cavity, in which any one may conveniently lie ; and from it there is a crack in the rock to the east, through which one may see the light. This is said to be the place from whence Moses saw the back parts of the Lord, when he told him “ that he would put him into a cleft of the rock.” Exodus xxxiii. 22. The common people say the rock inclined forward, that Moses might not see, and that lifting himself up to look, he left the impression of his back in the top of the cell. The Mahometans have a great veneration for this place, and it is said often sacrifice at it ; and I saw the entrails of beasts near their mosque. In the top of the mountain is a cistern that was made above the ground, as may be supposed to hold the rain water, and an arched building, which might also be a cistern. They say there were three thousand steps from the convent to the top of the hill ; five hundred of which to the spring, one thousand more to St. Mary's chapel, five hundred to St. Elias's chapel, and thence a thousand to the top. East of the mountain, at the foot of it, is a little valley which is west of the great valley, there being a rising ground between them. This is called the valley of Seer, and is the only place that retains any thing of the name of Mount Seer, which the Israelites are said to have compassed in their travels about the wilderness, which might be a general name for many mountains. The north part of Mount Sinai is of red granite for above half way up, all the rest being a granite of a yellowish ground, with small black grains in it, and the mountain at a distance appears of two colours.

Mount Episteme, is so called from a woman of that name, who lived on it with her husband Galaktion, and afterwards a nunnery was founded there, the ruins of which are still to be seen. At the south-west corner of this mountain, at the entrance both into the valley of Sheik Salem, and into that of the convent from the valley of Rahah, there is a little hill called by the Arabs Araone, and by the Greeks the tabernacle of the testimony, (*ἡ σκηνὴ τῆς μαρτυρίας*), where they say Aaron was consecrated, and where he first offered up solemn prayers to God ; so that if there is any regard to be had to this tradition, it is probable that on this very hill was placed the tabernacle of the testimony of the congregation, which Moses was ordered to place without the camp afar off.

In one of the roads from the convent to Suez, there is exactly such another stone, as the rock of Massa and Meribah in Rephidim, with the same sort of openings all down, and the signs where the water ran. I was desirous to pass by it in my return, but unfortunately was led another way. I asked the Arabs about it, who told me it was likewise called the stone of Moses, and that they judged it had the same virtues as the other. The first account I had of it, I can very much depend upon, being from a manuscript journal, writ by the present prefetto of Egypt from the Propaganda Fide, who went this journey with an English gentleman now in London. The way to it is by the valley of Sheik Salem, being about sixteen miles from the convent to the north-west. The reason why I am so particular is, because it is said that this must be the rock Meribah, in the wilderness of Zin, or Kadesh, which Moses smote twice, and the water came out abundantly, being after they returned into these parts from Eziongeber ;

though the father took no notice of this particular, but only relates what he observed. About four hours from the convent, in this road, is a stone the Arabs pay a great respect to, having a tradition that Mahomet sat on it when he came to this convent. I could find no tradition amongst the monks that Mahomet was born here, or was a servant to the convent, as some have said, but found in a history of the convent, that he was born in the deserts of Kinf, in Arabia Felix; and that when he came to the convent, he was honourably entertained by them, and granted that patent of their privileges in particular, and of Christians in general, which was in their hands to the time of Sultan Selim, who esteeming it too precious a treasure to be in their possession, took it from them, and granted them one under his own hand in the same terms. They have great privileges granted in this patent; but the conditions proved to be hard, to give food to all comers. A copy of it may be seen in the last chapter, translated from the modern Greek. The famous Sinaic inscription, mentioned by Kircher, is on a small stone about half a mile to the west of the convent, at the foot of Mount Horeb. Some have said that Jeremias hid under it the vessels of the temple; but the place where he deposited them was at Mount Nebo. Others, with less appearance of truth, say that Moses and Aaron are buried under it. It is said the Arabs have sometimes seen a light about it, and imagining the stone to have a virtue in it, have broken off pieces from it, as a remedy taken as a powder, when they are not well, and so the inscription is almost entirely defaced. However, I saw enough of it to be assured that it is the same inscription that is in Kircher, of which I had a copy by me, which he says was compared by two or three persons*. There are on many of the rocks, both near these mountains and in the road, a great number of inscriptions in an ancient character; many of them I copied, and observed that most of them were not cut but flained, making the granite of a lighter colour, and where the stone had scaled, I could see the flain had sunk into the stone. I observed one particularly that is a black stone both within and without, and the inscription is white.

There are other convents and chapels about the mountains, besides those I have mentioned; as at the north end of the olive garden of the forty martyrs, is the chapel and cell of St. Onuphrius, the latter being under a rock. On the south side of the valley of Melgah is the convent of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, where the monastery keeps a servant. On the east side of it is the ruined convent of St. Mary of David. Opposite to this, over the hills to the west, is the valley of Telch, a pleasant retired place, where there is much water, and several gardens. Here is the small convent of St. Cosmas and Damianus, in which there is a servant. To the north there is a ruined building, called by the fathers the prison of St. John Climax, from a cell of that hermit under a rock that is beyond it. This prison was a sort of a convent, to which they sometimes sent their monks to do penance; and under it is a small grott in the rock. They were at first hermits here, and it is said that the hermits of this place and of St. Saba (the convent I suppose near Jerusalem) petitioned the Emperor Justinian to build them a convent, which he accordingly did.

The Empress Helena seems to have laid the first foundation of the great convent, in a tower she built, probably for her own convenience, when she came here, as well as for the monks; it is in the heart of the convent, where the archbishop's lodgings now are; it is still called St. Helen's tower, and has in it three chapels. This convent

* The Greeks call this inscription *Θεῶν χάρις ἡ γράμματα*, (the words of God engraved.) This inscription may be seen in Kircher's *Prodromus Copticus*.

is built on a descent, but the design seemed to have been to raise the lower part by a great number of arches, many of which remain, and to have built the first floor on a level, and raised two more on it; for the walls round have three tiers of windows or holes: there is nothing of ancient building but these walls and arches, and the church, which are well built, of large hewn stone of a coarse red granite. The walls are six feet thick, some part of them are ruined, especially almost all the south side, which is rebuilt of rough stone. There is a walk all round, on the top of the walls; the old gate now built up is on the west side; there is some sign of a Greek inscription over it, but such as I believe would not be legible, if any one could come near it. They enter from the garden by a small door, the great door never being opened but when the archbishop first comes to the convent. Before it there is a court walled round, with the entrance built up, to keep the Arabs from it, lest they should force their way in; so that all the people are drawn up to a window about forty feet high. The convent is very irregular and ill built, of unburnt brick: the walls having little square towers at each corner, and in the middle of each side. The whole is two hundred and fifty-five feet long, from east to west, and about one hundred and fifty-five feet broad from north to south. They have their mills, bakehouses, and all offices that are necessary for people who must have every thing within themselves. The great church of the transfiguration is on the lowest ground of the convent, towards the north-east corner; it consists of a nave, an isle on each side built lower, and three chapels on the outside, built still lower than the isles; the roof of it is of cypress, covered with lead, and seems to be as old as the time of Justinian; for on the beams are some inscriptions to the honour of Justinian and his Empress Theodora, whose pictures are likewise in Mosaic, over the arch of the semicircle of the high altar. There are two rows of columns in the church, which I discovered to be of the coarse granite; for they are plaistered over; the capitals are all different, though doubtless made for the church; some of them are bad imitations of the Corinthian order. The east semicircle has round it three degrees of seats like steps, and in the middle the archiepiscopal chair; they say, by some miracle they were formerly forbid sitting in it, so now they put the tabernacle on it, in which are preserved the holy mysteries. The church was very beautifully paved; but being destroyed by some Turks, who thought to find treasures, it was as beautifully repaired in the last century, under the Archbishop Athanasius; and there is in it a great variety of beautiful and costly marbles, brought from Damascus. There is an inclosed portico before the church, and a tower seems to have been designed at each end, over the chapels at the corner. This church is probably a very perfect model of an ancient Greek church. On the partition between the high altar and the church is a marble chest adorned with reliefs of foliages, in which are preserved the relicks of St. Catharine. Among them is the skull which probably is imperfect, because it is not taken out, and the left hand very perfect, having on the fingers several rings; and is adorned with pearls. The Greeks say the whole body is in it, which may be much doubted. Adjoining to the east end of the church is the chapel of the holy bush, which, they say, grew where there now lies a white marble stone under the altar, which they kiss with great devotion; no one entering into the chapel without putting off their shoes. To the north of this is a chapel, and there is another on the south side of it; the latter is called the chapel of the holy fathers; and it appears by a Greek inscription, that twelve martyrs are there buried, who are supposed to be of the number of the forty thousand martyrs. About the convent are sixteen other chapels; one of which is in the garden, adjoining to the dormitory of the archbishop and monks, who

are laid in a house built above ground, without being inhumed; and the archbishops only have the honour of coffins.

They have two wells in the convent, one is called the well of Moses, the water of which is cold, and used in summer, the other, the well of the holy bush, which is not so cold, this they drink in the winter. All their springs and wells depend much on the rain: and in the valleys, between the summits of Mount Horeb, they have built walls to keep the water from running off, that it may sink down and supply their wells; notwithstanding this they want water for most of their gardens, by reason that the rains of late years have not been plentiful; and many of their trees die on that account.

The patriarchs of Constantinople when deposed, have often been banished to this convent. If I do not mistake, Athanasius was of this monastery; and I was informed that Sergius was a monk here, who was an accomplice with Mahomet; and I suppose is the same person that assisted him in completing the Alcoran, and the system of the Mahometan religion.

The convent is exempt from all jurisdiction, and is governed by a bishop, who has the title and honours of an archbishop; he is elected from their own body, by the monks of this convent, and the convent at Cairo, and goes to Jerusalem to be consecrated by the patriarch. Under him there is a superior that superintends under the archbishop when he is present, and governs in his absence; but does very little without consulting in a meeting that is composed of seven or eight either of the oldest men, of greatest judgment, or of those who have done most service to the convent, whether priests or lay-brothers, no office or seniority entitling any one to be a member of it*.

In Cairo they are governed by an archimandrite, which is the title of those who are set over the monks that are absent from the principal convent, and are in any city; and he, in the absence of the archbishop beyond the sea, is the person that governs the whole affairs of the convent. About two hundred years ago, having been dissatisfied with their last archbishop, they chose a superior under the title of goumonos, which is the name they give to superiors of convents, and they remained under this government for eighteen years. The members of the convent are priests, deacons, or lay-brothers; the latter are employed in superintending, or serving about all domestic affairs. Their manner of living is very rigid, and kept more strictly to than in any other convent; they never eat flesh, and in lent, nothing that is the produce of flesh, as cheese or the like; and they are permitted to eat oil and shell-fish only on Saturdays, Sundays, and feast days, in lent; no Greek being allowed to eat any other fish during that season: and any one may conclude how coarsely they fare, when I hardly saw any other dishes there than rice ill dressed with oil, vinegar, and onions, and sometimes with onions and dried fish, the same sort of fish dressed in a soup, dried horse beans sodden in water, fallad, and cheese. They have two severe fasts, which as many as can observe; they eat nothing from Thursday evening to Saturday in the afternoon, on Easter eve; and from Sunday evening to Ash-Wednesday in the afternoon.

The service of the Greek church here is performed with much greater decency than ever I saw it in any other place, and, it is probable, most agreeable to the ancient

* The superior of the convent they call Διςκασι. The superior they chose in the place of an archbishop was called ἡγούμενος, the common title of those who preside over convents. The priests they call ἱερομόναχοι. The deacons Διάκονοι. The lay brothers Καλογέροι, which according to the pronunciation of γ, is Caloyeroi. Their meeting or chapter they call ἡ Σύναξις.

customs of the Greek church ; for though the convent, as they say, has been twice rifled, and the monks obliged to fly, yet they soon returned again, so that there has been a constant succession ; and some years past they retired to Tor, not being able to support the Arabs. They ought certainly to perform their offices well, for it is their whole employment. The offices are very long, but they shorten them by saying them very fast, which one may conclude from their often saying Kyrie Eleison forty times without drawing breath. Their offices take up great part of their time. In lent they rise at midnight, and perform certain devotions, celebrating the sacrament only four times a week, from nine to eleven, when they dine. At other times they do not rise at midnight, but begin to celebrate before day. They have service at four in the afternoon, and when it is over, they sup and go early to repose. Justinian sent them a hundred vassals from the Red Sea, and as many more from Egypt, to serve the convent ; they were formerly much increased, but they destroyed one another in some contentions they had, so that about the convent there are not forty families : there are of them at Tor and other parts, the Arabs not desiring they should be all together lest they should be too hard for them : these the convent supplies with bread. One is always within the convent, to take care of the large mosque, the Mahometans would have near their great church, and they have one or two more within their walls for some services. These vassals take care of their gardens, and do other affairs for them as they have occasion.

When pilgrims arrive at the convent, a caloyer or lay-brother is appointed to attend on them, to prepare their provisions in a place apart, which is served in their chamber. They are shewn all the chapels and offices of the convent, the library, where there are a few manuscripts, but I saw none that were rare. They have many Greek books of the first printing. The pilgrims commonly attend the service of the church twice a day, and on some certain days they dine in the refectory with the monks ; and soon after they arrive, being conducted from the church to the refectory, they perform the ceremony of washing the feet, as they do at Jerusalem. If the pilgrim is in orders, a priest performs that ceremony ; I had that honour done me by the superior. One of the monks, after this ceremony is over, holds a basin and urn to wash the hands, and then sprinkles the pilgrims with rose water ; if it is a lay person, one of the lay monks performs these ceremonies, the whole society sitting in the hall, and chanting hymns. They sit at the table half a quarter of an hour before they rise up to say grace ; one of them reads at a desk all the time of dinner, and a father regulates by a bell the portions he is to read. On the archbishop's table, at the upper end, was a covered plate with bread in it, and on each side two small silver cups of water ; one of the priests carried the plate round, all present taking a piece of bread. In like manner the cups were carried round, which are filled with wine when they have plenty ; every one drinks a little out of them. After this they went and sat on each side of a passage, at the upper end of which is the archbishop's chair. Here they remain some time and discourse ; every one taking a plate of wheat or pease out of baskets that are placed there, and picking them clean ; probably with an intention to insinuate, that even their diversions ought to be attended with some useful actions. We went to the archbishop's apartments, where coffee and other refreshments were served, and the book of benefactors was shewn ; it being customary to give something after this ceremony is performed.

On Palm Sunday they exposed the relicts, and about noon I set out with a caloyer to go up the mountain. Being let down by the window, we ascended up to the plain of St. Elias, that divides the summits of the two mountains. We visited all the parts
of

of Horeb, and went up to the top of Mount Sinai, and came down again to the plain of St. Elias, and lay there in the chapel of that Saint. The next day we went along the valley, between the two hills to the west, and descended the steep hill to the convent of the martyrs. We after begun to ascend the mountain of St. Catharine, which was a fatigue that lasted four hours. From the top I had a fine view all round, and descended to the convent of the martyrs, where we reposed that night, after a day of great labour. The next day we went along the valley of Rephidim, and came to the convent of the apostles, in the valley of Melgah, and from it went over the hill to the west. We came to the convent of St. Cosmas and Damianus in a valley, where we saw all the remains of convents and hermitages. The next morning we returned into the plain, and saw several things in the way to the convent; and I went to Jebel Moufeh, to the south-east of it, which is of grey granite; and was drawn up again into the convent. On Good Friday the reliëfs were again exposed. The next day I rose after midnight to see the ceremonies of the church, and set out again to go a second time up Mount Sinai, which at first they made some difficulties of, being contrary to their usual customs; but I had a desire to go up another way, by which they say Moses used to ascend the mountain; it is called *Derb Serich*; so I went to the top of Mount Sinai a second time.

On Easter Sunday I rose soon after midnight to see their ceremonies. All being over about day-break, we went to the archbishop's apartments, where they broke their severe fast, by eating eggs boiled hard, and cheese; and coffee was served round. The monks seemed extremely pleased that their Lent was over, were very chearful, sung hymns in their chambers, and went to repose. We all dined together in the refectory about ten in the morning; and coffee being served in the passage, I was invited to the superior's room, and from thence we all went to pass some time in the garden. They had asked me if I would perform our service on Easter-day in a chapel that is allotted for that purpose; there being one for the Roman Catholics, and, if I mistake not, another for all other professions.

As to the natural history of this country, there is little to be added to what I have already remarked. I saw few trees, except the acacia, which the Arabs here call *cyale*, and I believe is the same that is called *sount* in Egypt; it is certain that they collect the gum acacia from it. Some parts of the desert abound in small shrubs. There are very few birds in this country, where there is so little food for them. I observed some flocks of large storks with black wings, which were probably changing their climate and going to the north against the summer. Of wild beasts, they have only a few tigers, or leopards, being a small spotted sort they call *gano-pardali*, some antelopes, hares, wolves, and alienas.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the Journey of the Children of Israel.*

TO the account of Mount Sinai, and that part of Arabia, I shall add something concerning the journey of the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt.

There are four roads from Cairo to the north part of the Red Sea; one called *Derb Ejer el* is the farthest to the north, and continues a considerable way along the plain to the north, or north-north-east, then ascending between small hills, it passes by the mountains called *Hauhebi*, and descends, as I was informed, from the north to *Adjeroute*, which is to the north-north-west of the Red Sea; though I have some reason to doubt, if it does not come into the common road to the west of *Adjeroute*, in the narrow pass about *Ilamaubihara*, where I was shewn a road coming in east of the

road of the Hadjees or pilgrims. The second road, called *Derb Hadjar*, ascends up the hills to the south from those burial places near *Cairo*, called *Keid Bey*; goes on east of these as on a sort of a plain, having in many parts little hills on each side, and a range of hills at some distance to the south, and at length going in between the hills, a little beyond a valley, called *Tearo Said*, passes a very narrow defilee, called *Haraminteleh*, and then coming into a sort of open plain, having *Mount Attakah* on the south, it leads to *Adjeroute*. At *Tearo Said*, a third road *Derb-el-Hadjee* (the way of the pilgrims) comes into the last, having gone north to the *Birkè* or lake, eight miles from *Cairo*; from which place it ascends the low hills to the east, and continues on them. The most southern road is *Derb Toueric*, being south of those hills on which are the two last roads, and as I suppose, passes between the two ridges of mountains *Attakah* and *Gewoubee*, which are the two hills on the west of the *Red Sea*, next to *Suez*, and passes over the south part of *Mount Attakah*, and so by the sea shore leads to *Suez*, or directly to *Adjeroute*. It is most probable that the *Israelites* went by the first road *Derb Ejenif*, because it comes out from the mountains nearest to the wilderness of *Etham* or *Shur*, which appear to be the same from *Exodus* xv. 22. and *Numbers* xxxiii. 8. The first born were slain the night of the fourteenth of the month *Abib*, that is, the night before the day of the fourteenth, and they were thrust out the morning of the fourteenth; and the people of *Israel* being probably gathered together to go away (according to *Pharaoh's* promise) on the east of the *Nile*, opposite to *Memphis*, that day they might go north, leaving the land of *Ramesas*; for I rather suppose it to be a country than any particular town, and it seems to be the country about *Heliopolis*, now called *Matarea*. And they came to *Succoth*, which might be about a village called *Chankè*, about five hours or ten miles north of *Cairo*, and near this place there is water of the canal, with which they might provide themselves. We may suppose they set out the night after the fifteenth; they then encamped in *Etham*, in the edge of the wilderness, that is in the edge of the wilderness of *Etham*; or it might be at a winter torrent called *Etham*, which might give name to the wilderness, and be at the edge of it. This must have been about the north of the *Red Sea*, and probably inclining to the north-east of it. They were ordered to remove from *Etham*, and to turn again unto *Pihahiroth*, opposite to *Baalzephon*, *Exodus* xiv. 2. before it, before *Migdol*, *Numbers* xxxiii. 7. between *Migdol* and the sea, before *Baalzephon* by the sea, *Exodus* xiv. 2. and the *Egyptians* overtook them encamping by the sea, beside *Pihahiroth*, *Exodus* xiv. 9. They turned again to *Pihahiroth*, a place they had been at before, probably the old *Cleopatris*, something nearer the descent from the mountains. Beside, or on the side of this place they were encamping, it may be a little to the south-south-west, over against *Baalzephon*, which might be *Arfinoe*, and be so called from some extraordinary worship in it of the sun or *Baal*. They were encamping by the sea, probably to the west of it, before *Migdol*, and between it and the sea. *Migdol* might be the ancient *Heroopolis*, which I suppose to have been where *Adjeroute* is; so that the *Egyptians* coming down the hill, in the road called *Derb Ejenef*, and seeing that they could shut up any retreat both to the north and west, *Pharaoh* might well say of them "They are entangled in the land, and the wilderness hath shut them in." We may suppose that the *Israelites* marched most part of the night; for it is said the *Egyptians* came not near the *Israelites* all the night; and that the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night; and probably towards the morning the waters were divided, and the children of *Israel* went into the midst of the sea; and in the morning watch, the Lord troubled the host of the *Egyptians*; and *Moses* stretching out his hand, the waters came again and overwhelmed the

the Egyptians. It is probable that the Israelites went on the west side of the Red Sea, till they came to the ascent over the south part of Mount Attakah, in Derb Touerik; for such a great number of people to pass such a road would take up much time; so here it is probable the waters were divided, and that they passed over to a point near the springs of Moses, which makes out a great way into the sea, within which the ships now lie at anchor. And the tradition in the country is, that the Israelites passed over where the ships anchor. The Red Sea lies here pretty near north-east, and south-west; and the Lord sent a strong east wind all that night, by which he caused the sea to go back; but then he also divided the waters, and made the sea dry land. The waters might be said to be on their right, if the sea had retired by the natural causes of wind and tide; though it could not well be said to be a wall to them on the right, as it could by no means be said to be a wall to them on the left, if all the water was retired to the south-west or to the right; but the waters stood on a heap, and were a wall to them on their right hand and on their left. The Israelites landing here, might drink of the waters of Ein Moufeh (the springs of Moses) which might from this have the name continued among the Jews by tradition, who might after visit these places, and so it might become the common name when Christianity was established. They then went three days journey into the wilderness of Etham, or Shur. The wilderness of Shur might be the south part of the wilderness of Etham; for about six hours from the spring of Moses, is a winter torrent called Sedur, and there is a hill to the east higher than the rest, called Kala Sedur (the fortrefs of Sedur) from which this wilderness might have its name. In these three days they found no water; but meeting with a spring of bitter waters, Moses being ordered to throw a tree into them, they were made sweet, and the place was called Marah. About four hours north of Corondel, and about sixteen south of the spring of Moses, is a part of the mountain to the west called Le Marah, and towards the sea is a salt well called Birhammer, so that this is probably the place; five or six hours a day being a sufficient march with women and children, when they saw their enemies drowned, and were in no fear, and in search of water, which they could not find. They removed from Marah, and came unto Elim, and in Elim were twelve fountains of water, and three-score and ten palm-trees. About four hours south of Le Marah is the winter torrent of Corondel, in a very narrow valley, full of tamarisk-trees, some palm-trees, and there is tolerable water about half a mile west of the road. Beyond this about half an hour, is the winter torrent called Dieh-Salmeh, and an hour or two further is the valley or torrent of Wouffet, where there are several springs of water that are a little salt. I am inclined to think that one of them, but rather Corondel, is Elim, because it is said afterwards they removed from Elim, and encamped at the Red Sea; and the way from Corondel to go to the valley of Baharum is part of it near the sea, where I was informed there was good water, and so probably the Israelites encamped there. If the Israelites had encamped at Tor, which many would have to be Elim, near the well of fresh water, which is no more than half a league from the sea, and almost within the view of it, it would hardly have been said that they went afterwards and encamped at the Red Sea; and the salt waters there, called the springs and baths of Moses, are not a mile from the sea. Supposing then Corondel to be Elim, it is probable they went this way by the sea into a long valley (which may be the desert of Sin), that extends away to Tor, and to the south to the sea, being about two or three leagues wide in some parts, and is between two ranges of hills, one to the east, the other to the west, towards the sea; and it is not improbable that the children of Israel should encamp about Tor, where there is good water; and this might give occasion for the name of those springs. It

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was in the wilderness of Sin that God gave them manna; from Tor one goes east to the valley of Hebran, which is a winter torrent between high hills. There are several springs in it of excellent water, and I saw there two wells. This probably is Dophkah, where the Israelites encamped when they took their journey out of the wilderness of Sin, Numbers xxxiii. 12. From this valley the road is over the mountains to the east, into the pleasant valley of Boucrah, about half a mile broad, between high hills. There was water near it, but having failed, the Arabs have left those parts. This probably is Alush, where they encamped when they departed from Dophkah, Numbers xxxiii. 13. From this place the road is over a height between the mountains, and leads into the valley of Rahah, part of the supposed desert of Sinai. From the desert of Sinai, they went into the desert of Zin, which seems to be a general appellation for a great extent of desert and hills; and Kadesh and Paran are used promiscuously for the same desert, Numbers x. 12. Numbers xx. 1. Numbers xxxiii. 36.; but, notwithstanding it is probable that different parts of it were called more especially by these names. Paran seems to have been to the south, about the hill they now call Pharan, and a winter torrent of the same name, which are to the south-west. To this part the Israelites went, when they came to the desert of Sinai; and when they returned from Ezion-geber into the desert of Zin, we find them at Kadesh, which seems to have been a particular part of the desert of Paran to the east, Numbers xiii. 26. where Moses struck a rock a second time, and the water flowed out. This is supposed to be eight hours north or north-north-west of Mount Sinai; and to this part the spies returned from viewing the promised land. It is probable, Jebel Te is Mount Hor, which extends near to Elana, supposed to be Ailath, to the south-east of which Ezion-geber seems to have been, the plains of that place being mentioned after those of Ailath, when the children of Israel journeyed towards the promised land; and when they turned back again, it is said that they came into the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh, as probably all the desert had that name to the west of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. It is then said they removed from Kadesh, and pitched in Mount Hor. This seems to be in their return again towards the promised land*, so that Mount Hor must have been near Kadesh, and near Ezion-geber. Mount Seir also is mentioned, and their encompassing that mountain, that is going to the west, south, and east of it; and I think it may be doubted whether this was a general denomination for several mountains, or one ridge of mountains; and if the latter, whether it might not be the same as Mount Hor, so called from the Horims, who were the first inhabitants of it, and were succeeded by the children of Esau†, who coming there, it might have from him the name of Seir, which signifies hairy, and so be called sometimes Hor, and at other times Seir.

CHAP. V. — *From Mount Sinai to Suez, Grand Cairo, Rosetta, and Alexandria.*

ON Easter Sunday in the evening, I was desired to meet the fathers in the great church of the convent of Mount Sinai, where they begun a form of chanting and praying for our safe journey to Cairo, repeating the same ceremony all round the six and twenty chapels in the convent. The superior invited me to sup at his chamber, and presented me with views of the convent; this being a certain form they go through with all pilgrims, the superior supplying the place of the archbishop. I made him, as usual, a present in money, and to the priests, deacons, officers, and to all the convent, a small sum, visiting many of them; and several came to see me, and brought me pre-

* Deuteronom. ii. 8.

† Deuteronom. ii. 12.

sents of natural curiosities of the Red Sea, and of the country about, as they observed I made collections in that way. The next day, the twenty-third of April, after having been at the church and the chapel of the holy bush, the superior and many of the convent went with me to the window, where I took leave of them, was let down, and began my journey towards Cairo. We went only two hours that day, the Arabs not having every thing ready for their camels. On the 24th we went in the same way we came. We soon descended the valley where they say the convent was first designed, and turning to the west in the other valley we came in, after travelling about a mile, we turned out of that road to the north, ascending the sandy valleys between very low hills, called Jebel Lefany. I saw the houses the Arabs had built for their corn, but they had left the place for want of water. We came into a large plain called Waad Aie, from whence the road goes to the convent of Paran. They told me that the part of the desert towards the convent was very much infested with a large yellow hornet, called dembch, that stings the beasts as well as men, and causes a very troublesome swelling for five or six days, if they do not apply a white earth and vinegar. Possibly the village of Pharan, mentioned by Ptolemy, might be in this place. Near it is the small high hill of Pharan, or Paran, which is so often mentioned in the old testament, that we may conclude the children of Israel encamped there for a considerable time; so that in this great promontory between the two gulfs, Sarracene seems to have been to the west and north, the Pharamitæ to the east and south, and possibly Munichiatæ might be in the middle between them. Pursuing our journey, we passed by a hill called Laish; and in the evening a priest of the convent going to Cairo overtook us. On the twenty-fifth we passed through the valley of Bareach, where I saw two or three inscriptions, and there was rain water preserved in cisterns. Near this place, we came into the road we left going to Tor; four or five Arabs joined company with us, and we were molested by one who pretended to demand a fine because three persons, as he thought, came together from the convent; for the Arabs have a law that if three camels depart at the same time, the convent shall be obliged to pay thirty piasters; which I suppose is designed to prevent any one Arab with several camels, monopolizing the whole business of conveying the monks. This day we had a hamseen wind, but it was not very hot, as it did not come from the south-west. On the twenty-sixth we came to Jebel Te, which, as I observed, may be Mount Hor, where Aaron died. Passing along the valley to the westward, which is to the south of Mount Te, I saw a few letters cut on a stone, and the figures of two persons on horseback; and I had seen such a one also in the valley of Hebran. On the twenty-seventh we came to Corondel, where having unloaded the camels, I went on one of them, with two Arabs, to Pharaoh's baths (Hamam Pharaone), of which I have given an account, and returned again to the caravan before night. On the twenty-ninth in the morning, there was a very thick fog, which I had rarely seen in these countries; and passing by the fountains of Moses in the morning, found the waters warm. We arrived at the ferry of Suez, and as it was very hot, I pitched my tent, and the sheik of Naba and several Arabs came under the shelter of it, and took the refreshments of coffee and tobacco. A Tartar of the pasha's, who was there about the affairs of the custom-house, and was acquainted with my interpreter, came over with a boat to meet us, and carried us to the other side. I was under a necessity of staying in Suez some days, to wait for a caravan, and found the vermin so troublesome, that I was obliged to lie on the top of the house, on the terrace, though the dews fell very plentifully; but this was not all, for I was forced to leave my room early in the afternoon, and sit on the terrace, to avoid being annoyed; for though the bugs usually come out only by night, yet I observed here that they be-



BOOK IV.

OF THE GOVERNMENT, CUSTOMS, AND NATURAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Government of Egypt.*

EGYPT is divided into three parts, Upper, Lower, and Middle Egypt. These are again subdivided into provinces, governed either by fangiahs, called also bays, or by cashifs. Those that are under the former are called fangialics; but where any are dependent on a fangiah, and are governed by a cashif, one that is not a bay, they are called cashiflics.

A fangiah is a governor, under whose standard or fangiah all the military men of the province were obliged to rank themselves, whenever they were pleased to summon them.

The present division of the country, according as it is considered in the divan, is the ancient division, being formerly divided into Delta below, the Thebais above, and Heptanomis in the middle part, so called from consisting of seven provinces. But travellers commonly divide it into Upper and Lower Egypt. Lower Egypt is all the country south of Cairo, in which there are six fangialics or cashiflics; two of them in Delta are Garbieh to the north-west, and Menoufieh to the south and south-east. On the west is Baheira, under which is the cashiflic of Terrane. To the east are Malbeis, and Mansoura, which I think is called Dequahalie, and I have since been informed Kalioub is a sixth.

In Middle Egypt on the east is only Atfieh. On the west are Gize, Faoume, Benesuf, Minio, and as it is said, Archemounain and Mansalouth, though I apprehend the latter is under the bey of Girge; and if so, must be reckoned a part of Upper Egypt, and the other belongs to Mecca, and so is in a manner a distinct sort of principality from the other government. The first I mentioned, Gize, always belongs to the tetterdar, or lord high treasurer of Egypt.

In Upper Egypt there were formerly twenty-four provinces, but many of them are now swallowed up by Arab sheiks, so that on the west side I could hear of none but Girge, Esne, and Mansalouth, though Aboutig, Tome, Mou, and also Bardis, Fushout, and Badjoura, have been mentioned as such; which latter, and I suppose most of the others, have of late years come under the government of Arab sheiks. On the east side is Sciout, and I think Ibrim to the east and west. Elouah is a cashif, which is the most southern Oasis, where I have heard they have some particular laws and customs; one especially, that a stranger cannot stay there above three days. Akmin, Kenna, Cous, and Luxorem, have been also mentioned as cashifs, which now seem to be lost under the Arab government; the greater part of the country being under these five Arabian sheiks: on the west is that of Aboutig, who also has part of his territory on the east; the sheik of Mou, near Elouah, who has a very small territory there, and a larger about Cous and Luxorem; the sheik of Fushout, whose territory extends on the west, near as far as the Oasis, and has also a country on the east, beyond that of the sheik of Aboutig; on the west the sheik of Akmin, who has a large country also on the west; a sheik who is called Elouah, and has a small territory about Kepht, and is the brother of the sheik of Fushout; and then the country before mentioned of the sheik of Bardis. The country on the

east is mostly in the possession of Arabs that are not under any regular government, so that as I observed, there is but one province under a cashif, as well as I could be informed, which is Sciout; and the cashif of Ibrim, both on the east and west above the first cataract. These Arab sheiks are succeeded by their sons, but they must be confirmed by the pasha, who on that account receives very great sums on the death of a sheik, and delays confirming the next heir till the money is deposited; and in this interval, the relations of the sheik are sometimes carrying on intrigues to supplant one another. But it is said that the pasha must confirm such a person as is agreeable to the divan and country. •

All Egypt, on the part of the Grand Signior, is governed by a pasha, who having in reality but very little power, his business seems chiefly to consist in communicating to his divan of beys, and to the divans of the several military ogiaks, that is, their bodies, the orders of the Grand Signior; and to see that they be executed by the proper officers. If he farms the country of the Grand Signior, the fines belong to him that are paid when any life drops on the lands; for originally all the lands of Egypt belonged to the Grand Signior, and the Porte looks on them at this time as their own. But the Grand Signior's power being lost, they now go to the next heir, who must be invested by the pasha, and he is glad to compound for a small sum, with regard to the value of the lands. The pasha, in order to execute his office properly, must keep up as good an interest as possible with the persons of the greatest power, especially with one man, who happens to be in greatest credit, and with the leading men of the military bodies, to watch their designs; and if he finds them prejudicial to the Porte, to foment divisions amongst them, and if he cannot obtain his ends, however to make the best party he can, and be ever laying schemes to bring about his designs. He must find out the properest means to cut off those he perceives are too aspiring, though it will certainly end in his own deposition, about which he need not be very solicitous, as his person is always held sacred, and as his removal will be a sure step to a more profitable employment. As to the orders of the Grand Signior, his business is not very great, because they will not suffer any orders to be executed contrary to their interest; and therefore very few are sent that are disagreeable to them. If he has a good interest with the person in chief credit, and with the leading men of the military bodies, and they attempt nothing against the Porte, and the Porte leaves every thing without innovations, the office of pasha is very easy. If he is to create divisions, he and his caia ought to be men of parts to manage intrigue, and to employ fit instruments to bring about their ends; and if it is necessary to cut off some leading men, money must be well and liberally applied, to engage persons least suspected, to act with the utmost secrecy and treachery. And it sometimes happens that when a pasha has cut off one party, he manages so as to cut off the leading men of that very opposite party, who assisted him to destroy the other.

If one might conjecture at the original of a sheik bellet, or head of the city, who is appointed by the pasha, one may imagine either that he answers to such an officer of the Arabs, during the Mamaluke government; or that the people at some time or other might require the Porte to nominate such a bey, as might be agreeable to them, to be their head, and take care of their interests; a person himself, if in credit, of the greatest interest, and is then in reality, lord over all the land of Egypt; and he acts with the greatest prudence, when he makes himself esteemed and revered by the other leading men, keeps up a very good correspondence with the Porte, prevents any innovations that may be attempted contrary to the interest of it, takes care that they send no orders that may encroach on the liberties the country enjoys, and if

any tumults happen to rise against the orders of the Porte, to endeavour to palliate them as well as possible, at Constantinople, that no more may be heard of them; and in general to take care that nothing be done either at home or abroad that relates to his country without being communicated to him, or without his advice. But in reality, all his power depends on maintaining his credit, and not barely on his office; for the government of Egypt is of such a nature, that other persons have often the greatest influence; sometimes a caia of the janizaries or azabs, and even sometimes one of their meanest officers, an oda basha; and whoever by his parts and abilities can gain such authority, and make himself the idol of the people, to his levee all the great men go, and whatever he says is a law with them.

As Upper Egypt is under such powerful Arabian sheiks, so it is necessary to send a fangiak to govern that country, and to collect the tributes due from them, and from the cashifs under him. This governor resides at Girge, with his officers, almost in as much state as a pasha, has his divan; and detachments from the military bodies reside there. He is named yearly by the divan at Cairo, but commonly continues in for three years.

Historians give us an account, that Sultan Selim utterly destroyed the Mamalukes, when he conquered Egypt. He might leave them the same form of government they had before, but probably it was only a shadow of a government: as he seems to have introduced the government of provinces, as in other parts of his dominions, so it is probable that he made beys of his own creatures, and that cashifs were sent into all parts that were attached to him, and had no interest in the country. It is possible these beys might come in length of time to be succeeded by their slaves they had advanced to offices; and so the beys at length might all have been slaves. And thus it might approach nearer to the Mamaluke government; notwithstanding the beys at first seem not to have had any great power; but the military bodies, particularly the janizaries and azabs, growing powerful, might begin to attempt some innovations in the government; for in a list of pashas, we find every thing went on very quietly till the year 1672, when a pasha was massacred; and twenty-eight years after, the military bodies deposed a pasha, which is the only instance of the kind, from the time of Sultan Selim to the year 1673; though it is said of late years, they have often been obliged by the soldiery to descend from the castle; and it is said by their capitulations with Sultan Selim, they have a power to remove the pasha.

It is probable that the Porte perceiving the military bodies grew too powerful, were well pleased to sell the villages to the leading men among them; whereas formerly they would not purchase, that they might not subject themselves to the beys, to whom they now pay court; the beys, as governors of the provinces, having an absolute power over their villages. And now the Porte can manage better; for the power being in the hands of the beys, if they grow dangerous, it is more easy to cut them off, without creating any disturbances among the people; whereas any injury offered to a leading man among the military bodies, might stir up the resentment of the whole body, and be of dangerous consequence. The present succession of the beys, as they are not entirely attached to the Porte, is better than if it was hereditary, for the hafi-nadar or treasurer of a bey, or some other great officer or cashif, that was slave to the deceased bey, marrying the widow, is obliged to give up a great part of the estate to make himself friends, and secure his succession; which keeps very great estates from settling in one person. But the Porte seems to have been much mistaken in their measures to secure the subjection of Egypt; one great mean would have been to have constantly changed the military bodies every year, and not let them settle and have a succession.

succession of natives of the country ; and then to have had beys always Turks and creatures of their own ; and chiefly to have strictly prohibited the importation of slaves into Egypt, they being the strength of the present government against the Porte ; for a great man having given his slaves liberty, they are first made caimacams, afterwards cashifs, and then begin to purchase other slaves ; and at length to give them liberty, and all are dependent on the first great master. And the Porte is so sensible they ought to have a greater influence over the military bodies, that they have frequently attempted to send an aga of the janizaries yearly from Constantinople, in order to have an absolute power over the country ; but both the military bodies and the beys have always opposed it.

The pasha has a caia, a bey pro tempore by his office, who is his prime minister, and generally holds the divan ; the pasha, like the Grand Signior, sitting behind a lattice in a room at the end of the divan, rarely assisting himself, unless it be on any extraordinary occasion ; as reading some order from the Porte or the like. One of the great officers that always attends the pasha when he goes out, is the dragoman aga, who is not only an interpreter, but more especially acts as master of the ceremonies. The pasha has, like the Grand Signior, his chouses, shatirs, bostangees, and a horse guard of Tartars, on whom he would chiefly depend, both for his safety, if at any time there were any danger, and also in sending all his dispatches.

The emir hadge, or prince of the pilgrims that go to Mecca, is named yearly from Constantinople, and generally continues in the office two years, to make amends for the great expence he is at the first year for his equipage ; but if he is a person of capacity, and has an interest at the Porte, he may be continued longer, though rarely more than six years ; for if they conduct the caravan seven years, the Grand Signior presents them with a collar of gold ; and it is said that their persons are esteemed sacred, and they cannot be publicly cut off. This officer has command over the estates that belong to Mecca, and sends his sardars to govern them. The perquisites of his office, besides what he is allowed by the Porte, consist in having a tenth of the effects of all pilgrims who die in the journey. And if this great officer behaves himself well during his administration, it procures him the general esteem and affection of the whole country.

The testerdar or lord high treasurer of the tribute paid out of the lands to the Grand Signior, is named for a year by the Porte, but is generally continued in for many years. This office is sometimes given to one of the poorest beys, to enable him to support his dignity ; and frequently to a quiet bey, who will enter into no intrigues ; for one party would not care that a stirring man of the opposite party should be invested with this office, which is of great dignity.

Cairo is under the guard of the janizaries. Old Cairo is guarded by a bey, who resides there, and is changed every month ; so likewise is the country north of Cairo, called Adalia ; and the azabs have the charge of the country round the city. An officer patrols about the city, more especially by night, who is called the walla, answering to the Turkish officer called soubasha ; he takes up all persons he finds committing any disorders, or that cannot give an account of themselves, or that walk in the streets at irregular hours, and often has their heads cut off on the spot, if they are not under the protection of the janizaries, or of any of the military bodies. As he is the terror of rogues, so for presents made to him, he is often their protector ; and without those presents they are sure to be cut off ; and to him the great men send for any villains that have rendered themselves obnoxious to them, and they are sure to have them delivered. Another officer is the metessib, who has the care of all weights and measures, and to see that every thing is made justly according to them.

There is a caimacam in every great village, who is under the cashif, and may have eight or ten, or more small villages under him, each of which have in them a sheik-bellet, either a native Egyptian, or an Arab, where the Arabs are settled; and these caimacams, as well as the cashif, have to manage with the sheik Arabs, who in many parts, have the real power; and the cashif governs by making a leading sheik Arab his friend by presents and management. All the annual officers are appointed by the divan, on the 29th day of August, being the first day of the Coptic year; and the chief business of all these governors, besides keeping the country in order, is to get in the money for the Grand Signior, and more especially for themselves.

CHAP. II.—*Of the Military Bodies in Egypt.*

THERE are five bodies of spahis, or horse, in Egypt; the two principal are the chaoufes and the muteferrika, who were originally the guards of the Sultans of Egypt, and their leaders were his two viziers, that always accompanied him; the chouller-caiafi on his right hand, and the muteferrika-bashec on his left, and now they always go out with the pasha. The body of chaoufes seem originally to have been the guard out of which the Sultan used to send persons to execute his orders; for the Grand Signior has a body of chaoufes for that purpose, but they are not reckoned among the spahis. The muteferrika are in themselves of the greatest dignity, which that word implies, signifying the chosen people; being generally persons of some distinction, and the Grand Signior has a guard of this name, that are not in the body of the spahis. Here they are sent to garrison castles; and are at present in the castles of Adjeroute and Yembo, in the way to Mecca. It is not improbable that they began to send them into these garrisons, when the Circassian Mamalukes or slaves had drove out the first Mamaluke succession of Kings, which were of the Turcoman slaves called Bahariah, who originally were sent to guard the fortresses on the sea coast, as the Circassians were sent to the inland garrisons, and were also the guards of the seraglio of the Sultans. These Circassians seem to have been originally the third body of spahis, called Cercasi, the other two are the Giomelu and the Tufecsi. These three last have at their head each of them an aga, and when they have passed through that office, they are called ictiars or actiars, which in all the military bodies, signifies such officers as have passed through all the degrees of offices of their respective bodies. These compose the council of their divan; and a step to this office is first to be made a serbajee, or captain. They hold their divan in the house of their aga, but their bodies are of little interest. When the divan of the janizaries or azabs would have any thing done, they send a chous to the pasha, to have an order for it, which must not be denied. The order is brought to the caia in charge, who gives it to the aga, to put it in execution; and the baschous of the janizaries always assists at the pasha's divan. The slaves of the officers of the military bodies, when they give them their liberty by ordering them to let their beards grow, become members of that body, and are advanced; and so it is really a Mamaluke government through every part; but the slaves are by no means a despicable people, they are the fairest and most promising Christian children of Georgia, taken for the tribute, brought here to be sold, and become Mahometans. They are well clothed and fed, taught to throw the dart, and shoot with great dexterity; and almost every one of them has a servant to take care of his horse, to wait on him, and attend him on foot, near his horse, when he goes out. And to say the truth, they are in the hands of very kind masters, and are as observant of them; for of them they are to expect their liberty, their advancement, and every thing; so that a slave behaves

behaves himself as one that is to become a governor of towns and provinces; and if he has more ambitious views, as one that may come to succeed his master; and this, as I observed, is the strength of the present government against the Grand Signior.

What has transferred the power, in a great measure, from the two military bodies of the infantry to the beys, as I observed, is the leaders of those bodies purchasing lands of the Grand Signior, which obliges them to be submissive to the beys, that they may not ruin their villages, whereas formerly the military bodies were rich, had a treasure, and an estate mostly in Cairo, as they have at present; but the revenues of it the divan divide among themselves. And when the public body was rich, each particular was poor, and no one would purchase villages, that he might not be subject to the beys, to whose houses, at that time, they would not go; and this was what secured their power, whereas now they have lost that influence, and the liberty they enjoyed, by subjecting themselves. At the time indeed when I was in Egypt, they had a considerable share of power, occasioned by a wrong policy in the leading man, who, at the same time that they paid court to him, and the other beys, thought proper to do nothing without the advice and approbation of the leading caia among the janizaries, in order to establish himself.

By this a sheik bellet may continue something longer in credit; but it has been found that at length he loses his power, though he maintains his station; there being no other true foundation for authority in these countries, but a fear which approaches something towards a servile dread of the person that commands.

As the military bodies, especially the foot, which are the janizaries, and azabs, have so great a share in the government, I shall give a more particular account of them; for the five bodies of spahis are little considered, but the two bodies of foot, the janizaries and azabs, have a great influence in all affairs. The janizaries (*jenit-cheri*) which word signifies the new band, consist of a certain number of companies called *odas* or chambers, over each of which there is a head called *odabashee*. These officers in procession, march with *caoukes*, or high stiff turbans, and a shield slung behind them; and as the janizaries have the guard of the city, from this office, those that are thought fit to be advanced, are put into an office called *boabodabashee*, whose business it is to walk every day about the principal parts of the city with many janizaries to attend him, to keep order, and to see that all things are regular, even to the dress. This office is for three months; he is after advanced to be a *serach*, who is a servant that holds the stirrup of the caia of the janizaries in charge, attends him when he goes out on horseback, and serves him as a messenger on all occasions, and has ever after the title of *chous*. After he has passed through this office, he is advanced to the same office under the *aga* of the janizaries. He may afterwards be chosen into the number of *choufes*, or messengers of the divan of the janizaries, and is called *cuchuk*, or little *chous*. There is no fixed time for continuing in these offices; but as a new *chous* is made, the others advance a step higher. The next degree is *alloy chous*, that is, the *chous* of the ceremonies, who has the care and direction of all processions. From this office he is removed to be *petelma*, which is somewhat in nature of a procurator to the whole body, having the care of their effects; and when any one dies under the protection of this body, he seals up their houses, to secure the tenth part, which is due to them out of the effects. After this office he comes to be *bas-chous*, or head-*chous*, and enters into the divan, or council of the janizaries, and so remains in the divan, with the body of the *choufes*. He must then either go to the war, or with the caravan to Mecca, or with the treasure to Constantinople, and then he is made *waught caiafi*, or *caia* for the time being, that is, for a year, who is the judge in all affairs that

that relate to the body; but as there are frequently four or five chouses made in a year, so a chous waits a long time before he is advanced to this dignity, as they take it according to their seniority. When he has passed through this office, he is in the body of caias, and takes his place as the youngest, below the rest. The office of caia is properly a deputy or steward, one that acts for a person or body. The chouses are like pursuivants at arms, and being always sent by the body, approach nearer the nature of ambassadors or envoys; their persons are held very sacred, and they are people of great authority; and yet while in office are always clothed in black, riding on asses, and have a particular broad turban, except the bas-chous, who mounts a horse.

The janitzar aga, or general of the janizaries, is chosen by the divan of janizaries, out of what body they please of the spahis or horse, but most commonly out of the mutesferrika: he has no place in the divan, and the bas caia holds his stirrup when he mounts. He executes all orders of the divan that belong to his office; as in dangerous times, he patrols once a day about the city, and publishes any orders they think fit should be known; and when he is sent out to guard the city, in time of tumults, or when any revolution is apprehended, he is at such times invested with the whole power or authority of the body of janizaries, can cut off whom he pleases, without giving any account, or being answerable to any one, except that he must demand of their respective military bodies, such of the soldiery as have rendered themselves obnoxious. He is always, in these cases, attended by a chous from each body of the foot; but as soon as he returns to his residence in the castle, his power ceases. He ought to be put in, as at Constantinople, by the Grand Signior; and it seems to be an usurpation for their own body to nominate him. He is indeed appointed and invested with that office by the pasha; but he is obliged to take such a person as their own body thinks proper. The beys have, it is true, sometimes interfered, and managed so as to get one of their creatures into this office. In Constantinople they have serbajees over every chamber; but here a serbajee is only an honorary thing, like a brevet colonel. When any detachment is sent to war, or on any other affair, they are under the command of a fardar, taken from the caias, whose office is at an end on his return. He is as a colonel of a detached body; the name being derived from the Persian word far, which signifies a head or chief. He has his deputy, called jemac, and two sabederiks, or secretaries. This body, thus detached, is called a bouluke; but the whole body of janizaries in general, and their divan, is called the ogiak of the janizaries. Both these and the azabs have their divan at the castle, at their respective gates, called the gates of the janizaries, and of the azabs.

Azab signifies an unmarried person, and was a new recruit of young single men added to the janizaries, and became a distinct body. They have been great rivals with the janizaries in Egypt, and sometimes the azabs have got the better, as in the tumult in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen; but now the janizaries have the upper hand, notwithstanding some of the caias of the azabs are men of great interest. Their institution and officers are the same as those described of the janizaries; only from odabashees they are made serbajees, and from that office caias, and come into the divan; whereas if they go through those other offices of seraches and chouses, they never are advanced to be caias, nor have they the office of boabodabashee, which regards the government of the city, with which they have nothing to do. On the contrary, among the janizaries, when any one is made a serbajee, it is laying him aside, and he is no further advanced.

These two bodies are the great protectors of the people, and by their waught caia, all things regarding those under their protection, are judged, and almost all the people are incorporated into one or other of them. And if they apprehend that they are wronged by one body, they fly to the protection of the other, and become a member of it, which often occasions great broils. Thus they make themselves independent of the pasha, and every body; have their bas-chous always in the divan of the pasha; and, if occasion requires, their bas-caia, to oppose any thing as they think proper. And when any orders are sent to little divans from the Grand Signior by means of the pasha, if they are displeasing to them, they return them unexecuted. And these two bodies have usurped a power of deposing the pasha, by sending a bas-chous from each body, who, turning up the corner of his carpet, pronounces these words, In Pasha; that is, Descend, Pasha: and if he asks the reason, they tell him. And then he descends, an honourable prisoner to a house prepared for him, and the beys name a caimacam out of their own body to govern, until the Grand Signior sends another pasha. And when the pasha is out of place, they always oblige him to pay the expences they were at on account of his public entry. There is this difference between the tumults here and those at Constantinople, that the latter are commonly begun by some resolute fellows among the janizaries, whereas here the mob is generally raised by some great man, who envies one that is a rival to him; for as long as the Cairiotes are poor and weakened by former divisions, they are quiet, but when they grow rich and great, they envy one another, and so fall into divisions; which is only avoided by a prudent person's having the sway, who either makes all the other great men his friends, and adjusts all differences between them, or rather has sufficient power to make every body fear him.

The janizaries in Constantinople have no divan, but the janitzer aga enters the great divan, and receives his orders from the Grand Vizier; and moreover they have not the body of azabs in Constantinople. The janizaries also here have different offices, by which they rise to the highest degree; and every janizary has a great power, which is usurped; and if they find any roguery among the common people, they give them the bastinado, without any further ceremony, and there is no remedy for those who have no money; and when they are going to war, they are lords of the property of every one; insomuch that a stop is put to all trade, the shops are shut, and there is no security but in keeping out of the way; for of all the soldiers in the Grand Signior's dominions, those of Cairo are most insolent and injurious. Egypt is obliged to furnish the Grand Signior with three thousand soldiers every three years, if he demands them; twelve hundred janizaries, nine hundred azabs, and nine hundred ipahi; or if the Grand Signior sends them back, he can demand a fresh supply every year.

CHAP. III—*Of the Administration of Justice, Public Revenues, Trade and Manufactures of Egypt.*

JUSTICE is administered in Egypt almost in the same manner as in other parts of Turkey. A cadiliskier, like a lord high chancellor, is sent yearly from Constantinople to Grand Cairo, to whom they may appeal from the cadis; and many causes of importance in Cairo go immediately before him. He has his deputy, called nakib, and his house is the place of justice. There are in Cairo also eight cadis in different parts, and in every ward there is an officer called kabani, who is something like a public

notary; for by him all obligations that are valid are drawn. He is likewise a public weigh-master, by whom every thing ought to be weighed.

The city is divided into as many parts almost as streets, which divisions have gates to them, kept by porters, who shut them up at night; and to every street where Christians or Jews live, there is a guard of janizaries, who were first appointed to prevent the selling of spirituous liquors. A *cadi* is sent yearly from Constantinople to Alexandri, Rosetto, Damietta, and Gize; but the *cadiliskier* sends them from Cairo to most other towns; for the law is much studied here; which is written in the purest language, such as is spoken at Damascus, for that is esteemed the best. They have a saying, "That the law cuts the sword, but the sword cannot cut the law;" for the Grand Signior himself cannot take off a person of the law. But if any great man in that profession has rendered himself obnoxious, he orders him a horse's tail, by which he is made a *pascha*, or general, and then he can send him a bow string; but executions of that kind are never ordered in Egypt, lest the people should take part with the offender, who is commanded to some other place to wait his punishment. As the Mahometan faith is divided into speculative and practical, they study the latter, as it relates to their morals and their laws; and go through much the same course of study to be officers of their religion, and of their law; only the most able men apply to the latter, and more particularly direct their studies to the knowledge of the law. But it is to be observed, that in Egypt many causes are carried before leading men, who absolutely decide, even against the sentence of the magistrate; and there is no appeal to be had from them; and when they do apply to the *cadi*, an interest is often made by leading men, that is not to be refuted. However, one thing is much to be admired, as to the manner of administering justice, that all causes are immediately decided as soon as they are brought before them.

The religious persons who have the care of the mosques here, are called *sheiks*, in Turkish they are called *imam*, which is also an Arab word, signifying, as well as *sheik*, a head or chief: they have more or fewer to one mosque, according to its size and revenues; one is head over the rest, who answers to a parish priest; under him there are *hagis*, (readers) and those who cry out *To* prayers; but in small mosques the *sheik* does all himself. In such it is their business to open the mosque, to cry *To* prayers, and to begin their short devotions at the head of the congregation, who stand rank and file in great order, and make all their motions together; they also generally make an harangue to the people every Friday. I have been told some *sheiks* have been advanced to be *cadis*, and *cadis* are sometimes, when unfit for business, made *sheiks* of mosques, if they desire it, that is, if they have not saved fortunes; for here the *cadis*, that are put in by the *cadiliskier*, remain in their office many years.

The relations of Mahomet, called in Arabic, *sherif* or noble, by the Turks, *emir*, or prince, have the privilege of being exempt from appearing before any judge but their own head, who is himself a relation of Mahomet, and is called *neckib-el-esheraf*; and they are so much esteemed, that though any one of the military bodies will punish them, if guilty of any misdemeanor, yet they first take off their green turban, out of respect to their character, and then subject them to punishment as well as any others; and this is done even when they are punished by their own magistrate.

The revenues of the Grand Signior, in Egypt, consist of three branches, which arise from the lands, the customs, and the poll-tax on Christians and Jews. The immense riches of the Grand Signior may be easily collected, if one considers that he is absolute lord of all the lands in his dominions; notwithstanding the bad government, all the riches center in the Grand Signior; for the little officers oppress the people; the great

officers squeeze them; and out of Egypt, the pasha all the people under him; the pasha himself becomes a prey to the great people of the Porte; and the Grand Signior at last seizes the riches of the great officers about him.

All the villages in Egypt pay a certain yearly rent to the Grand Signior, which is fixed; and this is the *Hafna* or treasure, that is sent every year to Constantinople. How easy the rent is, may be concluded from the sum which is raised, which amounts only to six thousand purses, each of twenty-five thousand medines, which is about eighty pounds sterling; out of this, corn, flour, oil, and the like are sent yearly to Mecca, and twelve thousand soldiers are paid, which reduces the treasure to twelve hundred purses; out of which they also deduct from fifty to two hundred purses, according to the pretences they can make, which are mostly with regard to the conveyance of the water of the Nile to their lands; as in opening and cleaning some great common canals, and repairing some walls that serve for keeping up, or turning the waters; and five hundred dollars a month is paid to the beys. They also deduct for the repairs of all castles; and great stores of fugar and shirbets for the use of the *seraglio*, and cordage for the arsenal, are sent yearly out of this sum; so that though a bey and several hundred men go every year to guard this treasure to Constantinople, it does not commonly amount to more than two hundred purses in specie. This treasure was usually sent by sea, but being once taken by the Florentines, they have since gone by land, taking the other treasures in the way at Damascus and other places; it goes under the conduct of a bey, and a detachment from each of the military bodies. They return by sea, with the fleet of Alexandria, and have usurped a privilege of bringing what merchandize they please custom free.

It seems as if Egypt was formerly divided into timars, or knights fees, that is, lands granted for life, on condition of furnishing so many men for the war, who were obliged to rank themselves under the *sangiaks* or banners of their province, from whence came the title of *sangiak*, for a governor of a province; but I cannot now find any thing of this, and it may be that the extraordinary advance the country gives to the three thousand soldiers sent once in three years, if the Grand Signior commands them, is in lieu of it. These lands are sold during life, at a fixed rent, and the money arising from the sales is commonly given to the pasha, who pays to the Porte about eight hundred purses a year for it; but much roguery is practised in this, for a great man buys them in the name of a slave, and he has two or more slaves of that name, and often pretends when one dies, that the village was bought in the name of the other. There are lands that belong to Mecca, the revenue of which is received by the *kisler-aga* or black eunuch, who sends a deputy here to manage the revenues of those estates, which are mostly paid in corn, sent to supply the country of Mecca. And as to the Grand Signior's rents or tribute, if the Nile does not rise to sixteen pikes, when the canal at Cairo is cut, they are not sent; because the consequence of it would be a want of every thing throughout the land of Egypt, and occasion a famine.

The second branch of the Grand Signior's revenues, are the customs of Egypt. The *Ogiak* of the janizaries farm all the customs of the pasha, who takes them of the Grand Signior; and when I was in Egypt, the Grand Signior sending a person to take it out of their hands, they managed so that it had no effect. The customs are taken by the janizaries at a fixed price, but they are often obliged to make an extraordinary present to the pasha. They let them commonly to Jews, but *Damiata* has been generally in the hands of Christians.

The customs of Damietta are let for four hundred purses, and may yield five or six hundred; the customs of Alexandria, for two hundred and eighty purses, and produce about four hundred to the farmer. The customs of Bulac the port of Cairo, and of things landed from Upper Egypt at Old Cairo, are likewise farmed; the customs of Suez may be worth eight hundred purses, being about twenty-seven shillings on every bale of coffee; these the pasha keeps in his own hands, as likewise the merchandises brought from Mecca, which is about half a guinea on every camel. Those of Upper Egypt are given to the bey there; these customs arise from a duty of ten per cent. on all goods imported, and seven more when they come to Cairo, but the English and French pay only three per cent., instead of seventeen, which is settled by treaties with the Porte. The Swedes also have lately obtained an order for the same purpose. The Venetians and Dutch, by reason of some debts contracted here, did not send consuls, and had lost their privilege, but the Venetians have lately regained theirs. All persons pay three per cent. for goods exported.

The other branch of the Grand Signior's revenue in Egypt is the poll-tax on the Christians and Jews, called the harach; this, till within a few years, was in the hands of the janizaries, who gave eighty purses a year for it; but an harach-aga being sent from Constantinople, by applying a great sum of money to the leading men, he got possession of the harach or poll-tax; and it is said, he makes of it, for the Grand Signior, eight hundred purses. Before this, the Christians paid but a trifle, by capitulation with Sultan Selim, the sum being only two dollars and three quarters a head; and this capitulation the Copts say they have in their own hands. The great men consented to this, not thinking that it would any way interfere with their interests, nor considering that it would drain the kingdom of so much more money every year; for now they pay according to their substance, either two dollars and three quarters, or five and a half, or eleven, each dollar being about half a crown, for which a certain number of papers are sent yearly from Constantinople, as to other parts; which must be either returned, or the money answering to the sums contained in them; which papers are given to those who pay the tribute, and are their acquittances. The persons that pay are only men, after they arrive at the age of sixteen.

As to the trade of Egypt, that which is within itself consists in supplying the lower parts from above, with corn, all sorts of pulse and dates; and the upper parts from Delta, with rice and salt, and from Cairo, all kinds of things imported into Egypt; as Upper Egypt has no commerce by the sea, or any other parts that can supply them with such things. Before the way was found to the East Indies, by the Cape of Good Hope, Egypt had a great trade, by landing all Indian and Persian goods at Cossir on the Red Sea, bringing them to Kept four days by land, and then carrying them to Alexandria, whence they were distributed all over Europe by the Venetians, which was the great riches of that state, which has ever since declined. Indian linens, muslins, calicoes, and china-ware are dearer here than they are in England, being brought a great part of the way by land. The exportation of coffee and rice out of Egypt into any parts out of Turkey, is prohibited, but presents make all those things easy; many sorts of Indian drugs are exported to Europe, and some of the growth of this country, which are senna, cassia, a little colocintida, and a red dye called saffranoun. They send flax to Leghorn, and all over Turkey, and cottons to Marseilles. The import is English, French, and Venetian cloth; silks from Leghorn and Venice, some drugs and dyes, tin from England, lead and marble blocks from Leghorn, many sorts of small wares from France, Venice, and Constantinople, and from the latter furs, and all sorts of copper vessels and plates, which are much used, being tinned over.

And

And from Salonica, they bring all their iron in Turkish ships, that it may not be carried out of Turkey, which is strictly prohibited ; and they bring carpets from Asia Minor, and many things of the woollen manufacture from Barbary, and raw silks from Syria. They also import coral and amber, to be sent to Mecca for toys and ornaments. The manufactures of Egypt are mostly spent among themselves, except linens, of which there are great quantities sent to France, Italy, Algiers, and all over Turkey. Their manufactures consist chiefly of three branches, the linen, woollen, and silk. The woollen is of un-napped carpets, used mostly for the seats of divans, or sofas ; all made with broad stripes, of different colours, and little other variety. These are made at Benesuef, towards Upper Egypt, as before observed. The raw silk is brought to Damietta from Syria : they make of it large handkerchiefs for womens veils, and a very rich sort of handkerchief worked with gold, and in flowers of several colours, used likewise on many occasions by the ladies, to throw over presents they send to one another ; and sometimes they make cushions and coverings of this sort for the sofas, which are very costly. In Cairo they manufacture great variety of sattinets and taffetas, many in imitation of those of India, but none of them very good.

The Delta and other parts of Egypt produce a great quantity of flax ; they do not spin it with a wheel, but letting the spindle hang down, they draw out the thread from the distaff. Egypt is not now remarkable for its fine linen ; which seems to be owing to the little use they have for it, because the people of condition wear a sort of muslin, which is much properer for so hot a climate. What linen they make for wear is exceedingly cheap, and becomes white ; it is manufactured chiefly at Rosetta, where they also make many striped linens, used mostly about beds, as a defence against gnats at night. They also make of this sort at Cairo and Faium ; and at the latter great quantities of sackcloth brought to Cairo. At Imbabe, opposite to Cairo, and the villages about it, they make a coarse strong linen used for sheets. They have also a great manufacture of linens at Sciout, in Upper Egypt ; but the very best linen that is made is about Mahalla in Delta, and Damietta, especially the latter : it is used for napkins and towels, and long narrow clothes thrown round the dish at eating, to be used by the guests. It is a plain well-woven linen, though not fine ; but being worked with a striped silk border, sells dear.

The Turks have chiefly a genius for merchandize, so that most arts that require ingenuity are here generally in the hands of Christians ; particularly the silver-smiths and jewellers, in all parts, which is a great trade here, by reason of the ornaments of the women, and of the trappings of their horses ; but they can use no plate in their houses, nor can the Mahometan men wear a gold ring, according to their law, unless they give a tenth of what they are worth to the poor, of which there are hardly any instances. But it has been said that some have thought to evade this law by holding out in their hands a sum of money, for the tenth of what they are worth, to the poor, and asking them what they would take for it ; and so compound with them. The women are very costly in their golden bracelets, and other ornaments of gold and jewels ; because throughout Turkey, as I have been informed, if there are children, a woman by the law, after her husband's death, (unless particular donations are made) has nothing but her apparel, which is often sold with her jewels and ornaments of gold, to maintain the poor widow. They have here very curious lattices for their windows ; which when made with the utmost art are very costly. And before their mosque windows, they have of this sort made of iron and brass, in the most perfect manner, being all of round bars let into one another, so as to be divided into many small squares, and they are embellished with very proper ornaments ; but these seem to be remains of the
works

works under the Mamaluke government, when they were very magnificent in their architecture. The Egyptian pebbles are wrought here, and polished in great perfection, for handles of knives and snuff-boxes; and they cannot do it so cheap in any other parts. It is done in the same manner as they work precious stones, with a wheel, and the business is in the hands of one Jew. They make also red leather at Cairo; but the best is prepared at Alexandria, which does not come up to the perfection of the Morocco leather, which is of a brighter red. For all arts, they are reckoned much inferior here to what they are in Constantinople, which makes every thing esteemed that comes from that place. Egypt is famous for Sal armoniac, which they export, and for hatching chickens in ovens, of which I shall give an account in the last book.

The money that passes in Egypt is burbers, medines, sequins, and several sorts of foreign coins, mostly Spanish. The burber is a thick piece of copper about as broad as a six-pence; twelve of them make a medine, which is of iron silvered over, about as big as a silver three-pence. Three aspers make also a medine, a coin of the same kind, but they are not made here. They coin two sorts of sequins, one of one hundred and forty-six medines, called a fundulee, and a new coin of a hundred and ten medines, called a zumaboob. They have also Barbary sequins of different value. The base money of Constantinople does not pass here. A purse is twenty five thousand medines; but in other parts of Turkey, it is only twenty thousand: and where they speak of great sums, they always compute by purses.

The smallest weight is a grain, four of which make a carat, used for weighing diamonds. They have also a weight for pearls, called a metacal, which consists of a carat and a half, or two carats. Sixteen carats make a dram, twelve drams an ounce, twelve ounces a rotolo, three rotolos an oke, and from one hundred to a hundred and fifty rotolos a cantar, or quintal, according to the goods they weigh. The rotolo of Alexandria is three hundred and ten drams; the English pound weight is about two drams more than the common rotolo. Two hundred and ten okes make an adeb of rice of Damietta, one hundred and fifty at Rosetto, which is the measure for corn, except that it is double in Upper Egypt. In other parts of Turkey, six okes make a batman, and forty batmans a load, (as I suppose it must be,) for a camel, which is about seven hundred and twenty pounds; though in Egypt there are camels that will carry a thousand weight.

They have two measures called pikes, the larger is called the pike of Constantinople, and is about twenty-seven English inches. They measure all foreign goods with it, except such as are made of flax and cotton, for which they use the small pike, called Pike Belledy, or, The pike of the country, because they measure with it all the manufactures of the country. This pike, as I was informed, consists of about twenty-four inches, English measure.

One great caravan that arrives at Cairo, is of those blacks who come from the country near the Isle of Pheasants, and pass through Fez, Morocco, and Tripoly, and are about eight months on the journey. What they bring is chiefly gold dust. Caravans also come from Tunis and Algiers. Another caravan is of Berberins, from Sennar, who bring the goods of Ethiopia, and of several parts of Africa, as black slaves, gold dust, elephants teeth, gums, ostrich feathers, musk, ambergris, and ebony.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the State of Religion in Egypt, its Inhabitants, their Policy.*

AS to the state of religion in Egypt, the Coptic is that of the native Christians of the country. There are many Greeks in Cairo and Damietta, but very few in Alexandria and Rosetto; and in the other parts of Egypt, only some merchants in the principal towns.

towns. There are very few Armenians in Cairo ; but they have a church there given them by the Coptis, in lieu of a chapel they yielded to them in the church of The holy sepulchre at Jerufalem. The Christian religion would be at a very low ebb, if the people did not find it convenient to have Copti stewards of their estates, who are well acquainted with all affairs, are very dextrous at keeping accounts, which they do in a sort of Coptic characters understood by no body else ; and one reason why they make use of them may be, that these people are more under their command, and they may have them more in their power, in case of any breach of trust. These stewards, in every village, are a sort of lords, and are protectors of the Christians in it.

The Coptis, of all the Easterns, seem to be the most irreverent and careless in their devotions. The night before Sundays and festivals, they spend in their churches, and the holy day in fauntering about, and sitting under their walls in winter, and under shady trees in summer. They seem to think that their whole religion consists in repeating their long services, though without the least devotion, and in strictly observing their numerous fasts. If we except the convents of the deserts of St. Macarius and St. Antony, and one at Esne, the convents are inhabited only by one or two married priests ; but the patriarch must be a man that never has been married, and is taken out of one of those convents. They are all exceedingly ignorant, both priests and people : the former perform the service in the Coptic language, by rote, of which they generally understand very little ; but they have books of their liturgy, with the Arabic interpretation. It would make a volume to give an account of all the particular rites of the Alexandrian church.

Strabo * mentions two extraordinary customs among the Egyptians, which the Coptis observe when their children are about ten years of age ; but neither of them is a religious rite, and they give some reasons for this practice. The Mahometans likewise in upper Egypt, whom we may suppose to be original natives of the country, and consequently their ancestors Christians, observe both these customs ; and by this seem to be distinguished from those that are not true Egyptians. The Coptis bear an implacable hatred towards the Greeks, ever since the famous affair of pressing them to receive the council of Chalcedon ; and when the Greeks got the upper hand, it is said they treated them with great rigour. They have also generally as little regard for the Europeans, which proceeds, in a great measure, from an endeavour in those of the church of Rome to make converts of them. And they rarely distinguish between those of different religions, but include all under the name of Franks. The Jews have one particular custom here : as they were afraid in the times of Paganism, to drink wine offered to idols, it was usual to have all the wine they drank made by their own people, and sealed up to be sent to them ; and this custom they still observe in all the eastern parts. They have thirty-six synagogues in Cairo, and one in old Cairo, in which they say the prophet Jeremiah was, as observed before. There is a particular sect among them who live by themselves, and have a separate synagogue ; and as the other Jews are remarkable for their eyes, so they observe these are for their large noses. They are the ancient Effenes, and have now the name of Charaims, from Mekra, the name by which they call the five books of Moses ; which they strictly observe, according to the letter, not receiving any written traditions. It is said that the others would join with them but not having observed the exact rules of the law, with regard to divorces, they think that they live in adultery.

* Τῆτο δὲ τῶν ζηλούμενον μάλα καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, τὸ πάντα τρέφειν τὰ γυνώμενα παιδία. Καὶ τὸ σκευτεύειν, καὶ τὰ θύλακας ἐκδίδειν. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 624.

The Mahometan inhabitants of Egypt are either original natives, in the villages called Filaws, or they are of the Arab race. The latter are of two sorts. Those from the east, mostly on the eastern side of the river, and those of the west, called Mugarbi, or western people, who have come from the parts of Barbary, have different manners and customs from the others, and are rather worse. Many of the Arabs are settled in villages, and are honest people, especially in Upper Egypt. Those who live under tents are called Bedoui, subsisting mostly by the cattle they graze, which are chiefly camels, and goats, that feed on small shrubs. These, for the most part, live on either side of the Delta, and are also much about Iacca.

The natives of Egypt are now a slothful people, and delight in sitting still, hearing tales, and indeed seem always to have been more fit for the quiet life, than for any active scenes: and this idle manner of living is probably one great reason of the fruitfulness of their invention, with regard to their ancient Heathen religion, and of their making so many extravagant fables; out of which the Greeks might take some of the most beautiful, as a foundation for their religion and poetry, and so they passed to the Romans. This indolence may be owing to the great heat of the country, that enervates them, and inclines them to the unactive life. They are also malicious and envious to a great degree, which keeps them from uniting and setting up for themselves; and though they are very ignorant, yet they have a natural cunning and artifice as well as falsehood, and this makes them always suspicious of travellers, that they want to find treasures, and as they see they do not actually find them, they imagine they can by magic art draw away the money, which they think may lie hid in the earth, being so ignorant that they cannot otherwise conceive why they should come so far to see ruins: which notion of theirs often occasions a traveller much trouble, and sometimes prevents his seeing every thing as he would; they have, however, learnt from the Arabs hospitality, and something of that strict virtue of fidelity, in standing by those that are under their protection. The people of the country are mostly employed in tilling the ground, which is not attended with much labour; but the bringing water to it is often very troublesome. The Arabs love plunder, and the roving sort of life this disposition leads them to. The business of attending cattle seems most suited to their genius; they have good horses, and manage them and their pikes with much address; those on foot use poles, with which they fence off the spear, with great art.

Another sort of people are those they call Turks, in distinction from the natives of the country and the Arabs; being those who are sent by the Grand Signior, and the slaves, and the governing part that are taken from among them, and their descendants, and all in general of foreign extraction; these are most covetous of money and desirous of power, and withal most subtle and ingenious in carrying on any affair to obtain their ends, most surprising things having been managed and brought about by them in Cairo, with the utmost policy and secrecy; and these distinguish themselves from the others by what is strictly the Turkish dress.

Among the Mahometans, the dervishes are a very particular sort of people, they may be reckoned of two or three kinds; those that are in convents are in a manner a religious order, and live retired, though I suppose there are of these who travel with some credit, and return to their convents. Some take on them this character, and live with their families and follow their trades; such are the dancing dervishes at Damascus, who come once or twice a week to the little convent that is uninhabited, and perform their extraordinary exercises; these also seem to be good people; but there is a third sort that travel about the country and beg, or rather oblige every body to give; for when they sound their horn, they must be regarded, something must be given them,

and it is said they are very bad men ; the two former, and I believe these also, wear an octagonal badge of white alabaster with a greenish cast, before on their girdles, and they wear a high stiff cap without any thing round it. The Turcomen wear the same, a little more pointed, but with a white sash about it. In Egypt there are few, except those that live in convents, and of them only one house near Cairo.

Having mentioned the refined policy or rather cunning of the governing part of the Egyptians, I shall give some instances of it : it is chiefly employed in bringing about their ends of destroying one another, when they are divided into parties ; for as there are more factions in Egypt than in other parts of Turkey, so there are more instances of it here. The manner in which they pass their time, without reading or much business, without any curiosity but what relates to their affairs, is the great reason of it ; for they think much, and their thoughts are always employed about their particular interests. The pashas commonly join with that party under-hand which they judge is most likely to get the better, unless when they set themselves to destroy the strongest party, which they think may endanger the Grand Signior's government in Egypt. I shall mention some particulars, without inserting the several names, which would be of very little import to the reader in this place. Not many years ago, a pasha being desirous to take off a bey, and apprehending that he would refuse the coffee brought to him, directed the slave that was to bring the coffee, at the same time as another was to bring the coffee to the pasha, to make a false step and let fall the coffee of the bey, who following the directions he had received, the pasha desired the bey to take his coffee, which being a particular honour, the bey could not refuse it ; and drank the coffee without suspicion, which had poison purposely put into it.

About seven or eight years ago, a design was formed by the weaker party to destroy their enemies, who had raised themselves to a most exorbitant degree of power : the scheme had been long laid, and above forty persons in the secret, many of whom were slaves ; but an opportunity was wanted, as they could not get the persons all together, against whom it was designed. At length the day came, when all the great persons were together, and the slaves bringing in the coffee or shirbet all at the same time, according to the usual custom, whilst they were drinking it, each slave drew out his weapon and stabbed his man ; some few of them indeed, marked out for destruction, got off wounded, without being killed. They took off likewise a head of a party by another stratagem : it was known that this bey was very desirous to have one of his enemies taken ; the plot was therefore laid that they should bring in a man before the bey, so disguised, that he should not distinguish who he was, crying out, that all his enemies might be as that man, taking care to have the bey instructed whom they were bringing to him. They had the policy as they passed, to draw out the bolt of their particular sort of locks, in such manner as that no body might be able to shut the doors and lock them, either after they had done their business, or in case of any miscarriage. The person was brought in with his hands behind him, as if tied, and a napkin put over his head, as malefactors commonly have, and by a person dressed like the patrolling officer who takes up such people : when he was brought into the room, the bey asked which was the fellow, when the pretended prisoner presented a pistol in each hand, saying here he is, and shot the bey dead, who was sitting on the sofa in the corner of the room, as the great men usually place themselves.

When I was in Egypt a pasha was named, who had often conducted the caravan from Damascus to Mecca ; and having there contracted a friendship with a bey of Egypt, who

had the care of the caravan from Grand Cairo, it was said, that he had desired the bey, in case he should ever be appointed pasha of Egypt, to endeavour to use all the means he could to prevent his coming, it being a pashalic, though of much honour, yet of great expence and little profit. It is said, when the Grand Signior's order was read in the divan, appointing this person pasha, this bey, his friend, had contrived that they should ask who this pasha was, if it was such a one, a man of no family, a country man, a filaw, and that they would not have such a person come as their pasha. Whether this report was false, or whether the stratagem did not succeed, I cannot say, for this pasha came soon after, and was deposed on this occasion: the bey he had contracted a friendship with, was of the faction that had been almost destroyed; and there was reason to think that the pasha was in the secret of a design to cut off the great men that were uppermost, who were to be assassinated going to the divan. To the first great man that came, the persons employed offered a petition as he went along the street on horseback, and continued holding and kissing his hand whilst he was reading it, pressing not to be refused, who taking more than ordinary notice of their earnestness, going to withdraw his hand, they dragged him off his horse and murdered him. The party that was to have been destroyed drew up some writing relating to this affair, and carried it to the pasha to sign it; they looked upon his refusal as a proof that he was at the bottom of it; it is said also that his caia betrayed him, and therefore they immediately deposed him.

I shall mention only one instance more of their policy, of a private nature. A Mahometan of Cairo desired to borrow a considerable sum of money of a merchant, who refusing to lend it, he prevailed with his friend a chous (a sort of messengers, as already observed, who are sent about affairs, and whose character is esteemed very sacred,) to go to the house of the merchant, who coming to the chous to kiss his hand, the chous took occasion to shake off his own large cap as he was coming in, and immediately pretended that the merchant had beat it off; upon which he thought proper, not only to advance the money, but to give a much greater sum to compromise the affair.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Education, Customs, Dress, and modern Architecture of Egypt; and of the Caravan to Mecca.*

THE education in Egypt is seldom more than to read and write, which the Coptis generally learn, and their manner of keeping accounts; but the Arabs and native Mahometans very rarely can read, except those that have been bred up to the law, or some employ. The best education is among the slaves, who understand Arabic and Turkish, and often write both, and go through their exercises constantly; to ride, shoot, and throw the dart well, being esteemed great accomplishments. The belief of predestination is very strongly rooted in them, especially in those who are properly Turks, which often inspires them with very great courage, and quiets them in an extraordinary manner, when they are thrown from the height of power into the most miserable condition, in which circumstances they say, it is the will of God, and bless God; and indeed they behave rather better in adversity than prosperity; though when they are in high stations, they carry themselves with much becoming gravity; and when they do a favour, it is with a very gracious countenance; but the love of money is so rooted in them, that nothing is to be done without bribery; and it is an affront to come into the presence of a great man, where a favour is to be asked, without a present, or having it

signified to him that something is designed. The same notion of predestination makes them use no precautions against the plague; but they even go and help to bury the bodies of those that die of it, which is reckoned a very great charity, though it is said there is no infection in a dead body.

They think the greatest villainies are expiated, when once they wash their hands and feet. This is their preparation to go to prayers, which all the polite people constantly do; for the outward appearance of religion is in fashion among them, and it is looked on as genteel to say their prayers in any place at the usual hours. Their prayers are very short, and repeated five times a day; but they may perform all these devotions at one time. They always pray on a carpet or cloth, to avoid touching any thing that is unclean. They pray in the most public places wherever they are; and when they are in a visit, will call for water to wash their hands and feet, and so perform their devotions. The Arabs that live in tents are seldom seen to pray.

Resignation to the will of God, and perhaps no great affection for their relations, is the cause that they lament very little for them, and soon forget the loss of them, unless it be of their children; for they are very fond to have children, and are affectionate towards them. Those who are properly Turks here commonly marry slaves of Circassia, Georgia; and other countries, who exceed the natives of the country in beauty. Their words pass for nothing, either in relations, promises, or professions of friendship. The use of laudanum, so much in vogue formerly, is succeeded by drinking chiefly strong waters, which they take plentifully at their meals; though a great many will not drink, but they use heating things to cheer them. The persons who drink are chiefly the soldiery and great men; but it would be reckoned scandalous in people of business. The Arabs indeed do not drink, or very rarely; and the common people pound the leaves of green hemp, make a ball of it, and swallow it down, to make them cheerful. And a composition is made of the buds of hemp, before they flower, which has the same intoxicating quality as laudanum, and is called aphium, or opium, which signifies any thing that stupifies or intoxicates. A vice the Turks are remarkable for, is not practised among the Arabs, or true Egyptians.

They have a great notion of the magic art, have books about it, and think there is much virtue in talismans and charms; but particularly are strongly possessed with an opinion of the evil eye. And when a child is commended, except you give it some blessing, if they are not very well assured of your good will, they use charms against the evil eye; and particularly when they think any ill success attends them on account of an evil eye, they throw salt into the fire.

The meanest Mahometan thinks himself above any Christian; and where there is no dependency, they put themselves on a rank with them, and seldom preserve any tolerable good manners, especially the Turks. The Arabs and people of the country are civil enough, and shew it in their way, by coming and sitting about you; though they are troublesome, by being too observing, curious, and inquisitive. The Turks also will be very civil, either to get presents, or to find out your designs and inclinations, in which they are very artful; but where there is any dependency among one another, they observe a great decorum, all rising up when a superior comes in. And in a regular meeting in the military divans, as I have been told, the inferior takes up the papouches of the superior, and sets them by him, and after receives the same regards from his inferior: and, as I have been informed, a superior of great dignity holds the stirrup to a superior that is still greater, when he mounts; as a two-tailed vizier holds the stirrup to one that has three tails. The way of saluting as you approach, or pass,

is by stretching out the right hand, and bringing it to the breast, and a little inclining the head. The extraordinary salute is kissing the hand, and then putting it to the head. And when a visit is paid to a superior, his hand is kissed; and if he is very much superior, they kiss the hem of the garment. The Arab salutation is by joining hands, and often bowing the head to the side of the head of the person saluted, asking him how he does, if he is well, and bidding him peace several times. But a Mahometan will not say peace to a Christian, which is the usual salute one towards another. When they take any thing either from the hands of a superior, or that is sent from a superior, they kiss it, and, as the highest respect, put it to their foreheads; and if you demand any thing that relates to a service or protection of you, when they promise it, they put their hands up to their turbans, as much as to say, Be it on their heads; which they also sometimes say; for nothing can be imagined finer than the Arab manner of expressing civility or friendship; and if the news only is told of any one's death, they always say, May your head be safe. And on some particular occasions, to a great man in times of confusion, when any of his enemies are taken or dead, they compliment him by wishing that all his enemies may be as he is. Among the Copts, in public company, a son does not sit before his father, or any superior relation, without being ordered to sit more than once: and there is great reason why superiors should keep inferiors thus at a distance, and exact so much respect of them, especially with regard to civil governors; as the people are of such slavish minds, that they must be kept under; and if any liberty is given, they immediately assume too much.

When the Turks eat, a little round or octagon stool, is set on the sofa, on a coloured cloth laid on the ground: round it they throw a long cloth, to be put in the laps of the guests; and with those of condition, a napkin is given to every one when he washes, as they always do before they eat. This they likewise lay before them, and wipe with it when they wash after dinner. On the stool they put a copper dish tinned over, from three to six feet diameter, which is as a table; all their dishes and vessels being copper tinned over, inside and out. Round this dish they put bread, small dishes of pickles, salads, and the like; and then they bring two or three large dishes, in two or three courses. None but the common people eat beef, and the flesh of the buffalo, as they have a notion that it is not easy of digestion. It is said in the hot hamseen season in the month of April and May, they eat, for the most part, nothing but dishes made of pulse and herbs, and also fish, as being easier of digestion; the great heats taking away their appetite for all sorts of meat. The Copts, as well as the Turks, abstain from swines flesh. The most vulgar people make a sort of beer of barley, without being malted; and they put something in it to make it intoxicate, and call it bouzy: they make it ferment; it is thick and sour, and will not keep longer than three or four days. It appears from Herodotus, that the Egyptians used some sort of beer in his time, which he calls wine made of barley*. If they do not drink wine, they seldom drink whilst they are eating. They either sit cross-legged, or kneel, and make use only of the right hand, not using knives or forks, but tear the meat with the hand; and the master of the house often takes pieces in his hand, and throws them to the guests, that he would pay an extraordinary compliment to. Immediately after eating, coffee is brought. This is the Turkish manner; their dishes consisting of pilaw, soups, dulma, which is any vegetable stuffed with forced meat; as cucumbers, onions, cawl leaves, stewed dishes, sweet ragoos, pieces of meat cut small and roasted, and several other things. All is taken out and eaten by the inferior servants; not by the slaves, who

* Οἶνον δ' ἐκ κριθῶν ποιοῦντες διαχρησάσθαι Herodotus, ii. c. 77.

have a dinner prepared for them of more ordinary dishes, in another room. With the Arabs and people of the country, either a round skin is laid on the ground for a small company, or large coarse woollen cloths for a great number, spread all over the room, and about ten dishes repeated six or seven times over, laid round at a great feast, and whole sheep and lambs boiled and roasted in the middle. When one company has done, another sits round, even to the meanest, till all is consumed. And an Arab Prince will often dine in the street, before his door, and call to all that pass, even beggars, in the usual expression, *Bismillah*, that is, in the name of God; who come and sit down, and when they have done, give their *hamdellilah*, that is, God be praised. For the Arabs are great levelers, put every body on a footing with them; and it is by such generosity and hospitality that they maintain their interest; but the middling people among them, and the Copts, live but poorly. I have often sat down with them, only to bread, raw onions, and a feed pounded and put in oil, which they call *serich*, produced by an herb called *simsim*, into which they dip their bread, that is made as often as they eat, in very thin cakes, baked on an iron plate heated. They have a very good dish for one who has a good appetite, which is these cakes broken all to pieces, and mixed with a sort of syrup made of the sugar cane when it is green. This cane is a great desert with them, by sucking the sweet juice out of it. They also eat a sour milk turned with seeds. They have a dish among the Moors called *cuscusow*, which is made with flour tempered with water, and rolled in the hands into small pieces, and being put in a cullender, over a boiling pot stopped close round, it is dressed with the steam, and then they put butter to it. They also sometimes dress dates with butter. Their great meal is generally at night, taking a light collation in the morning of fried eggs, cheese, and, at great tables, olives and honey. And this is also usual with the Turks, especially if they go out to do business, or for diversion, to stay abroad most part of the day, otherwise they dine rather before noon, and sup early in the evening. They probably chuse to eat early in the morning, before the heat takes away their appetite; and eat again soon in the evening, when it begins to be cool. When they have no company, they commonly go into the harem, or women's apartments, at the time of eating, to a wife, in her separate apartment, who either prepares the dinner, or inspects and directs it, though they are great persons, having their offices adjoining to their rooms. And a great man who has four wives, has five kitchens, one for each of them, managed by their slaves or servants; and one great one for public entertainments for the master, when he dines out of the harem, and for the slaves and servants. At a Turkish visit, a pipe is immediately brought, and coffee; and if it is a visit of ceremony, sweet-meats, with the coffee; and afterwards a sherbet; and then, according to the dignity of the person, incense and rose water to perfume, which is a genteel way of dismissing the company. Friends who visit, especially women, stay a night or two, or more, carrying their beds with them, though in the same town; and coffee, or a sweet water boiled on cinnamon, are brought at least once in an hour. And I have been told that it is a mark of great respect among them, often to change their garments during the visit. If any one goes to the house of an Arab, or to his tent, bread is immediately made, and they serve sour milk and cucumbers in it when in season, fried eggs, and oil to dip the bread in, a salt cheese like curds, and such like. They do not take it well if you do not stay and eat, and think it such a favour to come to their houses, and put yourself, as it were, under their protection, that where there have been any enmities, if one goes to the other's house and eats with him, all is forgot. And I have seen them sometimes shew resentment by refusing to take coffee, or any thing offered; like the anizaries, who when they mutiny, will not eat the

Grand Signior's pilaw; but if pressed to eat, and they comply, it is a sign the resentment is past. They generally rise early, at break of day, and often go at that time to the mosques, the common people at least; thence they resort to the coffee-houses, and having taken their collations, go pretty late to their shops, and shut them about four in the afternoon. The great people either visit or are visited. In Cairo, on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays, they go to the pasha's divan; and these are the general days of business. Fridays they stay at home, and go to their mosques at noon; and though, with them, it is their day of devotion, yet they never abstain from their business. The three other days of the week they call *benish* days, from the garment of that name, which is not a habit of ceremony. They then go out early in the morning with their slaves, to public places out of town, commonly called *meidans*, or places, where they have a sort of open summer-houses, and see their slaves ride, shoot, and throw the dart, and regale themselves with their pipe and coffee. Few of them, except those of the law or church, ever read in books, but have generally company with them; and as they have time to think much, that is one very great cause of their refined policy, in many respects. When they are at home, they stay from twelve to four in the women's apartment, and from the time they go to supper, till the next morning; and when they are there, it must be business of very extraordinary importance, if they are called out, especially if they are great men. It is the custom in most parts of Turkey, if not every where, for the men to eat by themselves, even in the women's apartments; the wife having her provisions served, perhaps at the same time, in another room. The month of fasting of the Mahometans, called *Ramezan*, as I have already observed, is very severe; and when it happens in the summer, it is very hard on the labourers, who cannot drink, being only allowed to wash their mouths. As this month, in thirty-three years is in all seasons of the year. The Turkish month being lunar, they begin it the day they can see the moon; whereas the Jews begin it the day the moon makes, which is a day before the Turks. The Coptic month is thirty days, and every year they have five intercalary days, and every fourth year six; their æra begins three hundred and two years after Christ, from the martyrdom of the saints in Egypt, under Diocletian. One of the greatest refreshments among the Turks, as I have observed before, is going to the *bagnios*; in the first large room, generally covered with a cupola, they undress, and putting on those wooden pattens, which they use also in their houses, they go into the hot room, where they are washed and rubbed with brushes and hair cloths; they rub the feet with a sort of gracer made of earthenware, something resembling the body of a bird; they then make all the joints snap, even the very neck, and all down the back, which they think makes the joints supple; after this they are shaved, and go into the bath; from this place they return by a room not so hot, where they stay awhile; and from thence go into the great room, repose on a bed, smoke their pipe, take their coffee, and dress. The eunuchs love their ease very much; some of them will sit all day long in their coffee-houses, and considerable persons will go and sit in the shops of the great merchants for two or three hours, and take those refreshments of tobacco and coffee they so much delight in. When they travel, they always walk their horses, set out pretty early, and often repose in the way, for a quarter of an hour, smoke and take coffee, especially when it is hot, when they stop frequently in the shade; those who do not travel in great state have a leathern bottle of water hanging to their own saddle, or their servant's, to drink whenever they are thirsty; the great men have a horse or camel loaded with skins of water; but if they go short journeys, they have large ones, in which they carry water from the river in Cairo, and from

from the cisterns in Alexandria; or if they go long journeys, they have such as they use in the journey to Mecca; and very great people have a servant that carries such a vase of water, in a basket made of a sort of net work, to be always ready whenever the water is wanted. By night they rarely make use of tents, but lie in the open air, having large lanthorns, made like a pocket paper lanthorn, the bottom and top being of copper, tinned over, and instead of paper they are made with linen, which is extended by hoops of wire, so that when it is put together it serves as a candlestick; and they have a contrivance to hang it up abroad, by means of three staves, in the manner that large scales are hung, in order to weigh. They commonly lie only on carpets. All their kitchen utensils they carry with them, which in the train of a great man load two or three camels; but the Arabs put a vessel into a basket made of palm leaves, and within it they put smaller vessels, and several other utensils, and carry them with great conveniency tied to their camels. All their vessels for dressing are in that manner, so that the top often serves them for a dish; and all these things are of copper, tinned over inside and out; these and the wooden bowl, which serves as a large dish, and in which they make their bread, are all the kitchen furniture of an Arab, even where he is settled. The round leathern cover laid on the ground has rings round it, by which it is drawn together, with a chain that has a hook to it, to hang it by, either to the side of the camel, or in the house, this draws it together, and sometimes they carry in it the meal made into dough; in this manner they bring it full of bread, and when the repast is over, carry it away at once, with all that is left, in the same manner. They leaven their bread by putting in a piece of the last dough they made, which they always lay by, and becoming sour, it causes a fermentation in it, and makes the bread light.

When the caravans go to Mecca, some women of condition ride in tartavans or litters carried by camels, the labour of the camel that goes behind being very great, as his head is under the litter. Some go in a smaller sort, on the back of one camel. People of condition ride on a saddled camel; inferior persons ride on camels loaded with their carpets and bed, if they have any, and other necessaries; they commonly have a double crook in their hands, to direct the camel by touching his head, and also to recover their bridle, if it happens to drop, and to strike the beast to make him go on. The most extraordinary way of conveyance is a sort of round basket on each side of the camel, with a cover made at top; there is a cover over the lower part, which holds all their necessaries, and the persons sit cross-legged on it. They have also in the same manner something like the body of an uncovered chaise or chair, which is more convenient, as they can sit and extend their legs, if there is only one in it, for I think two can sit in these on each side. The pilgrims to Mecca commonly go in a sort of black cloak, with a cowl; the people of Barbary wear them white: it is fastened about the neck with a long loop, and the cloak commonly hangs behind. Having mentioned the caravan to Mecca, I shall give some account of it. There is a tradition, that there was a great pilgrimage to those parts (before the establishment of the Mahometan religion) to Abraham's tomb, as they call it, and the place where they say he offered up his son Isaac; but the Jews say that it is the place to which Abraham came to see Ishmael. The great ceremonies of the pilgrims now consist in carrying the coverings of the mosques, and of the tombs of Abraham and Mahomet, most of which are a sort of black damask, richly embroidered with gold; every thing relating to it being manufactured by people employed entirely about it in the castle of Cairo. The first procession is the carrying of these things from the castle to the mosque Hassanine, on the third day after the feast of Biram, which succeeds their great fast; all the sheiks of the mosques, and the several companies of different trades go to the castle in procession with
their

their colours. The standards of Mecca were first brought rolled up; then the people carried along part of the hangings of the house of Mecca, folded together; and so several pieces of it, about half a quarter of an hour one after another; the people crowded to touch them, kissing their hands, and putting them to their heads: some carried nothing but the fine ropes that were to tie them up. Several societies came with standards displayed, some of them with music, others dancing, some either mad, or seemingly in a sort of religious extasy, throwing about their heads and hands, some naked to their drawers, others panting most violently, as people out of breath; then came the covering of the tomb of Mahomet called Mahmel, made in the shape of a pyramid, with a square base, and richly embroidered with gold, on a ground of green and red; a view of the house of Mecca was embroidered on it, with a portico round it; it was carried on a camel that was all over painted yellow, with the powder they call Henna; and it is said they are camels bred on purpose for this business, and never employed about any thing else, being esteemed sacred; and I have been told, that in their religious madness they take off the froth that comes from the camel's mouth. The beast is covered almost all over with rich brocades and embroideries; it was followed by three others adorned in the same manner, and six more not altogether so fine, all mounted by boys. Soon after came the cover of Abraham's tomb, like a chest; this was also embroidered with gold, and it is said that it is by some means suspended in the air over the place, where they say Abraham offered his sacrifice. Then followed the body of the chaoufes, and a great officer of the pashas, and after him the superintendant of the wardrobe (Nadir-il-Kifve) who has the care of all the work, and of the estate which the califs of Egypt appropriated to the expence of it; the trappings of his horse were very fine, the housings being of a flowered tissue. After him came the janizaries, and some officers of the pasha, and last of all, the very rich covering of the door of the house of Mecca called Burca; it is ten feet long and five wide, on which are several figures and Arabic letters, most richly embroidered in gold, on a ground of red and green, being often made to stop that the people might touch it.

But the grand procession is that of the caravan going out to Mecca. The order of this procession may be seen in the last book, as well as I could take an account of it when it passed. All the camels in this procession were painted yellow, and had some ornaments on them, especially the first of every company had on its head and nose a fine plume of red ostrich feathers, and a small flag on each side, the staff of which is crowned likewise with ostrich feathers, and the trappings adorned with shells; the second and third had a bell on each side about a foot long, and all of them some ornaments. Under the saddle of each of them was a coarse carpet to cover them by night. As soon as they are out of town, they go without any order to Sibil-allam, three or four miles off, where they encamp for three days; afterwards they encamp at the lake; the Emir Hadge not returning to town. The encampment at the lake is very fine, all the great men pitching their tents and staying there, and passing the time in feasting, the whole city pouring out to see this extraordinary sight, and to join in keeping the festival; in the evenings they have bonfires and fireworks. It is said forty thousand people go in this caravan; they begin their journey in a week after the procession. There is a story among the people, that those of Barbary are obliged to be a day behind the others when they arrive at Mecca, and to leave it a day before them, on account of a prophecy they talk of, that those people shall one time or other take the country of Mecca. A great trade is carried on by the caravan, as they always return laden with the rich goods of Persia and India, brought to Geda on the Red Sea, near Mecca. Another caravan sets out from Damascus, and, if I mistake not, carries the same presents; and

the old hangings, which I think belong to the emir hadge, are cut in pieces, and given about among the great people, as the most sacred relic. It is looked upon almost as an indispensable duty to go once to Mecca; and those that cannot go, it is said, think they merit by bearing the charges of another person to go in their places. There are many that make this journey often, but there is an observation, that the people are rather worse after making this pilgrimage than they were before; and there is a saying, "If a man has been once at Mecca, take care of him; if he has been twice there, have nothing to do with him; and if he has been three times at Mecca, remove out of his neighbourhood." But this is not to be thought an observation of the Mahometans, but is only remarked by the Christians and Jews. The journey to Mecca and back again takes them up a hundred days. The caravan of Damascus sets out on the same day, and on the twenty-seventh day they meet at Bedder. They stay three days at Mecca, and then go to Mount Arrafat, about six hours from Mecca; where they pay their devotions, on account of the history they have of Abraham. They stay there two days, then they go two hours and a half to Munna, where they stay three days, and keep the feast of Corban Biram, or the feast of the sacrifice: they then return to Mecca, the place of Mahomet's nativity. The regular time to stay there is twelve days; but if the merchants cannot finish their business, by making a present to the emir hadge, they may obtain leave to stay two or three days longer, and may gain that time by not tarrying so long as they would do otherwise at some places on their return. From Mecca they return six days journey to Bedder, from which place they go in three days to Medina, to the sepulchre of Mahomet, where the first califs resided, until they went to Damascus. There they stay three days, and return by another road to Yembo, and so back to Cairo. The account of their rout may be seen in the last book, which I had from the mouth of one who had been fourteen times at Mecca.

The most simple dress in Egypt resembles probably the primitive manner of clothing; for it is only a long shirt which has wide sleeves. It is commonly tied about the middle; and many children in the country go naked all the year round, as most of them do in the summer. The common people wear over this a brown woollen shirt, and those of better condition have a long cloth coat over it, and then a long blue shirt; and the dress of ceremony over this, instead of blue, is a white shirt, which they put on upon festival days, and to pay great visits in Upper Egypt; but in the lower parts they use a shirt or garment made like it, of black woollen, which is sometimes by the more genteel left open before, and then is properly what they call a ferijee; and some of the first condition have them of cloth, and furred, the Arabs and natives wearing their cloaths with large sleeves, like the dress of ceremony of the Turks, called the ferijee, made like a night-gown; the other dress of the Turks being with straight sleeves. Most of them wear under all a pair of linen drawers, and when their vests are open before, after the Turkish manner, it is an odd sight to see the shirt hang down, which they do not put into the drawers, according to the Turkish custom with the men, though not with the ladies; for the dress of the men in Turkey, is more modest than of the women, whereas in Europe it is rather the contrary.

This sort of dress seems to be something like that of the ancient Egyptians, who were clothed with linen, wearing a woollen garment over it; and when they performed any religious offices, they were always clothed in linen, looking on it as a sort of profanation to wear woollen at such solemnities *. And possibly the custom of putting

* Ἡγεδύκασιν δὲ καθύπερθε λιθῆς, περιτὰ σκέλη θυσομανεῖς, ἕως καλίσσι καλασίεως· ἐπὶ τέτοιαι δὲ ἐξένια ἡμάλα λευκά ἱπποεθελήδων φορέοντο ἢ μέντοι ἔς γε ταῖς ἐσφίξεσιν ἐξένια, ὅθι συγκαταβαίπτεται σφι· ἢ γὰρ ὅστις. Herodotus, l. ii. c. 81.

on the white garment in Upper Egypt, when they go to their mosques, or whenever they would appear in a dress of ceremony, might give rise to the use of the surplice. The most simple Turkish dress is such drawers, over which the better sort wear a pair of red cloth drawers, down to the ankles; to which are sewed stockings of yellow leather, which come no higher than the ankle, and under them they wear socks of yellow leather, but the Christians of the country wear red leather, at least their papouches or slippers, and the Jews wear blue; but the leather sewed on is not worn by the common people, but only the socks, and so their legs appear bare up to the drawers. The Arabs and Egyptians wear shoes of red leather, like a slipper, with hind quarters, and the janizaries wear them of the same colour, and very little different. The Turks and Christians in the city, within doors, out of frugality, wear a wooden sort of patten, something like the wooden sandal of the monks, some of which are made very fine; and it is to be observed that the dress of the feet and of the head very much distinguish persons in these countries; and they are fined if they go contrary to the custom. Frank Christians only have the liberty of wearing, as the Turks, yellow papouches; and they in many parts wear a yellow slipper. The Turks wear boots, having iron plates under the heel, as they often wear their papouches. The Turkish garments are first a short garment without sleeves, of dimity or linen; it is often not open before, but tied on the side; over it is a short vest with sleeves, over that is a long garment of the same kind. These two last are either of dyed linen, or striped stuffs of linen or cotton, or if striped or plain silks and sattins; and in summer they wear the long garment and the drawers of the finest white calicoes. Over this is a close sleeved garment, like the Greek gown, which is called a benish, and is the common dress; and over that is a ferjee mentioned, which is the dress of ceremony. They have another sort cut differently in the sleeve, which is not so high a dress*. These two last garments are either of cloth, mohair, or silk, according to the season; the latter indeed is never of silk, nor is the benish ever wore here of silk, though it is in Syria. A girdle or sash of silk, mohair, or woollen, goes round all but the two outer garments, into which they stick a knife in its sheath. The people of Egypt wear a blue cloth about their necks, and with it cover their heads against the cold and sun, and some of them are very large. It is almost a general custom among the Arabs and Mahometan natives of the country, to wear a large blanket, either white or brown, and in summer a blue and white cotton sheet, which the Christians constantly use in the country; putting one corner before over the left shoulder, they bring it behind, and under the right arm, and so over their bodies, throwing it behind over the left shoulder, and so the right arm is left bare for action. When it is hot, and they are on horseback, they let it fall down on the saddle round them; and about l'aisume I particularly observed, that young people especially, and the poorer sort, had nothing on whatsoever but this blanket; and it is probable the young man was clothed in this manner, who followed our Saviour when he was taken, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and when the young men laid hold on him, he left the linen cloth and fled from them naked†. The head dress is a high stiff cap, with a long piece of white muslin wound round it, all together called the turban, by Europeans. The dervishes wear one without any thing round it, and the Turcomen such a long one more pointed, both made of a sort of coarse felt. Inferior people, instead of the turban, wear a red woollen cap which comes close to the head. This is wore by the Arabs and native Egyptians, except merchants, and great stewards of Arab princes,

* This is called a kerikee.

† Joseph's garment might also be of this kind.

and Copti priests, who wear the other. Under this they wear a little white linen skull cap. I was told at Damascus, that one whose family has not wore the high turban, and the leathern stocking sewed to the drawer, cannot begin to wear them there, unless by virtue of some office or employ; but the fash wound round the head is the great distinction. None but the relations of Mahomet can wear green. The white is proper to Mahometans; but in Syria, where there are villages of Christians, as on Mount Libanon, they wear white; and any one may wear white if they put a coloured string to distinguish themselves, as the Samaritans do, and the Jews of Saphet in Syria, who have red and blue strings sewed across the fash; but this is not much used. The Christians and Jews in all these parts, wear either blue or blue and white striped. The Franks in Cairo did wear white, and then they wore carpacks, or red caps turned up with fur, as some do now, but it is the proper dress of the interpreters. The others generally wear the red cap, and the red muslin tied round; in all other parts they wear a hat and wig, as the English consul does when he goes out in public. The French consul, and some of his officers go in the Frank habit; and so have the English consuls formerly, as they do at Aleppo. And Cairo is the only place I have heard of in Turkey, where none but the consuls ordinarily ride on horses. The common people in the country either wear no fash round the cap, or one of coarse white cotton, or of yellow or red woollen stuff.

The dress of the women, according to the manner of Constantinople, is not much unlike that of the men, only most of their under garments are of silk, as well as their drawers; and all but the outer vest are shorter than the men's, and their sleeves are made to hang down, a sort of gauze shirt coming down near to the ground under all. Their heads are dressed with an embroidered handkerchief, and the hair platted round, having on a white woollen skull cap. The ordinary women wear a large linen or cotton blue garment, like a surplice; and before their faces hangs a sort of a bib, which is joined to their head dress by a tape over the nose; the space between being only for the eyes, which looks very odd. The others who wear this garment of silk, have a large black veil that comes all over, and something of gauze that covers the face. It being reckoned a great indecency to shew the whole face, they generally cover the mouth and one eye, if they do not cover the whole. The common women, especially the blacks, wear rings in their noses; into the rings they put a glass bead for ornament. They wear on their ears large rings, three inches diameter, that come round the ear, and are not put into it; these are ornamented. The rings they wear on their fingers are sometimes of lead, but the better sort of women wear gold. Their bracelets are most commonly a work of wire: there are some of gold finely jointed; a more ordinary sort are of plain iron or brass. They wear also rings round their naked legs, most commonly made of brass among the vulgar, who also wear about their necks an ornament. Among the common people it is made of pewter; and in the case at the bottom they put a paper with something writ on it out of the alcoran, as a charm against sickness and other evils. The other cases seem to be designed for the same purpose. People of middling condition instead of these have many ornaments of silver, and often pieces of money hung to them, and sometimes ancient coins they happen to meet with; and even in the country, whenever they go out to wash at the river, or to fetch water, they put on all their attire, and appear in full dress. Women ride on asses in Cairo, with very short stirrups, which it is a dishonour for the men to use when they mount these beasts. They have a prophecy that Cairo will be taken by a woman on horseback, which, as they say, makes them strictly forbid women mounting horses. The time when the women go out is mostly on Fridays, to the burial place

to adorn with flowers and boughs the sepulchres of their relations, to hang a lamp over them, and pour water on their graves, and they place water in vases near. When the women ride, they commonly wear a yellow sort of a boot or stocking, being without a sole; and ladies of distinction have many female slaves that follow them on asses, who do not wear those large veils, but only a covering over the forehead and lower part of the face, leaving the eyes uncovered between. Their close garment has a cape that hangs down behind, and they make a much better figure than their mistresses. The women also go out in the bagnios, which are reserved for them at a certain time every day: this is their rendezvous to talk with one another and hear news.

There are women who go barefaced about the streets, dancing, singing, and playing on some instrument. These may not be supposed to be very virtuous; and yet they say they are so in one respect, in which they might be most suspected. There are notwithstanding common women, who are in a manner licensed, and pay a tribute on that account. The vulgar women paint their lips, and the tip of the chin with blue, and those of better condition paint their nails yellow, and also their feet with a dye made of a seed called hennah; and they colour their eye lids with black lead, and so do many even of the men among the Turks, imagining it good for weak eyes.

Coffee-houses are not resorted to by the best company, but only by people of the middle rank: they have their music at certain hours of the day, in some of them, and in others a man tells some history, a sort of Arabian tales, with a good grace; which is a method they have to bring company together. They often send to the shops for their provisions to be brought to the coffee-houses; and those who have nothing to do pass whole days in them.

Both Turks and Egyptians are very frugal in their manner of living; the latter seldom eat meat, and the expence of the great men in their tables is but small, considering the number of attendants they have, in which they are very extravagant. It is common for them to have fifty or sixty slaves, and as great a number of other servants, besides dependants. They are at great expences in clothing their slaves, and in keeping a great number of horses, from fifty to two hundred. They are excellently well managed; do not seem to know their own strength, always standing with the hind and fore legs tied together; they feed them with grass when in season, and at other times with chopped straw, and give them barley all the year. They lie on their dung, without straw, and very often stand abroad, especially in Upper Egypt they keep them out in their courts all the year round: they walk finely, never trot, but gallop swiftly, turn suddenly, and stop in a moment on full speed; but they never gallop but for diversion, or to run away.

The Mahometans have a certain veneration for fools and mad people, as thinking them acting by a divine spirit, and look on them as a sort of saints. They call them here sheiks. There are some women of them, but the most part are men, who go about the town, are received in all houses and at all tables; the people kiss their hands, and pay them great regard, as I have observed. Some of these go about their cities intirely naked; and in Cairo they have a large mosque, with buildings adjoining, and great revenues to maintain such persons. As these are recommended by their want of reason, so the dervishes are by their want of money; poverty being esteemed by a Turk as a great degree of perfection in every one but himself. There are hardly any of these in Egypt; nor have they more than one convent, which is near old Cairo as I observed before.

The Egyptians are but ill looking people, and though many of them fair enough when young, yet they grow swarthy by the sun. They are also a dirty, slovenly generation, especially the Coptis, whose dress at best appears but ill on them; and as table linen is very rarely or never used by the Arabs, Egyptians, or Coptis, I have seen the latter, after washing their hands when they have eaten, wipe them with the great sleeves of their shirts.

The true Mamaluke dress is the short garment above mentioned, put into their great red trowsers, which are tied round the leg at each angle, the foot being left bare; and they wear the sort of shoes used by the Arabs when they ride. In other respects they dress like the Turks, and this is the dress of the slaves, and likewise of many of the great men, when they are not in a dress of ceremony.

The architecture in Egypt is very bad, and their materials of the worst sort, many houses being built of unburnt brick made of earth and chopped straw dried in the sun. In towns, the lower part for above five feet is of stone, and in some parts the corners are built of brick or stone; the upper part of the houses in towns are often built in frames of wood; and the large windows commonly set out so as to command a view of the street; they rarely live in the lower rooms, and I suppose it is not esteemed wholesome; their roofs are generally flat, with a cement over them, and sometimes only earth; the wood they use is either deal or oak, imported from Asia, or the palm, used much in Upper Egypt, as well as the Acacia: I have seen planks of the palm with a very coarse grain, and their carpenters work is the worst that can be imagined. Over the middle of their great saloons they have often a dome or cupola that gives light, and sometimes they have a contrivance by which the middle part opens at top to let in the air when they think it convenient; and they have usually the large cover set up over the openings, in such manner as to keep out the sun and leave a free passage for the air. Whatever is tolerable at Cairo in architecture is of the times of the Mamalukes, of which one also sees great remains at Damascus and Aleppo, being very solid buildings of hewn stone inside and out: the windows are often oblong squares, and perfectly plain, as well as the doors, except that the latter, which are set into the inside of the wall, have a sort of grotesque carved work, cut in an inclined plain from the outside of the wall to the door, which has a grand appearance. Over all openings, the stones are either narrower at bottom than at top, which gives them the strength of an arch, or being indented on the sides, they are made to fit into one another, so that they cannot give way. In most of their mosques they have small well proportioned cupolas; and exceeding fine minarets to some of them, with several stories of galleries, lessening till the minaret ends at top with a sort of pyramidal point. There are also, as I observed, about Cairo, some very grand gates, with a semicircular or square tower on each side. Their houses consist of one or more large saloons, which have oftentimes a sofa at each end, and a square sort of cupola in the middle; they are wainscotted about six feet high, with pannels of marble, having round them a sort of Mosaic work, composed of marbles and small in different figures, and the floors that are between the sofas are often Mosaic work. As for the other rooms, they are generally small, for convenience, as they live and often lie in these saloons, having their beds brought on the sofas; here they likewise receive all their company. The lower rooms are generally used as offices and warehouses; the first floor is the part they inhabit; it is seldom they have a second story, except the little rooms on each side their saloons, which are of the height of two stories.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Climate, Soil, and Waters of Egypt.*

THE climate of Egypt is very hot in summer, by reason of its situation between two ranges of mountains, and also on account of the sandy soil. Towards the middle of the day in the sun it is always hot, even in winter, but the nights and mornings are very cold, occasioned by the nitre in the air, and on that account it is a dangerous thing to catch cold, especially in the head, which often occasions a humour to fall on the eyes, that is thought to be the cause of the great number of blind, and of those who have weak eyes; they think it also bad for the eyes to suffer the dew to light on them, which at some times of the year falls very plentifully by night; which are the reasons why they carefully wrap up the head, and cover their eyes by night. The coldest time here is about the beginning of February; near the sea they have sometimes great rains from November to March; but up higher, about Cairo, they have seldom any rain but in December, January, and February; and those but little showers for a quarter or half an hour. In Upper Egypt they have sometimes a little rain, and I was told that in eight years it had been known to rain but twice very hard for about half an hour, though it rained much towards Akmim when I was in those parts. The west and north-west are the winds that bring the rains; they have thunder in the summer, but without rain, and that at a distance, from the north-east. It has hardly ever been known that they had any earthquakes that did mischief, and those that rarely happened were scarce perceivable: but in January 1740, they had three great shocks of an earthquake immediately after one another, which threw down some mosques and several houses; and it being a year of scarcity, all the people cried out for plenty of corn, as they have a strange notion, that at such times the heavens are opened, and their prayers heard. There are two sorts of wind that blow mostly in Egypt, the south or a few points from it, and the north wind. The south wind is called Merisy, it is a very hot wind; sometimes it blows a few points from the east of the south, then it is exceeding hot; at other times it blows from the west of the south, when it is rather windy, and not so hot; it blows also sometimes very hard from the south-west; and when these winds are high, it raises the sand in such a manner that it darkens the sun, and one cannot see the distance of a quarter of a mile; the dust enters into the chambers that are the closest shut, into the very beds and scrutores; and, to give an instance of the romantic manner of talking among the Easterns, they say the dust will enter into an entire egg through the shell. The wind is often so excessively hot, that it is like the air of an oven, and people are forced to retire into the lower rooms and to their vaults, and shut themselves close up; for the best fence against it is to keep every part shut up; this wind generally begins about the middle of March, and continues till May; it is commonly called by the Europeans the Hamseem wind, or the wind of the fifty days; because that season of the year when it blows is so called by the Arabs, being much about the fifty days between Easter and Whituntide. The north wind is called Meltem, being what the ancients called the Etesian winds: this begins to blow in May, some time before the Nile rises; it is a refreshing wind, and makes the excessive heats of summer supportable; it brings with it health, and the happiness of Egypt; is thought to be the cause of the overflow of the Nile, and continues blowing till November, and without this wind they could not sail up the Nile, all the time that its current is so very rapid. It is this wind that puts a stop to the plague; for if it breeds of itself, it generally begins in Egypt about February, when the weather is coldest, and is thought to be occasioned by a stoppage of perspiration; it rages, and is very mortal during the hot winds;

but they have the plague very rarely in Egypt, unless brought by infection to Alexandria, when it does not commonly spread; some suppose that this distemper breeds in temperate weather, and that excessive cold and heat stops it; so that they have it not in Constantinople in winter, nor in Egypt in summer; but at Constantinople during the summer, where the heat is temperate, in comparison of what it is here. There are several things which they imagine do not communicate the infection, as water, iron, wood, or any thing made of the date tree, therefore they use the ropes made of a part of this tree. As soon as the plague begins, the Franks shut up their houses, but others go about as usual; though some great men observing the Europeans escape, retired in the last plague, notwithstanding their notion of predestination. The most mortal plague is that which comes from the south, being much worse than any infection from Constantinople, and is brought by the caravan that comes from Ethiopia.

The air of Cairo is not thought to be very wholesome, at night especially; the smook, when there is no wind, hovering over it like a cloud, their fires being made in the evening, when they eat their great meal. At spring and fall, people are much subject to fluxes, but in the summer they are not dangerous, and in all distempers soups made of meat are not reckoned proper. The people of the country are often troubled with ruptures, which are thought to be caused by heats and colds, and also by straining their voices so excessively in singing, those who cry off the mosques being most commonly afflicted with this distemper. It has been positively affirmed, that a fright causes people here to break out in blotches, like a foul disease, to prevent which, bleeding is thought a proper remedy, and, when I came from Rosetto, they shewed me a boy about fourteen, who, they assured me, was just recovered out of such a disorder, and had marks of it; but I have been informed that this very rarely happens, and that the notion is encouraged for some certain ends, to cover other causes that are sometimes more real. The most unhealthy time is when the perspiration is stopped by the cold, for every thing here is very nourishing; and this is given as a reason for drinking coffee, that it is drying, and prevents the making too much blood; when they have the benefit of perspiration, it carries off all superfluous humours, and the great quantities of water, shirbets, &c. that are drunk, do no harm; but if they do not sweat, they burn in hot weather, and are in a sort of fever, in which case the bagnios are a great relief, which carry off, or at least diminish a great many disorders in the blood, and prevent their appearing. About May most persons break out in a rash, which continues during the heats; it is thought that drinking the waters of the Nile after it rises, contributes toward it; and it is the fashion to carry a stick called Maharoshy, which is made at the end like a file, and it is no shame to rub themselves with it, as they have occasion.

The soil of Egypt, except what additions it has received from the overflow of the Nile, is naturally sandy. The hills on each side are freestone; those the pyramids of Gize are built on are full of petrified shells, and so are the stones of which the pyramids themselves are built, being dug out of these hills. I particularly observed at Saccara a large pyramid, and a smaller unfinished, built of stones that are almost entirely composed of oyster-shells cemented together; there are also some low hills of the mountains that are north-north-east of Faiume, and others close to the Nile on the east, which are heaps of large oyster-shells, some remaining in their first state, and others petrified, where there was sufficient moisture. The soil of Egypt is full of nitre or salt, which occasions nitrous vapours, that make the night air so cold and dangerous. Where the nitre abounds very much, and there are small lakes on the low grounds, after the water has evaporated, a cake of salt is left on the surface, which is gathered for use, and I have seen the beasts often eat the very earth, when they find it is mixed with the salt, which

which sometimes appears on the ground like a white frost. It is this and the rich quality of the earth, which is the sediment of the water of the Nile, that makes Egypt so fertile, and sometimes they even find it necessary to temper the rich soil, by bringing sand to it; but the sandy soil, though they bring water to it, will not produce a crop that will answer the expence, but does very well for trees. For a mile from the mountains, or more, the country is commonly sandy, being a very gentle rising, and and may be looked on as the foot of the hill. Near the edge of this desert they generally have villages at a proper distance, with plantations about them, as well as at some little distance from the river; and if the hills are above four or five miles from the Nile, they have villages in the middle, between the hills and the river, which are built on raised ground, where the Nile overflows. The lower parts of Egypt seem formerly to have been all a marshy uninhabited country; and Herodotus gives that account of it*; for before the canals were made, a much less quantity of water must overflow the country, because the outlets were less, and so the water was more confined within its bounds, till it overflowed, and consequently overflowed sooner; and all being on a level, and no ground raised, to build these villages on, it must have been very inconvenient, and almost impossible to inhabit the country, which at that time must have been soon subject to such inundations, as are looked on to be a prejudice to the country, by causing the water to remain on it longer than was proper; and at that time, the upper parts of Egypt might be overflowed, and receive that accession of a rich soil which makes it so fruitful; so that probably one reason why Sesostris opened canals, was to prevent these hurtful inundations, as well as to convey water to those places where they might think proper to have villages built, and to water the lands more conveniently, at such times as the waters might retire early; for they might find by experience after the canals were opened, that instead of apprehending inundations, they had greater reason, as at present, to fear a want of water, which was to be supplied as much as could be by art: so that the great canals were probably made to prevent inundations; and when they began to find a want of water in a well inhabited country, the lesser canals might be made to convey the water both to the villages and fields, where there was not a sufficient overflow. It is difficult to affirm how much the ground has risen, by reason of the perpetual motion and succession of the water; and as every year a great quantity of soil is carried off in the productions of the earth, which are produced in two or three crops in some parts, the loss of which is not supplied any way by manuring their land, and, as the bed of the Nile itself may rise by the subsiding of the heavier sandy particles, for these reasons it does not seem probable that the land will rise so high in time, that there should be any danger that it will not be overflowed, the ground rising also proportionably at the sea, and every where else; so that on this supposition, the water will rise much in the same proportion as it has done to the lands about it; the great difference being made by opening canals, and afterwards, either by cleansing them, or neglecting to do it: though, if the lands did rise so high in Lower Egypt as not to be overflowed, they would be only in the condition of the people of Upper Egypt, who are obliged to raise the water by art.

As to the water of Egypt, it is very much to be doubted whether they have any that does not depend on the Nile: that of Joseph's well, which is mentioned by some as the only spring in Egypt, certainly does; for it rises and falls with the Nile, and has some degree of saltness, by passing through the nitrous soil. There is indeed

* Βασιλεύσει δὲ πρῶτον ἀνδρῶπων ἔλεγον Μῆνα· ἐπὶ τῷτῃ, πολλὰν θεοεικέλην ἐρημίαν, πάσαις Αἰγυπτίαις ἔτιμ' ἰγόν. Herodotus, xi. c. 4.

one water which seems to be a spring ; it rises in several parts among the rocks, and even drops from them at the ruined convent of Dermadoud, already mentioned, which is situated in a narrow valley, between the high mountains, on the east near Akmim, in Upper Egypt. The water is received in small basins, in the rock from which it runs, and makes little pools about the vale. In Upper Egypt, especially about Esne, they dig large wells a mile or two from the river, and draw up the water from them ; and in all parts they have wells of brackish water, which can no where be wanting, as it is a sandy soil, and the earth must be full of water, not only where the Nile overflows, but also in other parts, to the height of the surface of the Nile ; which accounts for the Nile's being the bountiful giver of water throughout all the land of Egypt.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Nile.*

THE river Nile is one of the greatest curiosities of Egypt. It must be supposed that the north winds are the cause of its overflow, which begin to blow about the latter end of May, and drive the clouds, formed by the vapours of the Mediterranean, southward as far as the mountains of Ethiopia, which stopping their course, they condense, and fall down in violent rains. It is said, that at that time not only men, from their reason, but the very wild beasts, by a sort of instinct, leave the mountains. This wind which is the cause of the rise of the Nile, by driving the clouds against those hills, is also the cause of it in another respect, as it drives in the water from the sea, and keeps back the waters of the river in such a manner as to raise the waters above. The increase of its rise every day must be greatest during the time it is confined within its banks. By accounts in the last book, of its rise for three years, I find it rose the six first days from two inches to five inches every day ; for the twelve next days from five to ten, and so continues rising much in the same manner, but rather abating in its rise every day, till towards the time it arrives at the height of sixteen pikes, when the calige or canal at Cairo is cut ; afterwards, though it goes on rising six weeks longer, yet it does not rise so much every day, but from three to five inches ; for, spreading over the land, and entering into the canals, though the quantity of water that descends may be much greater than before, yet the rise is not so great ; for after the canal at Cairo is opened, the others are opened at fixed times, those which water the lowest grounds being cut open last. From these canals, when full, the country is overflowed, and not commonly from the great body of the Nile, that is, where the banks are high ; for it is otherwise in the Delta, where they are low. Canals are carried along the highest parts of the country, that the water may have a fall from them to all other parts, when the Nile sinks ; and they draw the water out of the great canals into small channels, to convey it all over the country. It is remarkable, that the ground is lowest near all other rivers which are supplied from rivulets ; but, as no water falls into the Nile in its passage through this country, but, on the contrary, as it is necessary that this river should overflow the country, and the water of it be conveyed by canals to all parts, especially when the waters abate, so it seemed visible to me, that the land of Egypt is lower at a distance from the Nile, than it is near it ; and I imagined, that in most parts it appeared to have a gradual descent from the Nile to the hills ; that is, to the foot of them, that may be said to begin at those sandy parts, a mile or two distant from them, which are gentle ascents, and for that reason are not overflowed by the Nile.

The Egyptians, especially the Coptis, are very fond of an opinion, that the Nile begins to rise every year on the same day; it does indeed generally begin about the 18th or 19th of June. They have a notion also of a great dew falling the night before the day that they perceive it begins to rise, and that this dew, which they call *Nokta*, purifies the air. This, some people imagine, causes the waters of the Nile to ferment, and turn red, and sometimes green; which they certainly do as soon as the Nile begins to rise, and continue so for twenty, thirty, or forty days. Then the waters are very unwholesome and purging; and in Cairo they drink at that time of the water preserved in cisterns under the houses and mosques: and this might originally be a reason why they would not let the water into the canals, which would fill the little lakes about every village, and afterwards spoil the good water that might come into them. It is supposed, that the sources of the Nile, beginning to flow plentifully, the waters at first bring away that green or red filth which may be about the lakes at its rise, or at the rise of these small rivers that flow into it, near its principal source; for, though there is so little water in the Nile when at lowest, that there is hardly any current in many parts of it, yet it cannot be supposed, that the waters should stagnate in the bed of the Nile, so as to become green. Afterwards the water becomes very red, and still more turbid, and then it begins to be wholesome, and is drunk by the vulgar; but most people have large jars, the insides of which they rub with pounded almonds, that is, what remains after the oil is pressed out, which causes the water to ferment and settle in four or five hours. The water continues reddish till the rapidity of the stream begins to abate in December and January; but the river continues to fall, even to the season when it begins to rise again; the waters being always yellowish, and colouring the waters of the sea for some leagues out. I found the height of the Nile at the Mikias in January, according to their account, to be about eleven pikes; in March about nine pikes; but in the computation of the rise of the Nile, I suppose it to be three pikes less than the account they give of it. They told me also, that the mud, which settles every year in the Mikias, is about five feet deep. I could not have thought it so much, though a succession of water may raise it so high.

The precise day the Coptis would fix the beginning of its rise to, is the twelfth of their month Keah, which is the 5th of June O. S., and this being their festival of St. Michael, they make a miracle of it. It is certain, about this time, or rather about St. John, the plague begins to stop, when it happens to be here, and becomes less mortal; though it seems rather to be owing to the change of the wind, and the falling of the dew, which are some time before, and then they begin to find the effects of it. The Nile is commonly about sixteen pikes high, from the 25th of July to the 18th of August; the sooner it happens, they look on it, they have a better prospect of a high Nile. It has happened so late as the first, and even the 19th of September; but they have been then afflicted with plague and famine, the Nile not rising to its proper height. Eighteen pikes is but an indifferent Nile, twenty is middling, twenty-two is a good Nile, beyond which it seldom rises; and it is said, if it rises above twenty-four pikes, it is to be looked on as an inundation, and is of bad consequence, as the water does not retire in time to sow the corn; but I cannot find any certain account when this has happened. As many parts of Egypt are not overflown, one would imagine, when the Nile does not rise high, they might supply the want of the water by labour, and raising water, as in Upper Egypt; but it is said, if it is a low Nile, the water retires too soon, and the earth must be sown in a proper time after, before it dries into hard cakes, in which case, the hot weather, still continuing, breeds or preserves a worm that eats the corn, as well as withers the young plant; so that it seems better that the land should

not be overflowed at all, than not sufficiently watered. Another reason of which may be, that when it is not overflowed, the ground may be cultivated in proper time; which cannot be, when it is only overflowed in such a manner as is not sufficient. Moreover, when the height of the Nile does not amount to sixteen pikes, whilst they expect it to rise higher, it begins to fall, and the ground is to be laboured out of season, during the hot weather, and the water is flowing from them, to increase the immense labour of watering, by raising it higher, to a dry thirsty land that will drink it up; and if they sow too soon, the same inconveniences would follow as above. As they have dikes to keep the water out of the canals till the proper time comes to let it in, so they have contrivances to keep it in some canals after the Nile is fallen, as well as in certain lakes when the Nile grows low; and from them they let it out at pleasure, on lands that are higher than the channels of the canals: and Strabo takes notice of these methods to hinder the water from flowing in, or going out when it is in. Towards the mouth of the Nile the banks are low, and the water overflows the land soon. There likewise it has its vent into the sea; so that the water does not rise at Rosetto, and below Damietta, above three or four pikes: and I was assured, it does not rise above four or five at Assouan, just below the cataracts; the reason of which may be, that the Nile below is very broad, and that the banks are not, as in other places, perpendicular, but sloping, so that the water is not confined, but spreads over the banks, towards which the low hills come, on the west side, with a gentle descent.

The Grand Signior has not a title to his rents, till the canal is opened at Cairo, by breaking down the bank that is thrown up before it, which is not to be done, till the Nile rises to sixteen pikes; yet, when the Nile once did not rise so high, and the pasha caused the canal to be opened, the people, notwithstanding, would not pay the tribute. The Nile has sometimes been known to rise irregularly, as it did a pike or two in December, 1737; at which the people were alarmed, having made some observations, that misfortunes had happened to Egypt when the Nile had risen out of season, and, particularly, that it did so in the time of Cleopatra, when Egypt was taken by the Romans. But, however, nothing happened the year following, but a very plentiful rising of the Nile, which is the blessing of Egypt. The time when the Nile is at highest is about the middle of September.

They have different methods of raising the water, where the Nile is not much below the surface of the ground; as at Rosetto and Damietta, they make a hole and put in a wheel made with boxes round its circumference, which receive the water, and, as the wheel goes round, the boxes empty at top into a trough made for that purpose. Where the water is too deep to be raised in this way, they put a cord round the wheel, which reaches down to the water; to it they tie earthen jars, which fill with water as it goes round, and empty themselves at top in the same manner, being turned by oxen. Where the banks are high, the most common way is to make a basin in the side of them, and fixing a pole with an axle on another forked pole, they tie a pole at the end of that, and at the end again of this which is next to the river, a leathern bucket; and a stone being tied to the other end, two men draw down the bucket into the water, and the weight brings it up, the men directing it, and turning the water into the basin; from this it runs into another basin, whence it is raised in like manner, and so I have seen five, one over another, in the upper parts of Egypt, which is a great labour. Another way mostly used in raising water from the canals, is a string tied to each end of a basket, with one man to each string, who let the basket into the water, and drawing the strings tight, raise it three or four feet to a little

little canal, into which they empty it, and by that it is conveyed over the land. The waters of the Nile are esteemed to be very wholesome and nourishing, and may be drunk very plentifully, without any inconvenience.

I know not whether there are any sort of fish in the Nile, that are in the rivers in Europe, except eels and mullet, which last, and some other fish in it, come from the sea at certain seasons. There is no sort of shell-fish in the river; but in Baher Joseph, the canal near Faiume, which runs into the Lake Caroon, there is a large muscle, that has within it a sort of mother of pearl of a reddish cast. I never could be well informed about the hippopotamus, and only heard that they have been seen about Damietta, and that by night they had destroyed whole fields of corn; but I take the foundation of this account to be owing to one that was taken there some years ago; they seem to be natives of Ethiopia, in the upper parts of the Nile, and it must be very seldom that they come down into Egypt. The ancients as well as moderns, notwithstanding, mention that this beast, when he is out of order, has a method of bleeding himself in the leg with the sharp pointed end of a reed, that grows in those parts, though it must be very difficult to make such an observation*. Herodotus mentions these fishes, describes them particularly, and says they were worshipped in some part of Egypt†. The fish mostly esteemed are the bulti, which are very plentiful, and something like a large roach; the sebuga, which is full of bones, and eats much like a herring; the rai, which is called the cefalo in Italian, and comes from the sea; but what is still more esteemed, is a fish, which the French call the variole, because it is very much like a carp; they say they sometimes found of two hundred weight. But the most delicate fish is the kesher, which is caught only towards Upper Egypt; the skin appears like that of the salmon; it has a sort of long narrow snout, with so small a mouth, that, from it, as well as from its inside, one might conjecture, it lives by sucking a juice either from the weeds, or out of the ground. When I was in Upper Egypt, they told me there was a large fish called latous, which probably is the latus that was worshipped by the Egyptians, from which the city called Latopolis had its name. They informed me that this fish at Cairo was called cufir, whence I suppose it must be the same with the kesher. There is a small fish called gurgur in Upper Egypt, and shalh at Cairo; it is at most about a foot long; its head is well fortified with a strong bone; the fin on the back, and on each side under the gills is armed with a sharp bone. They have an opinion, that this fish enters the crocodile, and kills it. This possibly may be what Pliny seems to call, erroneously, the dolphin, which, he says, has a sharp point on his back, with which, getting under the crocodile's belly, he wounds him.

It is a general observation, that a crocodile has no tongue, and Herodotus affirms it; but he has a fleshy substance like a tongue, that is fixed all along to the lower jaw, which may serve to turn his meat. He has two long teeth at the end of his lower jaw, and there are two holes in the upper jaw, into which these teeth go: when he shuts his mouth, he moves only the upper jaw. I found by experience, that the crocodiles are very quick sighted; for, making a circuit to come directly behind them, to shoot at them, I always observed they began to move gently into the water, as soon as I came in sight of them; and there is a sort of channel on the head behind each eye, by which objects are conveyed to them. Their eggs are about the size of a goose egg: they make a hole about two feet deep in the sand, above the overflow of the

* Vide Prosperi Alpini Historiam Naturalem Aegypti, iv. c. 12.

† Lib. ii. c. 71.

Nile *, in which they lay their eggs, and cover them over, often going to the place and taking care of their young, when hatched, which immediately run into the water. They lay fifty eggs, which are twenty-five or thirty days in hatching: the people search for the eggs to destroy them, with an iron pike. I could get no account in Upper Egypt of the ichneumon's destroying the eggs, and entering by the mouth of the crocodile into his bowels, and killing him; and it seems improbable that it can do this without being^d stifled; the animal they have here, called Pharaoh's rat, which is shewn for it in Europe, is something of the make of a stoat, but much larger; it is not improbable that it destroys their eggs. The crocodile when on land is always seen very near the water, with his head towards the river, on the low banks of sandy islands; and if they are disturbed, they walk gently into the river, and disappear by degrees, though it is said they can run fast. Herodotus says, they eat nothing during four months, in the winter; and Pliny, that they lie hid in caves during that season; but I saw them in great abundance all the month of January, and was assured, they never go above thirty or forty paces from the river, and that they venture so far only by night; though it is probable, they are mostly out of water by day, to sun themselves in winter, as I observed; and it is also probable, that they keep in the water by day in summer, when the sun is hot †. The people say, they cannot take a man swimming in the water, but if a man or beast stands by the river, they jump at once out of the water, and seize him with their fore claws; but if the distance is too great, they make a spring, and beat down the prey with their tails. I believe the most common way of killing them, is by shooting them; and the ball must be directed towards their bellies, where the skin is soft, and not armed with scales, as their backs are. Yet they give an account of a method of catching them, something like that which Herodotus ‡ relates: they make some animal cry at a distance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out, they thrust a spear into his body, to which a rope is tied; they then let him go into the water to spend himself, and afterwards drawing him out, run a pole into his mouth, and, jumping on his back, tie his jaws together. The crocodile most commonly frequents low islands; and for that reason there are very few below Aknim; and in these lower parts, the current may be too strong for them, which they avoid, as well as places where the Nile runs among rocks, as it does at the cataracts. It is remarkable, that the ancient Egyptians, in the time of Herodotus, called the crocodile *champsia*, and at this day the Egyptians call them *timshah*.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Vegetables of Egypt.*

EGYPT does not naturally produce a great number of vegetables; the heat and inundations every year destroying most of the tender plants. Where the Nile has overflowed, and the land is sown, it yields a great increase, and, as it was formerly the granary of the Roman empire, so it is now of the Turkish dominions; from whence they constantly receive their rice, and also corn, whenever they have occasion. In Upper Egypt, the Arab sheiks have vast granaries of corn, where they lay up what is more than sufficient for the consumption of Egypt; and they chuse rather to let it lie till it rots, than to send down more than there is a demand for; which would sink the price: but when there is any extraordinary demand, they then open their granaries.

* *Parit ova quanta anseres, eaque extra locum cum semper incubat, prædivinatione quadam, ad quem fummo auctu eo anno accessurus est Nilus. Nihil aliud animal ex minori origine in majorem crescit magnitudinem. Plin. Nat. Hist. viii. c. 25.*

‡ Herodotus, ii. c. 70.

† Dies in terra agit, noctes in aqua. Ibid.

From Egypt all the western parts of Arabia Felix, about Mecca and Gedda, are supplied; to which port they carry yearly about twenty ship loads of corn and rice from Suez; it being the return which the ships make, that come loaded with coffee. The Arabs also in Arabia Petraea on the Red Sea, have their supply from Egypt, before the caravan returns from Mecca; and secure their provision, by threatening to plunder the caravan if they are refused. They sow the land with clover, without ploughing it, and it is this that supplies the place of grass, which they have not. They have a spring harvest from January to May, and a winter harvest about October. For the latter, about July, before the Nile overflows the land, they sow rice, Indian wheat, and another sort that produces a large cane, but an ear like millet, (which they call the corn of Damascus; and in Italian is called *Surgo Rosso*) and they likewise plant their sugar canes; all these being plants that require much water, especially rice, which has an ear something like oats, and is reaped before the water is gone off, and carried to dry ground; its grain looks like barley; and they take off the husk with a hollow cylinder, one end of which has a blunt edge, which being raised and let down by a machine turned by oxen, and falling on the rice, causes the outer coat to scale off; and being cleaned, they mix with it a small quantity of salt, to preserve it from vermin. The people eat a great quantity of the green sugar canes, and make a coarse loaf sugar, and also sugar-candy, and some very fine sugar sent to Constantinople to the Grand Signior, which is very dear, being made only for that purpose. The spring corn and vegetables are sown in November and December, as soon as the Nile is gone off, and earlier, where the Nile does not overflow; these are wheat, which is all bearded, lentils, lupins, flax, barley, that has six rows of grain in one ear, and is used mostly for horses. They have no oats, but sow beans for the camels, which the people also eat green, both raw and boiled, and likewise dry. Besides these, they sow a sort of vetch with one large grain on each pod, called *haum*, which they eat raw when green, and, dressed, is not much inferior to pease, which they have not, but they are used mostly dry. They also cultivate, at this season, the *saffranoun*, which grows like succory, and the flower of it dyes a rose colour; it is exported into many parts of Europe. They have also an herb called *Nil*, which they cultivate, in order to make a sort of indigo blue, which they do if I mistake not, by pounding and boiling it, afterwards leaving it to steep in water, and, I suppose, pressing it out, and then probably boiling it again, or letting it evaporate, till it becomes a cake or powder. They have all sorts of melons, cucumbers, and other vegetables of that kind, which the people eat much in the hot weather, as a cooling food. Upper Egypt supplies most parts of Europe with fenna; and in the sandy grounds there, the *coloquintida* grows wild, like a calabash, being round, and about three inches diameter.

As the land of Egypt does not in any part run into wood, so it is much to be questioned, if there are any trees in it, which have not been transplanted to it from other countries. Those which are only in gardens, as the cassia, the orange and lemon kind, apricots, the *moseh*, a delicate fruit, that cannot be preserved; the pomegranate, the cous or cream tree, all these are without doubt exotic trees; and so probably is the cotton, which I saw in Upper Egypt, of the perennial kind. I have since been told that annual cotton grows in Delta. The following trees are most common in Egypt, and the two first are most likely to be natives: a tree called *fount*, which seems to be a species of the acacia; it bears a sort of key or pod, which they use in tanning their leather, instead of bark: there is another sort of it in their gardens, called *fetneh*; it seems to be the acacia of Italy, called by the Italians *gazieh*; it is

esteemed.

esteemed because of a sweet yellow flower it bears; but the roots of it opened and bruised send forth such a disagreeable smell that it infects the air for a considerable distance. The ettle, which we call the tamarisk, a tree that grows wild in the south parts of France; the bark of it is used in physic, as a remedy for the dropsy; and the roots of it growing into a cistern at Ramia near Jerusalem, that water is esteemed good for this distemper. The dumez is called by Europeans, Pharaoh's fruit; it is the sycamore of the ancients, and is properly a *ficus fatuus*: the fig is small, but like common figs; at the end of it a sort of water gathers together, and, unless it is cut and the water let out, it will not ripen; this they sometimes do, covering the bough with a net, to keep off the birds; and the fruit is not bad, though it is not esteemed. It is a large spreading tree, with a round leaf, and has this particular quality, that short branches without leaves come out of the great limbs all about the wood, and these bear the fruit. It was of the timber of this tree that the Egyptians made their coffins for their embalmed bodies, and the wood remains found to this day. These trees are likewise in some parts of Syria: they are sometimes planted near villages, especially about Cairo; and the sount is often planted on each side the road, there being also little woods of it, near some villages. But the most extraordinary tree is the palm or date tree, which is of great use in this country, and deserves a particular description. For three or four years, no body of a tree appears above ground, but they are as in our green houses. If the top is cut off, with the boughs coming from it, either then or afterwards, the young bud, and the ends of the tender boughs united together at top, are a delicate food, something like chestnuts, but much finer, and is sold very dear. This tree being so fruitful, they rarely cut off the top, unless the tree is blown down; though I have been told that part of it may be cut away without hurting the tree. The boughs are of a grain-like cane, and when the tree grows larger, a great number of stringy fibres seem to stretch out from the boughs on each side, which cross one another in such a manner that they take out from between the boughs a sort of bark like close net work; and this they spin out with the hand, and with it make cords of all sizes, which are mostly used in Egypt. They also make of it a sort of brush for cloaths. Of the leaves they make mattresses, baskets, and brooms; and of the branches, all sorts of cage work, square baskets for packing, that serve for many uses instead of boxes; and the ends of the boughs, that grow next to the trunk, being beaten like flax, the fibres separate, and being tied together at the narrow end, they serve for brooms. These boughs do not fall off of themselves in many years, even after they are dead, as they die after five or six years; but, as they are of great use, they commonly cut them off every year (unless such as are at a great distance from any town or village) leaving the ends of them on the tree, which strengthen it much; and when after many years they drop off, the tree is weakened by it, and very often is broken down by the wind; the diameter of the tree being little more than a foot, and not above eight or nine inches when the ends of the boughs drop off; and, if the tree is weak towards the bottom, they raise a mound of earth round, and it shoots out abundance of small roots along the side of the tree, which increase its bulk, so that the earth being removed, the tree is better able to resist the wind. The palm-tree grows very high in one stem, and is not of a proportionable bulk. The timber is porous, and that which is most solid, has something of the coarse grain of the oak of New England; but it lasts a great while in all inside work of rafters and the like. It is rarely used for boards, except about Faiume, where the trees are large. It has this peculiarity, that the heart of the tree is the softest and least durable part, the outer parts being the most solid; so that they generally use

the trees intire on the tops of their houses, or divide them only into two parts. A sort of bough shoots out, and bears the fruit in a kind of sheath, which opens as it grows. The male bears a large bunch something like millet, which is full of a white flower, and, unless the young fruit of the female is impregnated with it, the fruit is good for nought; and, to secure it, they tie a piece of this fruit of the male to every bearing branch of the female. Strabo observes, that the palm-trees in Judea did not bear fruit, as at present; which probably may be owing to their not having the male tree; concerning which I could get no information; but the fruit of the female tree, without the male, drops off, or comes to no perfection. About Damascus I saw a string of figs tied almost to every fig-tree, and was told that they were the male fig, placed there for the same purpose, as the male date is tied to the female. The fruit of the date, when fresh, eats well roasted, and also prepared as a sweat-meat. It is esteemed of a hot nature, and as it comes in during the winter, being ripe in November, providence seems to have designed it as a warm food, during the cold season, to comfort the stomach, in a country where it has not given wine. It is proper to drink water with it, as they do in these countries, and so it becomes a good corrective of that cold element. From the date they draw a tolerable spirit, which is used much by the Christians in Upper Egypt. In these upper parts of Egypt they have a palm-tree called the dome. The stem does not grow high, but there soon shoot out from it two branches, and from each of them two others, and so, for four or five times, each branch divides into two. The leaf is of a semicircular figure, about three feet diameter, and is very beautiful. The fruit is oval, about three inches long, and two wide. The flesh on it is about a quarter of an inch thick; but it is dry and husky, having something of the taste of ginger-bread: they therefore make holes in it, and moisten it with water. Under this there is a shell, and within that a large kernel, which is hollow within; so that, making a hole through it when it is green, it serves for a snuff-box, and turned when dry, makes very fine beads, that have a polish like marble: they are much used by the Turks, who bring them from Mecca. It comes nearest to the palm of Brasil, with the folding or fan leaf; but, as it branches out into several limbs, it differs from any that I can find have ever been described: I have therefore called it the Thebaic palm.

CHAP. IX.—*Of the Animals of Egypt.*

THERE are not a great variety of four-footed beasts in Egypt. The tyger, the dubber, or aliena are very rare, except that there are some few near Alexandria. The fox and hare are of a light colour; the latter are not very common. About Alexandria, and in other parts, the antelopes are common; they have longer horns, and are more beautiful than the antelopes of other countries. The animal called by Europeans Pharaoh's rat, has been thought to be the ichneumon. In the deserts, as I went to Suez, I saw the holes of an animal called jerdaon, which I thought might be it; but I omitted to be fully informed about it: it is said, they are in all parts of Egypt. The milch kine are large and red, with very short horns, such as are commonly represented in ancient sacrifices; they make use of them to turn the wheels with which they draw water, and to plow their land; they have also a large buffalo, which is not mischievous, as the small sort in Italy. They are so impatient of heat, that they stand in the water with only their noses out to breathe; and where they have not this convenience, they will lie all day wallowing in mud and water like

swine. In Cairo, all but the great people mount asses; they are a fine large breed, and it is said there are forty thousand in that city.

It hath been often observed, how wonderfully the camel is fitted to travel through deserts in hot countries, where they will go eight days without water. I have been a witness of their travelling four days without drinking. They can live on such little shrubs as those deserts produce, without grass, and are satisfied with a very little corn, which travellers commonly carry ground into meal; and tempering it with water, they cram them with large balls of it. They go about two miles, or two miles and a half, in an hour, and I have travelled on them sixteen hours without stopping. A smaller sort, called hayjin, pace and gallop very swiftly; and it is confidently affirmed, they will carry one person a hundred miles in a day. These seem to be what we call dromedaries, there being none of those with two bunches, that I could ever be informed of, in these countries; and I have since been told, that they are a breed of Tartary, for the people here never heard of them. The Arabs do not kill the camel for food, but the great Turks eat the flesh of the young camel, as a most delicate dish; but will not permit it to be eaten by Christians, probably that the breed may not be destroyed. Before the great heat comes on, they have a method of preparing them against it, by besmearing their bodies, to preserve them against the effects of the heat. The fleshy foot is admirably well fitted for travelling on the hot sands, which would parch and destroy the hoof; and it is said, before they begin a long journey, in which they will be obliged to go several days without water, they accustom them to it by degrees, before they set out, by keeping them from drinking.

The horses here are very fine, especially those of Upper Egypt, being of the Arab and Barbary race. They have one great fault, which is, that their necks are generally too short; and they value horses here as they do their women, for the largeness of their bodies. They are wonderfully tractable: their four legs are always trammelled, in the stable and field; they do not seem to know that they can kick; they walk well, never trot, and gallop with great speed, turn short, and stop in a moment; but they are only fit to walk in travelling, cannot perform long journies, and they usually stop and give them water every hour or two, and very seldom feed them more than once in a day. When they go in procession, their trappings are exceeding fine; the ornaments are of silver, or silver gilt, it being contrary to their law to use gold, even so much as for rings, unless for the women, whose dowry, as I observed before, consists in those things, which they wear as ornaments. In the heat of summer, when there is no grass, they give their cattle chopped straw. They spread out the corn, when reaped, and an ox draws a machine about on it; which, together with the treading of the ox, separates the grain from the straw, and cuts the straw. It is a piece of timber like an axle-tree, which has round it three or four pieces of thin sharp iron, about six inches deep, which cut the straw. In Syria, they often tread out the corn with oxen only, and then, if they would cut it, an ox draws over the straw a board about six feet long, and three wide, in the bottom of which are fixed a great number of sharp flints; the person that drives round the ox, standing on this instrument.

Among the reptiles, the vipers of Egypt are much esteemed in physic; they are yellowish, of the colour of the sand they live in, and are of two kinds, one having a sort of horns, something like those of snails, but of a horny substance: they are the *cerastes* of the ancients. The lizard also is yellow; and in the deserts towards Suez, they have a small lizard different from the common kind, having a broader head and body than the others. They have also the stinc marin in great abundance; and about the

the walls there is a very ugly lizard, which is something like a crocodile. These are in great quantities about the walls of Alexandria. As to the worrall, having procured one alive, I could not perceive that it is affected with music. It is of the lizard kind, four feet long, eight inches broad, has a forked tongue, which it puts out like a serpent, and no teeth; living on flies and lizards. It is a harmless animal, and is found only during the hottest seasons, and frequents grottos and caverns in the mountains on the west of the Nile, where it sleeps during the winter season.

The ostrich ought to be mentioned first among the winged tribe of the country; it is called in Arabic *ter gimel*, and in modern Greek *Στραβοκάμηλος*, both signifying the camel bird, by reason that its neck and head, and likewise its walk are something like the camel's. This bird is common on the mountains, south-west of Alexandria; the fat of it is sold very dear by the Arabs, and is used by the doctors as an ointment for all cold tumours, is good for the palsy and rheumatism; and, being of a very hot nature, is sometimes prescribed to be taken inwardly, for disorders of cold constitutions. As these birds are in the deserts beyond Alexandria, so the Arabs bring much of it to that city, and they have a method of putting the dead body of an ostrich in motion in such a manner, as to make the fat dissolve into a sort of oil, which they sell as a drug, and is called the fat of the ostrich. They have a kind of domestic large brown hawk, with a fine eye, which mostly frequents the tops of houses; and one may see the pigeons and the hawks standing close to one another. They are not birds of prey, but eat flesh when they find it: the Turks never kill them, and seem to have a sort of veneration for these birds, and for cats, as well as their ancestors; among whom it was death to kill either of these animals. It has been commonly said, that a legacy was left by some great Mahometan, to feed these animals in Cairo every day, and that even now they regale them with some of the entrails of beasts, that are killed for the shambles; but on enquiry I found this to be a mistake. The ancient Egyptians, in this animal, worshipped the sun, or Osiris; of which the brightness of its eyes were an emblem. They have also a large white bird, with black wings, shaped like a crow or raven, but very ugly, and not at all shy; it lives much in the same manner as the hawk, and is called by Europeans Pharaoh's hen. They have likewise a beautiful white bird, like a stork, but not half so big, called by Europeans the field hen, being seen about the fields like tame fowl. The small brown owl, mentioned by Herodotus, about the size of a pigeon, is very common. They have likewise a small speckled bird, near as big as a dove, called *ter chaos* (the messenger bird), which would be esteemed a beautiful bird, if it were not very common, and a foul feeder: it has on the top of its head a tuft of feathers, which it spreads very beautifully whenever it alights on the ground. In the mountains there are a great number of vultures, and some eagles. Among the birds worshipped by the Egyptians, the ibis was had in great veneration, because, as it is said, they delivered the country from a great quantity of serpents, which bred in the ground after the Nile retired. It is of these and the hawks (among the birds), that the embalmed bodies are chiefly found preserved in earthen vases: I saw the figures of them on the temples in Upper Egypt; and from the description we have of them, they are of the crane kind. I saw a great number of this sort of birds on the islands in the Nile, being mostly greyish. Herodotus describes two kinds; the black, which I never saw, and the other with black wings and tail, which seems to be a sort of stork: these I have seen, though the most common are a greyish kind. There is a very beautiful bird of this sort, called *belsery*: the male has a black beak and leg, and black feathers about the wings; they have a large crooked bill, with which they can take their food only out of the water. The legs, bill, and

eyes of the female are a fine red ; and in the wings and tail are intermixed some red feathers, which make it very beautiful, especially when it spreads its wings.

They have great numbers of wild geese of a different kind from those in Europe : they are called bauk ; and when they are sent into England, are known by the name of baw-geese. Great quantities of wild ducks frequent the pools in low grounds, which are not dry till two or three months after the Nile has left the upper lands. Quails are in great abundance. They have the woodcock, snipe, and beccafigo ; which last is much esteemed. A wild brown dove frequents the houses, which being very small, is not destroyed. The pigeon-house is reckoned a great part of the estate of the husbandman : they are often built round, with little turrets rising up all over the top, and add to the beauty of the prospect of a country village. They have a proverb or saying, that a man, who has a pigeon-house, need not be careful about the disposal of his daughter. The partridge in this country is very different from that of other parts ; the feathers of the female are like those of a woodcock, and the male is a beautiful brown bird, of the colour of some wild doves, but adorned with large spots of a lighter colour : they are about the size of a small dove. They have no pheasants in Egypt. The bats in the old buildings are remarkably large, and from the end of one wing to the end of the other, many of them are in extent above two feet, if the account I had be true.

If I was rightly informed, they have an extraordinary custom in relation to their bees in Upper Egypt. They load a boat with the hives, at a time when their honey is spent ; they fall down the stream all night, and take care to stop in a place by day, where the diligent animal may have the opportunity of collecting its honey and wax ; and so, making a voyage of six weeks or two months, they arrive at Cairo, with plenty of honey and wax, and find a good market for both. There is another story, the truth of which may be much suspected, relating to a manner of catching ducks on the river ; which is by putting the head into a pumpkin shell, and walking in the river, only with the head above water covered in this manner ; the duck not being alarmed at the sight of a pumpkin, the man approaches the game, and takes them by the legs.

BOOK V.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS, CHIEFLY RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITIES AND
NATURAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.CHAP. I. — *Of some Antiquities and ancient Weights brought from Egypt.*

TWO statues of Isis and Osiris, were in the house of an Italian merchant at Cairo, who could give no account from what part they came, but was so obliging as to part with them. They are of a very close free stone; the statues as they sit, are about two feet high, that of Isis is about half an inch higher than the other; the plinth of the statue of Isis is four inches and three quarters thick, the other only four. I never saw any statues or drawings in such a posture before, and, what is very remarkable, the Egyptians at this day will sit in this manner, without resting on any thing but their hams, for an hour together, when they are abroad, or have not the conveniency of a carpet to sit on. These statues seem to be of so great antiquity, that it is probable they were made before sculpture came to its greatest perfection in Egypt. They appear to be both clothed with a garment that sits close to the body. The statue of the goddess, as it was proper, is of the finer workmanship; the feet are more delicate; there is something beautiful in the make of the body; the woman's breasts plainly appear at the side, and the body might be thought to be represented naked, if it did not appear otherwise at the ankles; however, it seems to be an exceeding fine garment, fitted close to the body; it might be something like the gauze, which is worn by the ladies at this day in the east for their under garments. Hieroglyphics are cut like an inscription on the robe that comes down before; the deep bracelets on the arms are very broad, and she has a sistrum in the left hand, on which is cut the head of Isis, which has on it the ears of the cat. It has three strings or wires, which are to be supposed loose in it, each end being bent on the outside, to keep it in its place; on each of them are two rings, which seem to be just big enough to move about the wire; on the upper string there might be three; these are the rings that made the music: it seems to have been an instrument for beating time, like the nakous they use in Egypt at this day, which I have before described. What is on the head is an extraordinary dress; perhaps made of leaves, which are doubled one over another, as appears by the ends of the lower part; it is to be supposed that the lotus flower adorns the forehead. Something very particular, like a bulla, comes out from the ears, and might probably hang on them; the hair appears beneath this dress on the forehead and temples; and all round behind, beneath the head-dress, plaited as in the other. It may be no great compliment to say that in the beauty and delicacy of the workmanship, especially in the side view, the artist has exceeded the Egyptian workman, who it may be lived three thousand years ago; though we are not to despise such uncommon remains of antiquity, but to set a value on them; as we see in such pieces these noble arts in their infancy; and by considering the different workmanship of different ages, we may observe how arts gradually improved, till at length, under the Greeks, they came to the greatest perfection; which their masters the Egyptians were too opinionative to learn of their scholars.

The

The statue of Osiris is distinguished by a sort of thyrsus in the hand, as it seems to be; though something different from any thing of that kind; the hands come through the garment in a very particular manner; the fluting of what must be looked on as the garment before, on which the hieroglyphics are cut, may answer to some manner of plaiting, and, if it be the garment, and is represented after nature, it must be in imitation of a very thick stuff, as it stands out at a distance from the legs; or some art must have been used for that purpose. The fastening of the sandals over the instep is very large, and appears on it like iron bolts; and, what is very extraordinary, the sandal is not seen at bottom, so that probably the leather or sole of the sandal was anciently so small as not to appear; there is a delicacy also in the feet of this figure. The manner of plaiting the hair is very extraordinary in this statue, and there seem to be two or three plaits one over another. It may be doubted, if what appears under the ears be hair, as it is entirely smooth, and has not the same appearance as the other, or whether it was any mode of dress; it might be rather thought the latter, as it appears to press forward that which seems to be the lower part of the ear, for so much of the ear does not appear as to shew the socket of it, those holes seeming to have been cut after the statue was made. The hair likewise plaited down the forehead is to be observed; and I have seen those of the Molotto race in Egypt, lately come out of Ethiopia, who have their hair plaited much in the same manner, and coming over their foreheads. This statue has a pilaster to support it behind, on which there are hieroglyphics cut.

A statue of Harpocrates is in the possession of Dr. Mead, and was lately brought from Egypt. It is of a white stone or marble; I bought exactly such a one at Coptos, only rough hewn out; it has the high cap, part of which this has lost; the ornament on the forehead may be the lotus flower. There are several things to be particularly remarked about it, as the beads round the neck, and a bulla hanging down from them; the string of beads on the other side is not at present to be seen. The ornament about the upper part of the arm, and that under the beads, one would imagine, were designed as a sort of covering of the breast, being altogether extraordinary, and it possibly may be something emblematical; there are also bracelets on the wrists, which seem to have been adorned with beads; in the right hand he holds the cross, which is so common in the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The hair is plaited and brought to the left side, as in most of the statues of Harpocrates. Among the seals I found in Egypt there are four or five of the Abraxas kind, used by the Gnostics, being a mixture of Paganism and Christianity; they have generally a legend on the reverse, and are of no great consequence. Two of the seals most remarkable are of very bad workmanship, one may be an astronomer; on the other, which has very particular characters on it, one seems to be playing on a musical instrument, and another holds something very particular in his hands, which it may be difficult to explain.

I made a collection in Egypt of above fifty ancient weights; they are most of them of the common figure. I weighed them all with great exactness and have herewith given a table of them.

A Table of Weights found in EGYPT.

No.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr.	No.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr.	No.	Oz.	Dwt.	Gr.
1	9	5	23	19	1	14	17½	36	0	9	23½
2	9	3	16¾	^c 20	1	9	8	37	0	9	19½
3	4	17	4½	^f 21	1	5	23¾	38	0	9	15
4	4	13	16½	^e 22	1	1	14	39	0	9	14
^a 5	4	11	17	23	0	19	22½	40	0	9	14
^b 6	2	16	20	24	0	19	22	41	0	9	13½
7	2	2	22	25	0	19	19¾	42	0	9	10
8	1	18	11	26	0	19	10½	43	0	9	9½
9	1	18	6	27	0	19	2½	44	0	9	9½
10	1	18	3	28	0	19	11	45	0	9	7½
11	1	18	1	29	0	19	5	46	0	9	3½
12	1	17	22	30	0	19	3	47	0	8	18
13	1	17	16½	31	0	19	0	48	0	8	1
14	1	17	12½	32	0	18	23	49	0	5	21½
15	1	17	2½	33	0	18	23	50	0	5	13
^c 16	1	17	2½	34	0	18	18½	51	0	5	7½
7	1	15	4	^b 35	0	16	7½	52	0	1	5½
^d 18	1	14	23								

Besides these, there is a weight of Verd antique, about an eighth of which is broken off, and it weighed twenty-three ounces, twelve penny-weight, and eleven grains; so that probably it was a weight of about twenty-eight ounces.

CHAP. II. — Of the Ancient Architecture of Egypt.

THE architecture of Egypt may be looked on as among the first essays in that noble art. It was in a style peculiar to themselves, in which, notwithstanding, we may trace the origin of many things we see in the most improved architecture. As the Egyptians boasted themselves to be the inventors of all arts and sciences, this gave them a stiffness and pride, which made them refuse to receive the improvements the Greeks and other nations made on their inventions; so that, excepting at Alexandria and Antinopolis, there is nothing to be seen in Egypt of the Greek architecture. In some places, we

^a This is of iron, and of twelve sides, it has six stamps on each side of the four square sides, and one on each of the other sides.

^b This weight is a flat octagon, it has seven marks on one side, and four on the other, and two circles round each side.

^c This is of the shape of number five, has five stamps on the four square sides, and one on the rest.

^d Is as number six, but has a cross on it, and these letters T B.

^e This is an octagon also, but seems older than the other.

^f This weight has twenty four sides, excepting the top and the bottom, and has two rings and a stamp on each of the twenty-four sides.

^g This is of Verd antique, and has these marks on it > A.

^h Is a square weight, has a cross on it, and  and does not seem to be very ancient.

observe

observe this art in the greatest simplicity, only contrived for use, and without any ornaments, and may see how it improved by degrees, and at last arrived at such a perfection, as might easily give the hint to the Greeks for the Corinthian order, unless we suppose that they might imitate that order; which I do not think probable, as these temples seem to have been built before that order was used in Greece, and also as the Egyptians seem to have thought themselves above imitating the inventions of other people; for there seems to be nothing approaching to any other order of architecture, unless the mouldings of one capital may be thought a little to resemble the Doric.

The ground is so much risen, that I could not come to any certainty with regard to the height of their pillars: and several members of them, and of the cornices being inaccessible heights, and so small, that they could not be determined by the quadrant, and having in truth sometimes omitted some measures I might have taken, on account of the hurry I was often obliged to do things in, and the interruptions I met with; I could not, for these reasons, give an exact draught of them by scale, but to supply this defect, I have marked the several members, and given a table of such measures as I took of them. This will give an idea of the Egyptian architecture; and as it is by no means to be imitated, or made a science of, so a more exact account will be the less wanted, and more easily excused, when, under all the disadvantages of a traveller in Egypt, it would have been producing something new, to have given draughts of them only by the eye.

As the Egyptian buildings were covered with long stones about three feet wide and deep, and fourteen feet long, this made a great number of pillars necessary in all their covered buildings. If the pillars were next to the wall in a portico, they laid a stone from one pillar to another, by the length of the portico, and then laid stones across from that stone to the wall, as may be seen in the second plate of pillars; but, if there were many rows of pillars in a room, they laid stones across the pillars, by the breadth of the building, to give the room a lighter air, and then they laid stones on them, with which they covered the building by the length of the room, and sometimes they placed a square stone on the capital, to make the room still higher.

The base or pedestal of the pillar was round, the corners being taken off at the edge; it had a socket in it, to let in the pillar, as represented in the section of the base. In the first plate of pillars, there are very few of these bases to be seen; that at Hajar Silcily, to a pillar two feet two inches diameter at bottom, was four feet diameter, so that it projected beyond the pillar eleven inches, and was ten inches deep. As the manner of building obliged them to have a great number of pillars, so they might find this kind of base most convenient, as a square one would be more apt to break at the corners, and offend those that walked in the temples; though it is very probable, that many of their pillars, especially within their temples, were without any base, for the conveniency of walking between them; as the pillars of the temples of Minerva and Theseus, at Athens. It has been also found out, that the obelisks were placed on such bases or pedestals, and let into a socket, which made the raising of them much easier than on a high pedestal, as they are placed in Rome. The chief intention of pillars, in Egyptian buildings, being to support a weighty covering, it was necessary they should be very strong: it is probable, in the most ancient times, they might not have found out the use of granite, or the art of cutting it, which is the only marble I observed to be the product of Egypt, and fit for making pillars of one stone, which could not be less than three or four feet diameter, for the purpose mentioned; and it would have been very difficult to have conveyed such pillars from the cataraacts, where the granite quarries are, to the several parts of Egypt. The freestone they had near, in all their hills, which

they made use of for their columns, cutting out the stones of the diameter of the pillar, and from one foot six inches, to three feet six inches in thickness. These columns were from three feet to eleven feet diameter; and they were so very thick, that I concluded their height might be from about three diameters, or at most three and a half, to four and a half. I had reason to think that this was generally the height of their pillars, though sometimes, but rarely, they were six diameters in height, and the intercolumnation one diameter and a half, or two, for the most part; sometimes two and a half, and three, though very rarely. And, if in the middle of a room, some intercolumnations were wider, they prepared stones of a proportionable length, to lay from pillar to pillar. The pillars were often adorned with hieroglyphics, and these sometimes painted. They had some multangular pillars, though very rare; and those consisting of sixteen sides, as at the temple of Thebes, something resembling the ancient pillars I have seen shaped in that manner, in order to be fluted; which was the method the ancients took to flute their columns, as I shall have occasion to mention in another place. One of the first improvements on plain pillars were a sort of swellings about seven feet from the top, and lessening again towards the capital, which consisted only of a square stone. It is possible, this sort of swelling, inverted, might give rise to the first capitals made in shape of a bell. The next improvement seems to have been the addition below this of four members, being a small segment of a circle. Possibly these might give rise to the annulet in the capital, of the Doric order; by which name I shall therefore call them. Another manner of architecture was the working the upper part of the pillar, that swells out as described, into eight half rounds. In some pillars a sort of shields cover the lower part of the joinings of these half rounds. In others, two rows cover the joinings of two half rounds, and the two next are covered by a shield, as above; and so all round alternately. The lower part of that sort of pillars is likewise divided into eight half rounds, which I conjectured, in some, to be about one-third, in others two-thirds of the pillar, according to the length of the members, between this part and those I have mentioned before; for in some pillars, above these, there are three such members, but smaller, over each of the great ones, as at Luxercin; in others, besides these three members, there is a larger over the joinings of the lower member, if I mistake not, at the temple, east of Carnack; and in others, the triglyphs seem to be continued down, as under those members, with a particular list coming down between them to the middle of the half rounds below; and the second pillar is worked all the way down with three small half rounds, or rods, and one large one. Another sort of pillars are those at Archemounain. I observed particularly, that they lessened towards the bottom. The pillars at Hajar-Silcily are almost the same, and the only columns I saw entirely to the bottom; those pillars are three feet diameter, near four in the swelling, and at bottom lessen to two feet two inches. One pillar has the four annulets under the capital, the rest being plain; it is in the grand area of the temple of Carnack. Another at the temple east of Carnack, I imagine to be some imitation of the palm-tree. Those horizontal members, or annulets, somewhat resemble the tree when the boughs are cut off, and therefore it would have been more like the palm-tree, if those members had been continued all down; and, if I am not mistaken, I have seen such a drawing of a pillar in Egypt. Others have this particular in them that the stalks of the leaves, and those between them, are carried down below the annulets of the pillars. The capitals of the seven first are only a square stone; it is very probable, that a square stone, at first laid on the pillars, to give the building a lighter air, might give rise to the capital. In some pillars, these capitals do not project at all, in others a very little: they are from one

foot to three feet thick. The capitals, of the bell kind, have often been thought to be an imitation of a vase set on a pillar, with leaves twining about it; but a view of the capitals of Egypt would incline one rather to think, that it was the imitation of the top of a tree, and that probably the palm, the bows of which point upwards, and much resemble a capital, when all the lower bows are cut off, as they are commonly every year, and possibly the palm-trees, said to be cut in Solomon's temple, might be pillars, or at least pilasters of this kind so much resembling the palm-tree. The most simple sort of capitals of this bell kind are of the great pillars in the temple of Luxerein, without any fillet round at the top. The second sort has the addition of the fillet, and is seen at Carnack. Of the same sort is one cut among the hieroglyphics of the gate north of that temple; and the next to that, cut likewise on the same gate, is the most simple of the foliage kind.

These stones laid on the capital, seem to have given rise to the faces of the architrave, (so called from being the chief beam that supported the covering of the building,) and to the freeze, a stone, or part of a stone, that ranged round the building, being adorned with sculptures of animals and other things, was on that account called by the Greeks and Latins Zophorus, which was the name of the zodiac; adorned, it may be, with the signs of the zodiac, and other ornaments encompassing the building, as the zodiac the Heavens; and probably it was this part of the tomb of Osymanduas that was adorned with a golden circle, three hundred and sixty-five cubits in compass, divided into so many parts, to represent the days of the year, with the rising and setting of the stars, and other things relating as well to the Egyptian astrology as to what was more real, the astronomy for which they were so famous. Some buildings being covered with two tier of stones, the under stone probably was the freeze; or, where there was only one, the lower part of it might be left for that member, as the upper part was always moulded into the cornice or coronis, that crowned the building; and where two or three single stones were placed over the capital, the lowermost being worked with the several faces of the architrave, and the upper ones being the freeze, and cornice and the stone laid across to support the covering moulded into another cornice, accounts for the single entablature to every pillar, which has often a very beautiful effect in architecture.

The doors are generally a plain pilaster on each side, and sometimes a plain member, over the door corresponded to it; but the most common ornament over them is that cornice which I observed is mostly used in Egypt. Some door-places have a half round on the outside, taking off the angles, and another at about the distance of eighteen inches, as at the angle of the pilaster.

As to the sculpture of the Egyptians, both of hieroglyphics and pillars, and the last finishing of their works; they seem to have been executed after the building was completed, which made them work in their figures on plain stones, by cutting them in below the surface of the stone, either with a plain bottom, or with a relief, the highest part of which consequently must be either on a level with the surface of the stone, or something lower. I saw a pillar unfinished at the temple east of Carnack, and it may be questioned whether the multangular pillar was not designed to be in sixteen half rounds, that being the method which they anciently took in marking out pillars to be fluted; and over the Eastern gate of Carnack I saw a stone left rough, as to cut out the winged globe, an ornament which is seen so often in all their buildings. We may see also among the Egyptians, what might have given rise to the arch, though there is great reason to think they were ignorant of this curious and useful part of architecture, as it was afterwards executed, because it is hardly ever seen among their buildings.

buildings, I mean those covers made by the projection of several tiers of stone, one beyond another; for, if these stones had been only shaped each of them in a segment of a circle, the arch would have been made, and it is probable that the arch was this way hit on; the only difference between this architecture and that of the arch seeming to be in laying the upper stones, especially the middle one, which is called the key stone, that being laid flat on the two uppermost tiers, whereas, in the arch, it must be put in between them: for the rest, making them less towards the outward superficies than they are within, and laying the lower tiers so as not to project so much, and the upper tiers more, the arch would be executed only by shaping the stones in the manner above mentioned. It is possible, that at some time the stones in making such a covering might not be laid level, and making an inclined plane on each side at top, when they came to close all, they might find it necessary to hew a stone to fit the place in such manner as to come near to the nature of a key stone, and in time they might come to make all the stones bigger at one end than at the other, as finding it to give strength to this sort of building. It is indeed possible, that the arch might be first invented by other accidents, as the rising of the ground of a city where the gates were made of very large stones, with strait tops, and there being occasion to have higher doors or gates, they might make them more lofty, by cutting the top into an arch; and at Thebes in Greece I saw a small gate that consisted of an arch only of two large stones, which might possibly have been made higher in this manner, after the building of the gate. In all Egypt I did not see above three or four arches, of which I have given an account in the relation of the antiquities of this country; and I suppose them to have been made after the Greeks came among them. It is the more surprising they should not hit on it, as they found out the shell of the niche, which approaches so very near to it. Amidst all the public magnificence of the Egyptians, there is great reason to think that their private buildings were very mean, and perhaps their habitations in those ancient early times, when these sumptuous fabrics were erected, might be chiefly tents and grottos; there being no sign of private buildings all over the great extent which ancient Thebes took up; and without doubt those Kings who bestowed so much on their temples and sepulchres, would likewise have erected magnificent palaces for themselves, if it had been the custom of the times; of which, doubtless, we must have had some remains; but of this kind only one is mentioned, of which we have any certain account, and that is the labyrinth, which was designed to for a public, as well as in some manner for a sacred use, as it had relation to the religion they professed. The palace of Menmon is indeed spoken of at Abydus; but the mention of it is very slight, and there are no signs or traditions of any thing there, but a temple. And this may account for the extreme magnificence of the public buildings in Egypt, if we consider that all their expences were bestowed this way, to make their sacred buildings the most lasting and magnificent that the art of man could possibly execute.

I measured several parts of the pillars at Luxerein, to see in what proportion they lessen and swell.

Measuring one on the half rounds below, it was ten feet nine inches in circumference; on some members higher, it was eleven feet; and on the annulets, ten feet seven inches.

Another pillar was in circumference on the half rounds close to the capital, ten feet six inches; lower, on the swell, twelve feet five inches; on the annulets, ten feet four inches.

And in the furthest court, I find these measures of one pillar in inches 204, 231, 235, 241. Another pillar measured at the annulets seventeen feet; at the bottom of the half rounds, nineteen feet three inches; at the top of the next half round members, nineteen feet five inches; and in the greatest swell, twenty feet and one inch.

The great pillars at Luxerein, are one-and-thirty feet in circumference, and about that height above ground, including the capital; and have a square plinth on the top of the capital, as those at Carnack, on which probably some statues were placed, as it may be supposed, they were on the capitals of the pillar of the grand area at Carnack.

CHAP. III.—*Of the Mythology of the ancient Egyptians.*

AS the mythology, or fabulous religion of the ancient Egyptians, may be looked on, in a great measure, as the foundation of the heathen religion, in most other parts; so it may not be improper to give some account of the origin of it, as it is delivered by the most ancient authors, which may give some light both to the description of Egypt, and also to the history of that country. We may suppose that the ancients were the best judges of the nature of their religion, and, consequently, that all interpretations of their mythology, by men of fruitful inventions, that have no sort of foundation in their writings, are forced, and such as might never be intended by them. On the contrary, it is necessary to retrench several things the ancients themselves seem to have invented, and grafted on true history; and, in order to account for many things, the genealogies and alliances they mention, must in several respects be false or erroneous, and seem to have been invented to accommodate the honours of the same deities to different persons they were pleased to deify, who lived at different times; and so they were obliged to give them new names, invent genealogies, and some different attributes; which may account, in some measure, for the supposition I make below, that deities with different names all mean the same object of worship, as the sun or moon, which might be worshipped first as Osiris and Isis, when they were deified, or under the name of some others deified before them in the same manner; for Diodorus says, that the Egyptians learnt of the Ethiopians to have their Kings for Gods, that is, to deify their kings; for it appears very plainly from the ancients, that their gods were their good kings, whom they deified. Herodotus, indeed, would add a dignity to those deities, by saying, that the gods lived on the earth with men, and ruled over them. He speaks of the three orders of gods; the first and oldest were eight in number, among whom Pan was of the first, as Hercules was of the second, and Dionysius of the third order. Diodorus Siculus indeed mentions celestial and terrestrial gods; under the former he reckons Osiris, Isis, Jupiter, Vulcan, Ceres, the Ocean, and Minerva; but says there were also terrestrial gods of the same name. These celestial gods he makes to be the sun and moon, the four elements, and the soul of the world, that enlivens all things. Osiris is the sun, Isis the moon, Jupiter the enlivening force, Vulcan fire, Ceres the earth, Ocean with the Egyptians was the Nile, Minerva the air; and it is to be supposed that these, with Pan, mentioned by Herodotus, made up the number of the eight first Gods. It is also thought, that one great foundation of this religion was worshipping the sun and the planets, and the signs of the zodiac; and so they afterwards made constellations of their kings, and gave the sun and the planets the names of those they looked on as their benefactors; and to the signs of the zodiac the names of those animals they worshipped, for the reasons mentioned by the ancients.

Our author goes on to observe, that the Egyptians had a right before any other people to these gods, (that is, as he must be understood, to those whom they called by the names of their kings) and gives it as a reason, why it may be supposed, that they dwelt mostly amongst them, as Egypt only of all countries had cities built by the gods, and called after their names; particularly of Jupiter, the sun, Hermes or Mercury, Apollo, Pan, Eilethia or Diana, whom we may suppose to be the same as Isis or the moon, as Apollo is the same with Osiris or the sun; though, according to some histories, Apollo is made the brother of Osiris, doubtless to answer some particular schemes in their mythology. He says, 'the gods came down upon earth, and sometimes took on them the form of sacred beasts, sometimes of men, and so were worshipped in the shape of the several beasts whose forms they assumed. This turn they gave to the worship of these deities, in order to add a greater dignity to their religion; whereas, in reality, they seem to be no other than their Kings and great men deified, who, some way or other, had conducted to make the life of mankind more comfortable and happy, by a proper use of the elements of nature in general, or of the celestial bodies in particular, that seemed to have the greatest influence on the earth; which they either began to worship under their names, or to worship their benefactors, they had deified, and to give them the names of those things they had by their government or inventions rendered so beneficial to them: for he goes on to give an account of the terrestrial gods, who, he says, by the strength of their understanding, and by their beneficence to mankind, had acquired immortality, as a recompence of their extraordinary merit. Some of these were kings of Egypt; but they seem to have given the genealogy of these kings, as much as could be, in order to make it be believed that the celestial gods were different from them; and though I shall give an account of their genealogy, yet, notwithstanding, I conjecture part of it to be mere fiction, and that the truth is, such persons did live at some time or other, but not just as they fix it. However, these we must suppose to be the twelve gods of the second rank, of which he only at first mentions the eight principal, the Sun, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, called also Ammon, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, and Mercury. He says, the Sun reigned first in Egypt: Herodotus says, Menes reigned first, and that Pan was the oldest of the gods, and, as Mendes was another name of Pan, possibly Menes and Pan may be the same; and also the celestial Osiris, which is the sun. But, if it be true, as Herodotus says, that Menes built the temple to Vulcan in Memphis; this may be an argument in favour of the priests, who affirmed that Vulcan was the first King. Osiris, in this genealogical account of the Kings, is indeed also the son of Jupiter and Juno, and said to be Bacchus. But as, under the name of Menes, he drained the country, and made Lower Egypt habitable, by exposing the earth in proper time to the kindly influence of the sun; and, under that of Bacchus, cultivated the vine, by the help of the sun, the juice of whose fruit is such a comfortable cordial to mankind; and as, under the name of Mendes or Pan, he might make some orders for the more regular propagation of mankind, and of animals for his use, all under the prolific influence of the sun, so the same person or deity might be worshipped in different places under different names and shapes, according to the nature of the particular virtues of the person they celebrated in those places. The worship of the King of Egypt, who was called Vulcan, and of fire under his name, was owing, as they say, to an extraordinary accident; a wood happened to be set on fire by lightning in the winter, and the King standing by it, perceived that it gave a great pleasure to enjoy the warmth of it, and took care to continue the use of fire, which we may suppose till that time was unknown.

After

After these, Saturn reigned, who married his sister Rhea, the same with Cybele or Magna Mater; though, in this genealogy, Isis is said to be her daughter, who was the moon, or Diana, and had the city Bubastus built to her, Bubastus being the Egyptian name of Diana; and on her tomb she is represented as boasting that the city of Bubastus was built in honour of her*. Cybele seems to be much the same as Diana of Ephesus, and Isis, among the celestial gods, is the moon; it is possible that the moon might be worshipped under these three names, as having an universal influence on all things. Some said that Osiris and Isis were the children of Saturn and Rhea, but, according to others, Jupiter and Juno; and, as Herodotus says, that the Egyptians did not know the name of Juno, this is a proof, how much the invention of the ancients was employed in the history they gave of their gods; and accounts for the inconsistencies we meet with in their relations of them. As both Minerva and Juno have been said to be the air, so they might also be the same deities, under different names, and likewise Eilethia or Diana, though the daughter of Jupiter; for both Juno and Diana are called Lucina, and may be the same person. Diana is said to be the daughter of Jupiter by Latona; possibly Jupiter might after marry his own daughter, who might then be called Juno, and her mother Latona might be obliged to fly to Ortygia from the resentment of Juno; as these may likewise be the same with Rhea, on the above supposition; and if it may be supposed to have been so, all these alliances and genealogies must be looked on as mere fictions: and this deity multiplied into so many shapes, must then be only Rhea or Isis, or whoever was the first deity of this kind, worshipped afterwards under different notions, and different names.

To Jupiter and Juno they give five children, Osiris, Isis, Typhon, Apollo, and Venus; and so Juno might be called the mother of the gods (*mater deum*) the title of Cybele; and here they make Osiris Bacchus, and Isis Ceres; so that Isis might comprehend Rhea and Diana, Juno and Ceres. By the name of Ceres, she was the inventress of tillage, as Osiris was of wine, under the title of Bacchus: Isis also is said to have enacted laws for the government of mankind. Some say Osiris founded Thebes, though others mention another founder of this city: our author says, moreover, that he built a temple of extreme magnificence, to his parents Jupiter and Juno, and two golden temples, one to celestial Jupiter, the other to his father Jupiter Ammon. It is probable, that one Jupiter was worshipped long before this, and that Osiris being the son of Ammon, both the father and son might be deified; and, to give a dignity to their new god, they might say, he was the son of Jupiter, distinguished by the title of his real father, who was worshipped under the shape of a ram. As to the Jupiter of the Greeks, who was father of Minos in Crete, both of them great Kings over so small an island, it was thought to be doing justice to the merit of Jupiter, to make him the chief of their gods; that they might have gods of their own; and to give him the name by which they call the Egyptian Jupiter; without doubt, a much more ancient deity, as Dædalus, the architect of his son, went to Egypt to see the labyrinth, in order to build one in Crete on the same model. Osiris and Isis were also great encouragers of arts, and of those who invented weapons to kill wild beasts, and instruments to till the land. Osiris being educated at Nisa in Arabia Felix, had the name of Dionysius from that place, and his father Dios; here they say he learnt the culture of the vine. He had the greatest regard for Hermes or Mercury, a person of great genius in inventing whatever might be for the conveniency of mankind: he first corrected the language, and gave names

* *Ἐμοὶ Βούβαρσις ἡ πόλις ἐκδομήθη.* Diodorus, i. p. 24.

to several things ; it was he that invented letters, and also the lyre with three strings, and taught the worship of the gods, and sacrifices, all sorts of manly exercises, and a proper carriage and deportment of the body. He first observed the order of the stars, and the nature and harmony of sounds. It was he, or some other person after him worshipped under his name, that taught the Greeks the art of speaking, (it may be supposed, with propriety and eloquence) on which account they gave him the name of Hermes. It was Mercury, and not Minerva, as the Greeks affirm, that found out the use of the olive; and he was in so great favour with Osiris, that he was his secretary, it may be rather said his prime minister, to whom he communicated every thing, for his advice. Osiris raised a great army to go over the earth, to communicate his improvements to all the world, hoping to gain immortal honours by his benevolence towards mankind, as it accordingly happened; for he was worshipped as a god, by those whose lives he had rendered so much more happy than they were before. He left to Isis the care of his kingdom, and appointed Mercury to be her counsellor; he also left his relation Hercules general over all his dominions, appointing Busiris guardian of the parts towards the sea side, and Phœnicia; and Antæus of Ethiopia, and Libya. Osiris was accompanied by his brother Apollo, as he is called by the Greeks; he was the propagator of the bay, as Osiris was of the ivy, for which reason those trees are sacred to these gods, and it is to be observed, that the trees that are consecrated to them, are ever-greens, as the myrtle to Venus, and the olive to Minerva. It is said, Osiris had for his companions in war, Anubis and Macedon. They wore the skins of those animals they somewhat resembled in courage, Anubis wearing the dog's skin, and Macedon that of the wolf; on which account those beasts are esteemed sacred in Egypt, and in time came to be worshipped. He took Pan also with him, whom we may suppose to be a different person from the other before mentioned; one of his names was had in great veneration in Egypt, his statues being in every temple, and a city built to him. He carried likewise husbandmen with him; Maro for cultivating the vine, and Triptolemus to teach the manner of sowing and reaping the corn. Thus accompanied, he went into Ethiopia. In this country satyrs were brought to him, covered with hair; for Osiris was a lover of mirth, and of music and dancing, and always carried with him a band of music, in which there were nine virgins, who were excellently well skilled in vocal music, as well as learned in other subjects, and were therefore called by the Greeks the Muses: Apollo presided over them.

Osiris met with no opposition, being received every where as a god, for his beneficence towards mankind. He improved Ethiopia by agriculture, and building cities, and left in it officers to collect the tributes. Whilst he was here, there happened in Egypt a great inundation of the Nile, which did particular damage in that part of Egypt that was under the care of Prometheus, who was on this account near laying violent hands on himself. The river, by reason of the rapidity of its course, and the violence of its waters, was called the Eagle. Hercules, always aspiring at great things, and zealous to shew his extraordinary strength, made up the dykes, and kept the river within its bounds, on which account the Greeks, says Diodorus, invented the fable, that Hercules killed the eagle, that was feeding on the liver of Prometheus. It is said, the river was after called the Nile, from Nilus a king of Egypt. Osiris going into Thrace, Maro founded the city Maronea, and Macedon, the Macedonian empire: He sent Triptolemus into Attica to teach the inhabitants agriculture. Osiris carried his arts every where, and, if any country was not capable of bearing wine, he taught them to make a liquor of barley, not much inferior to wine, either

in strength or flavour. After Osiris's death, divine honours were paid to him. It was long kept as a secret that he was killed by Typhon, who would have seized on his dominions; but Isis, with her son Horus, vanquished Typhon near Antæopolis. Typhon had divided the body of Osiris into twenty-six parts, and distributed them to his accomplices; all these Isis found, and inclosed each of the pieces within a painted figure of a body, composed of wax and aromatic spices; these she delivered to distinct bodies of priests, under great secrecy, to be buried; enjoining them to pay divine honours to Osiris, and to consecrate some particular animal to him, and when it died, to bury it in the same manner; thus they continued the same honours to the consecrated animals; and the sacred bulls, called Apis and Mnevis, because they were so useful in agriculture, were worshipped in Egypt. From this account we may see the reason why Osiris was worshipped in the shape of a mummy, and that his statues are seen so common in that figure, and also why so many sacred animals were worshipped in Egypt. From this also, probably, the custom took rise of embalming their dead bodies, forming them in the same figure, and honouring the relicts of their relations in the same manner, as the several pieces of Osiris were preserved.

If we examine into the rise of the fables relating to the births of several of the deities said to have been begotten likewise by deities, we shall find it had no other foundation than the lewdness or adulteries of the relations of great persons, who had people about them to invent stories to cover the dishonour of their families. Of this nature was the fable of Semele and Bacchus, not to mention several others, from the accounts we have by their own authors. And deities, which, in the idea of the heathens, subsisted before, were made to be born long after. For the same purpose the Greek Hercules was supposed to be begotten by Jupiter on Alcmena, to cover her adultery, when she brought forth a son at an improper time, during the absence of her husband Amphitryo in the wars. The lewdness of Io daughter of Inachus, King of the Argives, is another instance of this kind, who proving with child by a mariner, and, it is said, going into Egypt in a ship that had a bull painted on it, all that story of her being transformed into an heifer, and of the loves of Jupiter; was invented, and that she went into Egypt and there recovered her first shape, and was married to Osiris; and, upon this very story, Diodorus* takes occasion to make reflections on the great disagreement there was in relation to the history of their gods; that the same deity was called by some Isis, by others Ceres; by some Theſmophorus, by others the Moon; by some again Juno, and that others called this deity by all these names: that they called Osiris sometimes Serapis, and sometimes Bacchus, at other times Pluto, sometimes Ammon, at others Jupiter, and often Pan; and some said, that Serapis was the Pluto of the Greeks; there being in reality very little foundation in truth for these things, but almost all these stories have had their rise from the inventions of men on different occasions; which is the cause of such variety and disagreement in the accounts of the mythology of the heathens.

Horus was son of Osiris and Isis, who, being taught the art of prophecy and physic by Isis, was called Apollo; so that we have Apollo both brother and son to Osiris. The giants also, consisting of many bodies, are said to have risen in the time of Osiris, whose ministers were represented as whipping them; and for this reason, the statue of Osiris is often seen with a whip, as the punisher of the wicked. It is also remarkable, that Isis behaved in so prudent and wise a manner after the death of Osiris, that the Queens of Egypt were from that time ever had in greater honour

* Diodorus, i. p. 22.

than the Kings, and were invested with higher power; and, in the marriage settlements among private persons, that polite clause used to be added, that all things should be under the direction of the lady *. And, as it has been judged that all the mummies that have been found about Saccara, which was near Memphis, are female bodies, it is possible on the burial of Isis in a chapel in the grove of Vulcan at Memphis, all women might be consecrated to this deity, and be buried in these catacombs, as near as conveniently they could be to the goddess, and have their coffins, by a particular disposition, made so as to represent Osiris, which might be another foundation for the future regards that were to be paid them. And possibly the bodies of the men might be deposited in another part, perhaps in the grottos to the east of the Nile; and the honours that were paid to them might not be so great in preserving them, and, for that reason, they may not have continued so long. But these are only conjectures, for which it is certain we have no foundation in ancient authors.

CHAP. IV.—Of the ancient Hieroglyphics of the Egyptians.

HERODOTUS says, the Egyptians used two sorts of letters, or ways of writing; one called sacred, the other vulgar letters †. Diodorus gives a more particular account, though in some parts obscure. He says, the Egyptians learned the form of their letters, or writing, from the Ethiopians; for of the Egyptian letters, or manner of writing, one was vulgar, which all people learned; others were called sacred, which the priests only knew among the Egyptians, learning them of their fathers, among those things which were to be kept secret; but the Ethiopians used all these letters or ways of writing indifferently: so that one would imagine, the Ethiopians either had two alphabets, or that they had two ways of writing most things, but that of these the Egyptians used one commonly, and the other only in their sacred writings. So that it was rather the unlawfulness, than any impossibility of obtaining a knowledge of these letters, that kept them from reading their sacred writings, as they could, perhaps, have learned them of the Ethiopians, if we suppose they were exactly the same; but it is possible, that the Egyptians, having learned the art of writing of the Ethiopians, might afterwards alter the letters or marks, that stood for words, that the Ethiopians themselves might not be able to read them, although the languages of both nations might be the same: he afterwards speaks of the Ethiopian letters, called by the Egyptians hieroglyphics; he says, that at first their forms of writing represented all sorts of beasts, the parts of the human body, and instruments, especially those of the handicrafts; for their writings did not consist of syllables put together, but of figures that related to the things they were to express; for they wrote or drew the figure of a hawk, a crocodile, a serpent, the eye, hand, or face of a man, and the like. A hawk signified all things that were to be done expeditiously, (I should rather think expedition itself) because it is the swiftest of birds. The crocodile signified malice: the eye expressed both an observer of justice, and a keeper of any person: the right hand, with the fingers extended, signified any one's getting his livelihood: the left hand shut, the preserving and keeping of any thing. Thus every thing was read and understood by figures. This seems to have been the

* Διὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας καὶ δεχθῆναι μίζοντα ἑξουσίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνου τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις κυριεύει τὴν γυναῖκα τὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ αἰῆς παρικοῦς συννίεσθαι· προσομολογούντων τῶν γαμνύων ἅπαντα πῶς ἀρχήσων τῇ γαμνύμην. Diodorus, l. p. 23.

† Διφασίσιν δὲ γράμμασι χρῆσθαι· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱερά, τὰ δὲ δημόσια καλεῖται. Herodotus, ii. c. 36.

hieroglyphical manner of writing ; but it is to be doubted, if the common way was not by single letters composing syllables. The form of letters is arbitrary, and each letter, as conjectured by some, might be the resemblance of an animal ; especially as the names of some ancient letters are the names of beasts. The capital Armenian letters are now actually represented by beasts, without any similitude of the letter added to it, as I saw in their grammar, printed by the Propaganda Fide.

Moses, who was skilled in all the learning of the Egyptians, without doubt, understood their manner of writing ; and, if the letters represented animals, he must have composed a new alphabet, when the law forbid them to make the likeness of any thing, that is, we are to suppose, of any living creature ; or of any of those luminaries that were worshipped in the heathen world. The figures standing for letters could not be above forty or fifty. It may be considered also, how many of these there must be, if they stood for syllables, which would seem to be a more difficult way of writing than putting figures for words, which by the resemblance would very much help the memory ; an advantage that could not be had, if certain figures stood for syllables. If hieroglyphical figures stood for words or sounds that signified certain things, the power of hieroglyphics seems to be the same as of a number of letters composing such a sound, that by agreement was made to signify such a thing. For hieroglyphics, as words, seem to have stood for sounds, and sounds signify things ; as for instance, it might have been agreed, that the figure of a crocodile might stand for the sound that meant what we call malice : the children of the priests were early taught, that the figure of a crocodile stood for such a sound, and, if they did not know the meaning of the sound, it would certainly stand with them for a sound ; though, as the sound, it signified also a quality or thing ; and, they might afterwards be taught the meaning of this sound ; as words are only sounds, which sounds we agree shall signify such and such things ; so that to children, words only stand for sounds, which relate to such things as they know nothing of ; and, in this sense, we say children learn many things like parrots, what they do not understand, and their memories are exercised only about sounds, till they are instructed in the meaning of the words. This, I thought it might be proper to observe, as some say, hieroglyphics stood for things, and not for words, if sounds articulated in a certain manner are words. And though it may be said, that in this case, when different nations of different languages agree on common characters, that stand for certain things they agree on, that then such figures stand for things : this will be allowed ; but then they stand for sounds too, that is, the sounds in each language that signify such things : and, as observed before, to children, who know nothing of the several things they stand for, to them they are only marks that express such and such sounds ; so that these figures stand not for things alone, but, as words, for sounds and things. It is to be doubted, whether we have any inscriptions in a language, the letters of which are figures of things ; for to know that, we are not to examine all hieroglyphics, to see how many different sorts there are ; but if any are writ in lines, we ought to examine them, and see whether the different figures amount to so great a variety as must exceed the number of letters in any language. It is probable, that the hieroglyphical writing was written in the same manner as the common language, with regard to the lines ; and those few inscriptions, that are found written in lines, have so great a variety of figures, that it is to be concluded, they are the sacred hieroglyphical writing, in which each figure stood for a word. As to other emblematical hieroglyphics, which seem to have been designed for ornaments of buildings, we may suppose, that at first they might only adorn their freezes, and that the ornaments on the freezes in temples consisted of such things as related to the deity,

or the manner of worship; as the animal, under whose shape he was worshipped, might be represented. The Lituus, an instrument of augury, and vases of sacrifice, may be allowed to be inscriptions, if the patera, the head of the ox, and the like, in the freezes of Greek and Roman architecture, are affirmed to be inscriptions, signifying that such a beast was sacrificed, or such a vase used in their sacrifices or libations. And, with regard to other emblems, if the reverse of a medal, on which the figures of certain virtues are represented, for which the person is celebrated, or many of the pictures of Rubens of that nature, may be said to be inscriptions, it may be allowed also, that these hieroglyphics are inscriptions; but these seem to represent things; for if they were inscriptions, they must stand for such individual words, and be read into certain sentences, exactly in the same words, by all those who understand that language, which does not seem to be the case. And though Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the inscription on every side of the obelisk that was brought to Constantinople, yet it may be supposed these hieroglyphics might be in lines on the pedestal or base of the obelisk, where the inscription might be more easily read; and it is probable, they were in the common letters, which, as they were figures of animals, might possibly be called hieroglyphics, though not so strictly speaking; for, as the inscription was in honour of so great a King, it is most probable, it should be written so as to be read by every body; and, if it was written in the hieroglyphical characters standing for words, it must have taken up very little room, there being only as many figures as principal words, and could not have well covered one side of a large obelisk, which would not have answered the end of such a very concise manner of writing, for which the hieroglyphics were contrived, as a short hand, to comprehend much under a few figures, easily penned after they were once learnt. As far, therefore, as hieroglyphics are emblematical, they seem to stand for things; but as they are inscriptions, they stand for words or sounds as well as things, and might be read in the vulgar language by the children of the priests, who possibly might not understand any part of some of them, that might relate to sciences, they as yet knew nothing of.

CHAP. V. — *Of the Egyptian Manner of embalming Human Bodies and Birds.*

HERODOTUS * gives some account of the honours they paid to the bodies of their relations, after they were dead. He says, when any man of consequence died, all the women of the family besmeared their hands and faces with dirt; left the body in the house, and, with other women, their relations, went about the city beating themselves, with their garments girt about them, and their breasts uncovered; the men also girded their garments about them and beat themselves; afterwards they carried the body to be embalmed; there being certain persons appointed for this business, whose profession it was; who, when the body was brought to them, shewed several patterns made of wood, painted like a dead body embalmed. One of these patterns was of very fine workmanship, and called by a name it was not lawful commonly to utter; another was shewn, not so fine, and less costly; and a third still cheaper. They then asked, in which manner they would have the body prepared, and so agreed on the price. And it is here to be observed, that these three ways of adorning the outside of mummies, seem to relate to this first manner of embalming; and it is probable, there were three prices according to the beauty of the workmanship. Then they embalmed them in this manner: first, they extracted the brains by the nose, with a crooked iron, and

* Herodotus, l. ii. c. 85, 86.

then poured in drugs; afterwards they opened the body with a sharp Ethiopian stone, took out the bowels, cleansed the body, and washed it with palm wine, and a second time with pounded perfumes; they then filled it with myrrh, cassia, and other spices, frankincense excepted, and sewed it up: afterwards they washed it with nitre, and laid it by for seventy days, for longer it was not permitted to lie: they then washed the body again, and wound it up in swathes of linen, besmearing it over with gums, which the Egyptians used instead of glue. The relations took it from them, and made a wooden figure of a man, in which they put the body, and fixing down the top, they put it into the catacombs: But those, who were more moderate in their expences, injected turpentine of cedar with a pipe into the body, without cutting it; they then salted it for seventy days, and drew out the pipe, which brought the bowels out with it by the fundament, and the nitre dried up the flesh, leaving nothing but the skin and the bones. The third way of preparing the body, with those of small fortunes, was by cleansing the inside with salt and water, and salting it for seventy days.

Diodorus * adds to this account of Herodotus, that they went mourning about the city till the body was buried; that, during that time, they used neither the baths, wine, delicate food, nor fine cloaths. The first manner of embalming cost a talent of silver; the second twenty minæ. The people of this profession, of embalming bodies, learnt the art of their ancestors; and their method was, to bring in an account to the relations, of the expences of the different ways of embalming the body, and asking them which method they chose; and, agreeing about every thing, they took away the body to be embalmed. First, the secretary marked out on the left side, how far it ought to be cut; then a certain officer cut according to their rules, with an Ethiopian stone, and immediately ran away, all the people that were present following him, throwing stones after him, and cursing him, to atone for this fact; for they look on the person as an object of hatred, who offers any violence, wounds, or does any harm to the body of his fellow creature: but those who embalmed the bodies, they honoured and esteemed; and they conversed with the priests, and went into the temples (as the priests) without any restraint. Then one of them took out all the entrails, except the heart and kidneys. Another washed the inside, and the bowels with palm wine, and aromatic perfumes; they then prepared the body with turpentine of cedar, and other things, for about thirty days, and afterwards with myrrh and cinnamon, not only to preserve it, but to keep it sweet. From what follows, one would imagine, that there was a way of preserving the bodies far beyond that of wrapping them up in linen and dipping them in bitumen, or besmearing them with it, in the manner we see they were embalmed; for he says, their very eye-brows and eye-lashes, and the form and appearance of the whole body was so well preserved, that they might be known by their features; and, on this account, many of the Egyptians kept the bodies of their ancestors in houses, adorned at a very great cost, and had the pleasure to see their forefathers, who were dead many years before they were born, and to observe all their features, as well as if they were living. From this account it is probable, that this manner of embalming was the finest and most costly, and those whose bodies were prepared in this way might be set upright, that their friends might have the pleasure to behold them in that natural posture. Herodotus speaks of binding those up in swathes, and putting them in coffins, who were embalmed in the best manner; so that it seems, either that Herodotus was not well acquainted with this first way of embalming, or that

it was an improvement introduced afterwards, if the account of Diodorus be true; though it must be observed, that we do not find, that ever any bodies have been discovered, which were embalmed, as our author describes; though it may be doubted, whether there were not such bodies formerly found, that supplied the world with the mummy of dried flesh; there being nothing of this kind seen on the mummies at present; and that, there being so great a demand for it, all those bodies might have been destroyed, and that drug supplied by the art of the Jews of Alexandria, as some travellers relate.

There were, doubtless, several ways of embalming the bodies, according to the first and second manner of Herodotus, which were more or less expensive. It was observed of a mummy I brought from Egypt, that was in a coffin made of boards, that the holes between the boards were filled up with linen and fine plaister. There were four folds of cloth over the head, the upper one being painted blue; under this there was a composition about half an inch thick, as I imagined, of gum and cloth, that was burnt by the heat of the things applied to it; and Herodotus says, the clothes were besmeared with gums; and next to the skin was a coat of gum or bitumen about as thick as a wafer, which seemed to have been caused by dipping the body in bitumen, and under this, the skin seemed to be next to the skull. The head was half full of bitumen, that is, the hinder part, the body having been laid on the back, when the bitumen was poured in by the nose. It is very remarkable, that the bitumen had penetrated into the very bone of the skull, especially in the middle part of it, which is most porous, though there is little or nothing to be seen of it on the outer tables of the bones, however it is not probable that they should have had an art of injecting by the blood vessels. The body was bound round with a bandage made of linen, about three quarters of an inch broad, under which there were four folds of cloth, and then a swathe two inches broad, and under that eight different bandages of the same breadth, laid across from the shoulders to the hips on the other side. Under this there was a crust of linen about an inch thick, burnt almost to ashes, but sticking together by means of the gums with which it was probably besmeared. The bones of the arms were laid across the breast; the right arm being over the left, and the hands lying towards the face. From the hips to the feet there were eight bandages two inches broad, one covering about half of the other; under these there were bandages an inch thick, consumed by the heat of the drugs, as before. There were two wooden blocks, on which the head of the mummy rested. The outer bandages of linen did not seem to have been besmeared with gums. The coffins they put the bodies in are observed to be of two sorts. One has the lower part made of an entire piece of wood, and the upper of another, both hollowed in, so as to receive the body, and being put together they are fastened with broad pegs in the top, that are fixed into holes in the lower part. They were cut into the shape of a human body, as bound up after it is embalmed; and the coffins, and likewise the bodies wrapped up in linen, were covered over with a thin plaister, and painted (without doubt) according to the pattern they fixed on. As to the manner of painting the mummies and coffins, it may be observed, both on their coffins and bodies, that they first painted the ground of one colour, and then, probably, laying on a cloth or paste-board cut out in figures like cut paper, they painted the open or uncovered spaces; for the figures appear mostly of one colour, probably that of the ground, and the paint rises higher round the figure. This is the manner they call painting in stensils, and it is something in this way that they now paint cards. It was observed also on another small mummy I brought from Egypt, that there is a sort of printing called strow-smalt, being made of smalt finely powdered and strowed on the paint,

paint. The second way of making the coffin, was with boards fastened together with pins, with very little art in the workmanship. A face or mark carved in wood was nailed on the lid of the coffin, over the head. When I went into the catacombs, I had reason to think, that they had tied up some of the bodies of inferior persons in reed or palm boughs, as observed when I described the catacombs of Saccara.

As to embalming of animals, I have already observed, that Isis, finding the several parts of the body of Osiris, had each of them made up in the most beautiful manner, like a body preserved after it was buried, and sent them to the priests of twenty-four several temples, desiring each of them to pay due honour to the reliëts of Osiris, to consecrate one animal to him, and when it died to bury it in the same manner: this way we may account for the worship of animals in twenty-four temples in particular; but it is to be observed, that they worshipped the same animals in different temples, as the crocodile at Ombus; and at two or three other cities that had their names from that animal; at Memphis the bull, under the name of apis, and at Heliopolis, under the name of mnevis. Some say, the soul of Osiris went into a bull, and that this was the reason of the extraordinary worship paid to that animal. So, according to the desire of Isis, they worshipped these animals while living, and when dead, they embalmed their bodies and deposited them in their catacombs with great ceremony. Some animals were worshipped all over Egypt, as the ibis, the hawk, and the cat: and it is probable, that all these animals, when they were found dead, were embalmed and buried in this manner, out of the great veneration they had for them, whilst of the others, those only might be embalmed that were particularly consecrated and kept in their temples: and this seems to be the reason why so many are found of the former, especially of the ibis. These birds are seen in the catacombs at Saccara, as already described, in pots, the cover being stopped down with mortar. They appear to have been embalmed and wrapped up in linen, as the human bodies; and are wrapped in several folds of linen; the outermost being sewed together, and the second bound round with thread. After the two outer folds were taken off, the tape appearing, which bound round the rest: under this there were above twenty folds of linen, and probably several more under them, which were burnt to a coal by the aromatic drugs and melted bitumen they were probably dipped into, or besmeared with.

CHAP. VI.—*An Abstract from Mallet's Account of the Inside of the great Pyramid.*

THE entrance to the great pyramid was at first shut up, and afterwards opened by force, as may be seen at the mouth of it, where there are several of the stones, that closed it up, of an extraordinary size: They were placed on the mouth of the steep descent, which leads to the middle of the pyramid. This descent is a hundred feet long; the way to it is by an ascent made by the ruins of the pyramid. This passage was filled up with the same kind of marble with which the inside of it is cased. In removing these stones and the others, in order to get into the furthest part of the pyramid, it may be supposed, that they proceeded in the following manner: Over the opening, by which one enters into this passage, there is a space of nine or ten feet, from which stones have been taken away, of a very great size, which is sufficient to prove, that it was stopped up: these stones being taken away for no other end than to find the entrance into the passage, or to have the more command of those that filled it up, which were covered with the stones that were taken away. After having removed these great stones, and such as were under them at the entrance of the passage, it

it was easy to get out the others with proper tools. It is supposed, that, in order to make this undertaking the more difficult, they were fixed in with a strong cement, which bound them so fast, that they made but one body with the rest of the building; but by the force of strong machines, and by means of hot water poured into the passage they so weakened the cement, and loosened the stones that they were easily taken out: for means must have been found to do it, without defacing the stones of the passage, which are still of as beautiful a polish as the first day they were put in, except those at the bottom, where they have made from place to place hollow grooves or channels about two or three inches deep, in order to facilitate the descent and ascent by this passage; for without that contrivance, it would be impossible to go down without sliding, or to come up without the help of ropes. The passage is made of the finest white marble, turned somewhat yellow. One of the very large blocks that was taken out from the top, at the entrance of the passage, when the pyramid was forced open, is still to be seen; and it is usual when people go to see this famous monument, to dine upon it. The stone which filled up the first passage, and all the others in the pyramid, were of the same marble, which doubtless was chosen for this purpose, on account of its extraordinary hardness. The inside of the pyramid is so dark, and so much blackened with the smok of candles and torches, carried there for so many ages by such as go to see it, that it is not easy to find out what sort of stone the rooms and other places of this building are cased with: one can only see that the polish is exceedingly beautiful, and that they are very hard, and so closely joined, that the point of a knife cannot go between them.

The first passage being cleared, and that laborious work finished, there was another much more difficult, which was to remove the stones out of another passage, that went upwards towards the top of the pyramid, and as steep as the first. The chief difficulty must have been, to find where it began in the passage, which they had cleared; for, though the stone that stopped it up was so closely fitted in as to leave no mark of any opening, yet it might be discovered that it did not go over the upper part of the first passage, as the other stones; which might be found by thrusting a knife or some instrument into the joints on every side of that stone. This entrance was within ten feet of the bottom of the lower passage, the better to deceive such as should endeavour to find it out. They must have worked a considerable time at the stone with great difficulty; and the place being very narrow, they must have been obliged to work over their heads, lying on their backs, having no other way to command it; and consequently they were in great danger of being crushed by the fall of the stone, which must have been loose. Notwithstanding, after having, by dint of labour and with proper tools, overcome this difficulty, there was another stone, which went down to the bottom of the passage; upon which they were obliged to work in another manner. Having removed this likewise, there followed directly another, which made them think this work would be too tedious; therefore this method was laid aside; so that, after having supported the stones, to keep them from falling down, and stopping up the passage at the lower end, they must have made a way by breaking the stones of the lower passage, which is forty feet long, and eight or ten wide and high. In most places it is very narrow and low, in some not high enough for a man to stand upright: this was a work of infinite labour. Then turning upon the left, towards the upper passage, they took out three or four stones, which made an opening of about fifteen or twenty feet. But before we go on with a further account of the work, it is proper to take notice, that the stone to the right, which closed up this passage, in that part where it made an angle with the lower passage, had probably been cut so as exactly to fill up that angle, but was afterwards

afterwards removed ; for the stone at present, does not exactly fit it, there being a void space of three or four inches at the upper part of it, which ought to have been so much longer than the under part.

When they had taken away the three stones which closed the side of the upper passage, the business was not only to remove the stones which they found in this new opening they made, but likewise all that were above, and of an unknown length. This was a difficult task, and tedious to perform, there being only room for one man to work in the space of three feet three inches square ; and they had reason to think, that besides the great number of stones which filled up this passage, there might be some other place above, where there might be still more stones ready to slide down and fill up this passage, as fast as they endeavoured to clear it. This was an additional labour, which the architect had prepared for those who should attempt to penetrate into the centre of the pyramid ; therefore, in order to save some part of that labour, instead of breaking all the stones where they had begun to make a passage, it was resolved to support the stones with timber, or by some other way, until they had broke the under one. Accordingly, they secured the upper stone, and then cut away the stone under it ; and so going from one stone to another, they at last came to the end, and to the void space, of which I am going to give an account. It is to be observed, that in the whole length of this passage, they were obliged to use violent means to break the stones with which it was filled up : which so defaced all the sides of the passage, that, whereas it was at first square, it became almost round, which is a proof that the work was carried on in this manner ; for, if they had broke the stones directly in, that part only would have been defaced, and the remainder of it, which is eighty feet long, from which the stones would have slid down to the breach which was made, would have remained entire, without being defaced, as all the other parts do to this day.

When they were at the end of this passage, it was found, that the upper part was open, and that it was a foot narrower than before, for the height of two feet and a half, where it widened a foot and a half on each side, which made the benches ; and consequently this place was six feet and a half broad * ; so that now there was on each side of the passage a sort of rising or bench two feet and a half high, and eighteen inches wide, which continued on for the length of an hundred and twenty-four feet, according to the measure that was taken, though some say it is a hundred and forty feet. At the end of this there is a floor eight or nine feet long, and six feet and a half broad, the same as the passage above the benches. In the benches next the walls, there are at the distance of every two feet and a half, holes one foot long, six inches broad, and eight inches deep, cut down perpendicularly. I shall explain the use they made of the benches and holes, which are in the passage. The sides of the gallery rise above these benches five and twenty feet, twelve of which are exactly perpendicular, at which height it projects three inches, and three feet higher three inches more ; then three feet higher it sets out again three inches, and three feet higher there is a fourth projection of three inches, from which, to the ceiling of the gallery, which is flat, it is four feet more ; the ceiling being about the same breadth as the passage between the benches, that is, about three feet three inches. This height was necessary to the architect, in order to place the stones intended to fill up the passages.

At the end of the passage and the entrance of the gallery, there is on the right hand an opening made in the wall, which takes up some part of the bench. This hole is almost round, something like a door place, about three feet high, and two feet and a

* The expressions of the author are obscure, but this seems to be the sense of them.

half broad. From this opening one goes down into a well, of which I shall make mention hereafter, and for what purpose it was intended.

When they had once got to this gallery, it was no difficult matter for them to break the stones that were in the channel, not only because they were a foot above the benches, but by reason of the greater breadth of the gallery, which gave the workmen more room, and a greater command of their tools; and they could begin by the last stone, which was the more easily mastered, as they could stand upright at their work; which being done, and all the rubbish removed, they looked for the bottom of the channel, and observed, that the stones & the space of fourteen or fifteen feet, did not go across under the benches; by which they found, it would be easy to raise up those stones, one after another; which being done, they came to a floor ten feet long. At the depth of ten feet, and at the end of this floor, they found the passage was continued on, and that it formed, at the end of the gallery, a triangle of fourteen or fifteen feet; and at the same time they discovered even with the floor, and at the left of the passage which led to the gallery, a further continuation of the way, three feet three inches square. This new passage being covered before by the stones just removed, they concluded that it must lead to some secret place of the pyramid; upon which it was resolved to examine further, which was easily done by removing the stones that stopped it up. As it was in a right line, so they broke away the stone, and the passage was found to be a hundred and eighteen feet long, at the end of which was an arched chamber.

This room is seventeen feet and a half long, and fifteen feet ten inches broad; the covering is in form of a triangle. On the east of the room is a niche in the wall three inches deep, eight feet high, and three feet broad. It is not to be doubted, but there was in this niche a mummy set upright, as was the custom of the Egyptians. It is probable, that it was the body of the queen of that prince who built the pyramid; and there is no doubt, but that the King himself was deposited in the upper room, which is directly over it, at about the height of one hundred feet. Entering the last room, the furthest stone on the right hand projects three inches, which had been contrived on purpose to prevent the stone, which was to close up the passage from being thrust in. It is probable, this stone was so contrived on that side as to fit it, and join close to the wall of the room at the entrance. I must not leave this place without making mention of a discovery which I made at the upper end of the passage, that is a hundred and eighteen feet long, which leads to this place; it is, that the stones, with which it is built, are cracked across the whole length of the passage. I shall leave it to those who are more skilful than myself, to decide what could be the cause of this flaw, though I conjecture it might be occasioned by an earthquake, or perhaps by the settling of this weighty building, which might be heavier on one side than the other. I did not see any such crack in any other part of the pyramid, though I examined it with the utmost care; especially there is no part of the gallery but what I have examined with the greatest diligence.

To supply the want of a rod or pole, which could not be brought through the winding of the passages, I ordered several short rods to be fastened together, at the end of which I fixed a light, and so held it up as near the arch and walls as possible, without ever being able to observe any defects. I could only perceive, that the sides were a little damaged, and that towards the right hand side a piece of the wall was broke off at the top of the narrowing of the gallery, which might have happened by the fall of some stone, which in the closing of the pyramid, in the manner I shall describe hereafter, might roll off the scaffold and break this stone.

Doubtless they had a notion that there was some hidden treasure under this first room; which may be concluded from their breaking up the floor, by which one may go between several stones, that lie in a confused order, into the body of the pyramid, for about twenty paces; the stones taken out at this place almost fill the room. They attempted the same in the upper room; but it is probable, that in both places, they had no other reward for the great pains they were at in defacing such a beautiful piece of architecture, than the disappointment in having bestowed their time and labour to no purpose.

Having discovered every thing in this first room, it remained only to penetrate into that where the body of the King was deposited. They did not doubt, but they should find it at that void space which was at the upper end of the gallery, directly over the first chamber. Accordingly, at the end of that place they found the passage extended further, and was three feet three inches wide, and well stopped up. It is probable, that the first stone was so well fixed as to cost them great labour to remove it; which appears by a piece of the upper stone which was broke off, in order, no doubt, to have a better hold on the under one, which stopped up the passage. This being removed with great labour, they took out another with the same difficulty. When these two were taken away, there appeared a void space seven feet and a half long; and being desirous to clear the way further, they found a third stone, that could not be got out, being every way larger than the hole that it stopped up. This was the last artifice of the architect, to deceive any persons that might get so far, and to prevent their looking any more after the private chamber, which is but twelve paces from this place, in which lay the body of the King, and where they would have found the treasure, if any had been deposited with him. Still this did not discourage the workmen, nor deceive them; for they set about breaking the stone, which they must have done with much labour; it was six feet long, four feet broad, and perhaps five or six feet high. There was a void space here of fifteen feet high, which at the height of eight feet enlarged itself about four feet towards the gallery, and corresponded to an opening of the passage eighteen inches broad, which was two feet from the great stone. I shall hereafter mention the use it was intended for. At the upper end of this void space there are three holes a foot deep and broad, which were made on purpose to fix in large pieces of timber, to which cords were fastened and fixed, by means of iron rings to that great stone which I have mentioned, and kept it hung up in this void space, where it remained till such time as it was to be let down on the passage, which was to be when the King's body should be deposited in the room. The opening eighteen inches wide in the passage, two feet from that void space in which the great stone hung, must have been designed for the workmen to get out, after they had let down the stone; and when they had quitted the place, the hole was stopped up close with a stone two feet thick only, which had been set under it, to which two rings were fastened. At the further end of the upper part of it, two chains were fixed to the two rings, which were fastened to another heavier stone that hung over an opening occupied by the great stone that left the space void when it fell down. The ropes that kept up that great stone were fixed to a pillar in the passage, and were held by the under stone till the workmen got out by the hole eighteen inches wide, which is between this and the upper opening; when they were out, they let it go, and the stone was raised up in its place, where it was stayed by another stone contrived for that purpose, three inches thick and six or seven broad; it is at about a man's height in a void place, which was part of the last contrivance used to prevent the entering into the room. This stone is to be well observed. Along the walls, on each side of the passage in which the great stone, six feet

long and four feet broad, was put; there are grooves wrought round three inches deep; these grooves were made to let it down more exactly in the place it was to occupy, and likewise that it might fix more firmly in its place, in case any persons should attempt to open it. All this shews the great care that was taken to secure the body of the prince from being discovered, if there should happen to be men so impious as to undertake it. And, if afterwards the stone eighteen inches broad and three feet and a half long, which is the dimension of the opening in the passage, was put in its place, and there happened to be a small opening, it might be filled up with cement, and it is possible the stone might be covered with mortar, which would make its motion slower, resisting the force of the counterpoise, and a few blows with a hammer would clear off the superfluous mortar, and make it go into its place; this stone is not now seen, nor the other large one, being both doubtless broke to pieces to be carried away. If any one examines with care the disposition of the void places that have been described, which are but six feet from the entrance of the room where the King's body was deposited; he must be persuaded that it was executed in this manner, and admire the art and ingenuity of the architect.

After having cut away the great stone from the place where it was fixed, they came at length to the last stone at the entrance of the chamber. This was easily taken out; and being removed with little trouble, gave admittance into the room. It is covered at top with nine rows of stone; the seven middle rows are four feet broad each, and above sixteen long, having both ends laid on the walls from east to west, which are sixteen feet apart; there appears no more than two feet of the breadth of each of the other two stones, the remainder being hid by the walls on which they rest. Whatever was in this room, at present nothing remains but a tomb of granite marble, seven or eight feet long, four broad, and four deep; it was put here when the room was built, before it was closed up, and remains in the same place, as it is impossible to take it out without breaking it to pieces, which would be to no purpose; it formerly had a cover, as appears by the make of the edge, but in removing it, it was broke to pieces, and no remains of it are left. This chest, no doubt, contained the body of the King inclosed in three or four chests of fine wood, as was usual among the great people: it is likewise probable, that this room contained several other chests besides that of the prince, especially those that belonged to the people, who were shut up with him in his tomb, to keep him company; for when the body of the King, who built this pyramid, was deposited in this sumptuous mausoleum, it is to be supposed, there were at the same time living persons brought into it, who were never to go out of it, but to bury themselves, as it were, alive with their prince. This is a fact which I cannot question, after the convincing proofs which I have had of it. I ground my opinion of this matter of fact upon this foundation, that directly in the middle of this room, which is thirty-two feet long, nineteen feet high, and sixteen broad, there are two holes opposite to one another, three feet and a half above the floor: one towards the north is one foot broad and eight inches high, it goes quite through in a right line to the exterior part of the pyramid: this hole is now stopped up with stone, within five or six feet of its opening: the other, which is open towards the east, and of the same height from the floor, is perfectly round; it is large enough to thrust in two fists; it enlarges to a foot diameter, and goes sloping down to the bottom of the pyramid. I believe every one will conclude, that they were intended for no other uses than the conveniency of those that were to remain in this tomb; the first was to give them air, and convey to them their food, and other necessaries; they were no doubt provided with a long box proportionable to the width of the passage; to this box was fastened a long cord by the help of which they could draw in the box;

the other cord was left hanging to the outside of the pyramid, for the people without to draw out the box ; it is probable, this was the manner they were supplied with necessaries as long as any of them remained alive. I suppose, at their going in, each of them had provided himself with a coffin to be laid in ; and that they successively performed that pious and last duty, of putting each into his coffin, except the last, who failed of that succour, which the rest of the company had found in him and the others. The second hole was to convey their excrements, which fell into a great pit made for that purpose. I intended to have had the outside of the pyramid examined, to see where the square hole ended ; and perhaps there might have been found fresh proofs of what I have said ; but such an examination would have given suspicion to the government of the country, who would have imagined, that it was to seek after hidden treasures. I thought also, that the hole might end in some sort of cavity withoutside, and might be entirely stopped up, at least on the outside. However, others may examine the place, and find a full proof of the use it was intended for ; though to me it seems past dispute, and that it is not possible to imagine any other use it could be put to.

Having explained as clearly as the matter would admit, in what manner and by what means the pyramid was probably broke open, it remains now to solve a doubt which may arise from reading the first part ; and that is, to know where such a great number of stones could be put, as was required to fill up the passages, which I have mentioned ; in what manner it was done, and how the workmen afterwards came out ; this is certainly as curious as the rest, and deserves at least as much attention.

I have already mentioned, that in the benches on each side of the passage in the gallery, which is an hundred and twenty-four feet long, there had been made holes or mortices cut down perpendicularly one foot long, six inches broad, and eight inches deep. These mortices were directly opposite to each other, and continued the whole length of the benches, at the distance of two feet and a half from one another ; these holes were left when they built the gallery, in order to fix into each of them a piece of timber one foot square, and three or four feet long, with a tenant at each end, six inches thick, and eight inches long ; these timbers and joints made a scaffold to put the stones on, that were necessary to stop up all the passages that were to be filled up in the inside of the pyramid, as well as this gallery of a hundred and twenty-four feet in length, which was at the bottom of the gallery. These joints were likewise shaped at the upper end, so as to be fixed into the mortices of long beams of timber laid on them, to support planks six feet six inches long, and six inches thick, made very smooth, on which courses of stones were laid. The benches, as I said before, being two feet and a half high from the bottom of the gallery, I suppose the scaffold was set three feet above them ; so that, from the bottom to the scaffold, there was a height of five feet and a half, for the workmen to pass backwards and forwards.

I also mentioned, that the height from the bottom of the passage to the top of the gallery was twenty-seven feet and a half ; from this floor of the passage it was six feet to the scaffold ; so that, from the scaffold to the arch, there remained one-and-twenty feet and a half ; in which space, setting four courses of stones three feet and a half thick, which were necessary to fill up the passages ; there was still a void space of seven feet and a half high : but I suppose, that from the first course to the second, they set between the stones a plank about three inches thick, and the like from the second to the third, that it might be easier to slide them off ; three courses of these stones were sufficient to fill up all the void places that were to be stopped up, and which are now opened. Perhaps in the body of the pyramid there are other passages stopped up, and

and not yet discovered ; because in the gallery they might have placed four or five more courses of stones if there was occasion : one may be satisfied of this by the calculation I have made ; neither do I think it likely, that they would have made the gallery higher than was absolutely necessary, as it made the body of the building so much the weaker.

But we shall go no farther than the known passages, which have been found open ; and the stones which filled them up have been since broke to pieces, excepting three feet and a half or four feet of them, which now fill the upper passage, answering to the first passage, which I call the outside passage, because it was filled up from the outside of the pyramid, whereas the others were stopped up from the inside of it by these stones in the gallery : and I lay it down as a matter of fact, that three courses of stone were sufficient to fill up all the passages, as every one may be convinced from this computation.

The first required thirteen feet and a half of stone to fill up the passage that led to the royal chamber even with the void space at the upper end of the gallery, which they took down from the scaffold to the floor. A stone of six feet square they put into the passage as far as the chamber door, in the place where it was stopped by the floor of the room, which was raised two inches higher than the bottom of the passage : then they let fall into the passage the stone six feet in dimension, which I said was hanging in the void place. Then, as soon as the workmen had withdrawn from this place, it was filled up, together with the opening, and when they had closed it up, they took down from the scaffold two other stones, seven feet and a half in the square measure, by which this passage, that is but nineteen feet long, was perfectly stopped up. It is to be supposed, that in order to facilitate the performance of this work, there was fixed in the floor of the gallery, over against the stones on the scaffold, a strong machine of iron and substantial pulleys, by the help of which the workmen, standing on the floor, could by ropes take down the stones from the scaffold, one after another, and bring them to the very floor, by making a hole in the top of them to fix a lewis in, by which the workmen having a sure hold, they brought them to the floor, and conveyed them with very little trouble where they were to place them.

The first passage being thus filled up, they went about the other, a hundred and eighteen feet long. This passage, as before mentioned, leads up to the first room, where it is probable the Queen's body was deposited. This was a very easy work. Then they took as many stones as were wanted to conceal the entrance of the passage and level the channel, and covered that floor, ten feet in dimension, that was formed by the triangle at the entrance of the gallery ; after which, having taken a hundred feet more of stones, they filled up the area of the passage, which is that where the entry into the pyramid was forced ; this is utterly defaced the length of eighty feet. Then a hundred and twenty-four feet more of the stone filled up the passage at the bottom of the gallery, over which the scaffold was built, and it is to be observed, that the last stone which filled up this passage, was supported by an elevation of four or five inches at the end of the passage, as is already mentioned.

What I have said in relation to the closing up the passages of the pyramid, and the use of the gallery, will perhaps appear new, and bold enough for some critics to call it a chimera ; but I do not pretend to be absolutely positive upon this article ; however, it is a probable system, that may give some light into wonders that had been concealed to this day ; and it is difficult to account how it could otherwise be executed. One may see, that it was not possible, after the pyramid was finished, that is to say, after the passages were made, and the arch of the gallery closed, to get stones into that

gallery

gallery of a proper bigness to fill them up; on the contrary, one may see, the architect had difficulty enough in taking care that no body should ever be able to take out those stones he had enclosed, to shut it up in such a manner that he thought it would be impossible to find out the entrance. One may see the intent of the architect also, in the long channel at the bottom of the gallery, and may suppose, that it was made only to convey stones, which were one day to close the inside passage; and may judge by the stay, which is found at the upper end of that channel, that it was likewise to be filled up, after the passages should be stopped; the exquisite polish of that channel confirms me in the opinion of this double use of it, and I remarked, that its length is proportioned to that of the inside passage. One may see, that that passage is still partly shut up, that is, in the place which makes an angle with the outside passage. It is visible, that they did not penetrate into the pyramid by this true passage, but on the contrary they were obliged to force another way; by which, getting to one of the sides of the passage, they had more command over the stones with which it was filled up. From this opening force was used, and it is defaced the whole length, which shews, that they were obliged to use violence to clear it; and I conclude, from its being defaced to the very entrance of the gallery, that the stones which were in it were broken; and that for the length of a hundred and twenty-four feet, there was in the channel and behind it a hundred and twenty feet more of these stones, to be a supply in the place of those that should be taken away. I again suspect, that those who broke open the pyramid, had some knowledge of these stones inclosed in that channel; for, if they had been entirely ignorant, they would only have broke the stone that filled up the passage at the opening they forced, which would have been easier for them; and if they went to work otherwise, it was from the knowledge they had of the stones in the channel ready to slide down in the passage, as fast as it should be cleared.

I have hinted, that in the body of the pyramid, there may be other openings, which were closed up, and not yet discovered, and perhaps it was not without some grounds that they searched for them; but they happened to be wrong, when they thought to find them under the floors of the two rooms. Doubtless they must be looked for, and the entrance can be, no where but about the middle of the channel.

I must likewise observe, certain holes purposely made at the time of the building of the pyramid. They were intended as steps for such as would go up from the passage a hundred and eighteen feet long, leading to the first room, towards the channel; which, as I said above, was broke off in this place, or for those who would go down from this channel. I have already remarked, that from the bottom of the channel, a man might go upright under the scaffold. There is no doubt, but that there were on each side of the gallery, under the scaffold, ropes fastened across to the joints, to help them up and down without sliding; they at first served for the workmen in the building of the gallery, and filling up the passages, and then for those who afterwards went to see the rooms, as well as for those who carried the bodies of the King and Queen to be deposited; and lastly, for those who went to remain in the room, and die near their King: there is no doubt, then, but that all the inside passages of the pyramid were filled up with the stones that were on that scaffold.

After having given the finishing stroke to all these works, there remained nothing but for the workmen to get out: except we suppose, that they pulled down the scaffold, and conveyed the timber out by the same way that they were to go themselves, which was no other than by the well which I have mentioned. The entrance of this well occupies part of the bench; it rises about two feet up in the wall, is almost
round

round or oval; this well goes down towards the bottom of the pyramid, first in a perpendicular line, then in an inclined plane. About two feet from the mouth, there is a square hole, by which one goes into a little grotto cut in the mountain, which here is not stone, but a sort of gravel, the pebbles of which are firmly cemented together. This grotto extends from east to west, perhaps about fifteen feet long; then there is found another channel cut in the rock, which slopes much, and is very near the perpendicular, and is two feet four inches one way, two feet and a half the other, and a hundred and twenty-three feet deep; in which there is nothing but sand and stones, which were either purposely thrown there, or have fallen down of themselves. I am convinced, that this place was never intended for any other use but for the workmen to get out; these sloping descents, the windings, narrowness, and depth are proofs of it. It may be, it was cut in several windings, some of them probably returning towards the mouth of it. I do not doubt, but that there hung over the entrance of it a range of stones, which were by some means kept up, and afterwards made to fall by certain springs, that were set on work after the workmen were out of the pyramid, and so shut up this passage for ever. In fact we do not find, that it ever was attempted, either because it never was known, or that its narrowness would not admit any one to work at it. The pyramid was broke open by the great way, which served, no doubt, to convey the King's body into the pyramid, and for those who assisted at the funeral, and went out again after having performed the last duty to their prince, and deposited his body in the tomb which he himself had prepared.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Religion of the Coptis in Egypt.*

ST. MARK is said to have first preached the gospel in Egypt, and is esteemed the first patriarch of Alexandria. During the persecutions, as observed before, many of the Christians of Egypt retired to Coptus, and the places about it; from which it is said, they were called Coptis. Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, embraced in part the opinion of Eutyches: until that time they were in union with the catholic church. This opinion was condemned by the fourth general council held at Chalcedon; and several emperors setting themselves to suppress it, it is said, that those who had the upper hand, used the Coptis with so much severity, that it gave them a great aversion to their oppressors, which they retain to this day towards the Franks and Greeks; and it is increased against the former, by their endeavours to make converts of them. Those of the other side were called Melchites, or Royalists, because they were supported by the government at Constantinople.

The Mahometans, when they enterprized the conquest of Egypt, took part with the Coptis, who were glad to see the Greeks destroyed, and it is said, turned against them, and cut several of them off; so the Coptis got the upper hand, and their patriarch was established by the ruling powers, as he is at present. Another division happening in the church, part of the Greek communion remained here, in opposition to the western church, and at this time they have their patriarch.

The Copti patriarch of Alexandria probably resided at Old Cairo, when that became the capital; and it may be supposed, he removed into the present city, when Old Cairo began to be deserted. The Greek patriarch also resides there. I was informed, that the bishops choose the patriarch, and that the principal Coptis confirm him; but the principal Coptis seem to have a great share in the election, and some of the former must advance the money for the firman or patent, which is after paid out of the patriarch's revenues: he is installed at the east end of the church of St. Macarius, where

where he is elected, and afterwards in the chair of St. Mark in Alexandria. It is said if the votes (as I suppose, *viva voce*) are equal, they then vote in a more solemn manner, by writing the names, and putting them on the altar.

The Copti church is something like the Greek church in its ceremonies; their liturgies are in the ancient Coptic language, which is, without doubt, the Egyptian, though much corrupted, especially by the Greek language that was introduced among them during the time of the Ptolemies, when, without doubt, they took not only several of their letters, that might be something different in their pronunciation, but likewise adopted many of their words. It is to be supposed, that the Arabic language took place of it, when the Arabs conquered this country; so that, now the Coptic is no more a living language, nor is it understood by any, except that some of the priests understand a little of their liturgy, though many of them cannot so much as read it, but get their long offices by rote, by a constant attendance on them, and hearing them frequently repeated. The epistle and gospel are read both in the Arabic and Coptic languages. The Roman Catholics have their liturgy printed in the Coptic, with very few alterations, chiefly relating to their praying for the brethren of those opinions that are favoured by the Coptis. As observed before, they spend at almost all the night before festivals and holidays, in their churches; a custom that might first arise from their meeting at their devotions at night, during the times of persecution, and might afterwards be found very convenient on account of the coolness of the night, as well as to have the festival to themselves, to be spent intirely in their diversions, which consist in going to their gardens, or walking about and doing nothing. Their churches are always covered with matting, and they take off their slippers, and carry them with them into the church; for it would be great ill manners to come with them on the *Stora*, as they call it, even in their houses. They likewise kiss the pavement when they come into the church, which may be another reason for keeping it very clean. Their music is the *nakous* already described; their chant is not agreeable; and they sit on the ground very irreverently, for most part of the time that their devotion continues; and when they are obliged to stand up, they have crutches to lean on to support themselves, which are very much used, the sexton supplying them with them. They have some ceremonies performed in their church in a different manner from other churches; the patriarch, or head priest, washing the feet of the other priests, at a hole which is filled with water; and they call this hole *Ilahan*. Another more extraordinary ceremony is on the feast of Epiphany, when another hole being filled with water, which is blessed, the people crowd to put in their feet; and it is said, that in some parts there are people that will jump into the water almost naked, and plunge in their children. The Roman Catholics here bless the water, and only cross their foreheads with it. They have commonly a pulpit on the north side of the church; the baptistery in most of the churches is a chapel on the south side of the altar. The priests have a very good reason for not preaching. The patriarch, if I mistake not, makes a short discourse to them once a year, and they read legends out of the pulpit on great festivals. They make deacons at eight or nine years old, who always receive the sacrament when it is administered. They keep the Sunday very strictly, and will not work, nor do any thing in the way of their profession. Taking in Wednesdays and Fridays, they fast seven months in the year. Abstaining from flesh would be no great mortification to those who seldom eat any; so that it chiefly consists in not eating eggs, milk, butter, oil, and such things as they commonly use, and in forbearing to eat till noon, or later. One great fast is that of Lent, which begins fifty-five days before Easter; that

that of *Advent* is another, forty-three days before *Christmas*. They fast also for fifteen days before the *Annunciation*; and during this fast they do not eat oil, but live mostly on vegetables. The fast of the *Apostles* begins fifty days after *Easter*, for thirteen days for the laity, and something longer for the priests. They have also three days severe fast before the feast of *Jonas*; looking on him as a type of our Saviour's lying three days in the bowels of the earth. On *Good Friday* they abstain for twenty-five hours. The fast during these seasons is not strictly kept on Saturdays and Sundays, as to the times of eating. I was told of an odd ceremony, they sometimes use, to procure leave of the patriarch to eat eggs in Lent; it is said they take him up in a chair, and ask him if he will give them leave to eat eggs; on refusing it, they ask if he will be thrown down; and repeating these questions three or four times, at last he consents to give them leave to eat eggs in Lent. They often espouse at seven or eight, and consummate at eleven or twelve; and some proper time before that, they are circumcised. The men easily procure divorces, on account of adultery, long sickness, and almost for any disagreements, and, if the party desires it, they obtain leave of the patriarch or bishop to marry again; and if it is refused, it is said a priest will notwithstanding sometimes marry either of the parties; but they must, in that case, be excluded from the sacrament for some time: and if their own clergy will not marry them to another, they have recourse to the *cadi*, who will do both; and this is practised by the Christians all over Turkey.

The following particulars are partly my own observations, and partly collected from others. The *chrisma*, or holy oil, which they call the *Miron*, is consecrated but once in thirty years by the patriarch; a whole day is spent about it, and it is said they chant the Old and New Testament all over at this ceremony; probably different sets of them taking different parts; and the archbishop of Ethiopia takes of it when he comes to be consecrated by the patriarch. At baptism, they plunge the child three times into the water, and then confirm it, and give it the sacrament, that is, the wine; the priest dipping the end of his finger in it, and putting it to the child's mouth; which is done after they have administered the sacrament, for they do not keep the consecrated mysteries. The women stay in their houses forty days after they are delivered of a boy, and twenty-four after a girl; until which time the baptism is always deferred, and sometimes much longer. The ground of this is the observation of the *Mosaic* law as to the purification of the mother, who must assist at the baptism. If the child happens to be sick, before it is baptized, it is brought to church, for they cannot baptize out of the church; they lay the child on a cloth near the font, and the priest dips his hands in the water, and rubs it all over; and if it is done when there is no sacrament, the child and the father and mother must stay in the church till the next day. If the child is so ill that it cannot be brought to church, they then only anoint it, according to the form they have for that purpose, which they say is good baptism. They give absolution at extreme unction, as they do in the Greek church, and anoint also all the people present, that the evil spirit may not go into them. Their confessions are only general. The sub-deacons do not come within the chancel, but read the epistle at the door. The priests are obliged to say an office every day, as long as that of the Roman breviary; only it is every day the same, which they have by rote. The deacons have a shorter form; but the bishop's is longer, and the patriarch's still longer. They use the liturgies of *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory*, and *St. Cyril*; the first being the shortest, is most commonly used. They administer the sacrament on Sundays and holidays, which latter are numerous, and also on Wednesdays and Fridays, and every day in Lent. The priests prepare for it by going into the church the evening before,

at sun-set, and do not go out till the ceremony is over; spending the night mostly in singing of psalms; and some of the laity shut themselves up with them. It is said, they often make crosses on their arms with powder; and if it is demanded whether they are Christians, they shew the cross. They abstain from blood, and things strangled. They pray for the dead; but have a notion, that the soul goes to heaven in forty days, and yet pray for them afterwards. They prostrate themselves before pictures; but have no statues, except a crucifix.

What observations I made when I attended their service almost an intire night, may give some insight into their manner of worship. On Christmas Eve, 1737, at Akmim in Upper Egypt, I went, about seven of the clock in the evening, to the chapel of the Hospitium of Propaganda Fide, to see the ceremonies of the Catholic Copts. The priest began at the desk to chant, and the people with him; and then retiring to his place to the left, by the altar of St. Francis, they seemed to chant verse by verse, all being in the Coptic language, which none understand; the people sometimes singing a short hymn in Arabic. Then an old deacon went towards the altar with a candle, and chanted; and turning to the people, read, and retired to his place, which was near the priest. After having chanted an hour, a priest came out habited in the cope, with a yellowish woollen cloth over his head, called shamely, like the amynta of the Catholics, having broad stripes on one side of it. This goes under the cope; under which is the surplice, and over that the stole. The people continued chanting; after a while the priest began to incense the altar, and then came down and made a general incense to all the people. When he descends from the altar, he has a deacon behind him, with a particular iron cross, and another cross on his right hand; and when the priest stretches out his hands, both the deacons do the same, which appears very solemn. After having incensed the altar, he came down, and incensed the people in general; and incensing the altar a second time, he came down and incensed the other priest, putting his hands to the other's; then he came through the church, and incensed every one, laying his hand on the head of each person. The women are in a separate place on the right side of the church, with lattices before it, and a little place opens about breast high from the ground, out of which the women put their heads, and the priest lays his hands on them. Another ceremony is holding the cross, with three lighted candles stuck on it, which represents the Trinity, with which he makes some motions, stretches out his hands and turns once to the left, his back being to the people; after this, one reads at the desk, and another on one side of it; and so in about two or three hours, that is about ten o'clock, the devotion was finished, and the people retired to sleep till about one o'clock. Most of their chanting is out of the Psalms; they have thirty psalms for the night, and five for each of the seven hours of prayer in the day time. I was informed, that some impose on themselves the great office of repeating all the psalms in twenty-four hours.

About one o'clock the people assembled again to attend at the administration of the sacrament; for an hour and a half before it began, they chanted psalms, the song of Moses and the three children, the benedicite, and some other hymns, the priest beginning and chanting with them as before; one chorus chanting with him, and another on the other side, verse by verse: at last the priest came out, habited as before, and incensed the altar, and all the people round, three times, and performed the ceremony again of the three candles; and the epistle and gospel being read by the deacons, seven or eight boys, from eight to eighteen, made short orations on the nativity, standing up before the altar towards the gospel side; they did it well, and with good action, being taught by the fathers; this is not done in the other Coptic churches, but they read out

of some legends. The priest began to celebrate. The bread they use is a small white cake; it is made only of flower and water unleavened; the Coptis buy the corn with the money of the church, and when made into flour, it is always kept in the church, and the cakes are made by the sacristan, who chants some psalms whilst he is about it, and they are baked in an oven near the church, which is put to no other use: they never keep the host. In the Catholic churches they must use wine; but in the others, they use what they call zebib, though they have wine; because they say they know not what may be in the wine; but if they have wine only and cannot have zebib, they use it. Zebib is a sort of raisin wine; they put five rotolas of new grapes to five of water, or more grapes are used if they are older; it is left to steep seven days in winter and four in summer; the deacons strain it through two bags, one after another, to make it fine; this keeps seven years, and tastes like a sweet wine that is turned a little sour: they may also make wine themselves for this use, of fresh red grapes from the vine. If wine is used, they put in a little water. They keep the zebib in a jar, and stop it close, so that no wind can come to it. The Copti priests, under pretence they cannot get fruit from Cairo, say they cannot say mass above once a month, though obliged, if possible, to say it every Wednesday and Friday in their fasting seasons, and every Sunday and holiday. As well as I could observe, the priest takes the bread in the paten in the right hand, with the cloth that covers it, and the wine in the cruet, covered also in like manner, and holds them both some time with his hands stretched out, he then goes behind the altar, by the epistle door, and comes in by the gospel door, and places both on the altar; after this he proceeds to consecration, much like the Romans, and breaks the bread. With the Coptis, the priest turns round and holds the host elevated on the chalice, and all the people bend their bodies; having received himself, the people that receive go behind the altar; and when they are to receive, the first comes with a towel in his hand on the left side of the priest, and holding his head over the table, and the napkin under his chin, the priest puts the bread into his mouth, he then goes behind the altar, and gives the towel to the person that follows him: in like manner the deacons only receive the wine given them in a small spoon. When the priest had distributed to the people, he put the bread into the chalice, and took the bread and wine both together into his mouth, and having washed his hands, he turned to the people, who coming to him one by one, he gave them the benediction with his wet hands, putting them on his forehead he had touched them: this was a high mass; and after he had proceeded in it for some time, another priest began to celebrate privately at the side altar, with his head bare and shaven close, having been bred at Rome; for they say, that covering of the head was a novelty introduced by the Coptis, contrary to the ancient customs and canon. One person only received of him, except the deacons that served, who kneeling near him, he rose up to take the eucharist, as the others, over the table. I observed, some received the sacrament that were not above ten or eleven years old; commonly the priest and deacon only, that assist, receive. The men receive with the true Coptis in both kinds; the priest carries it to the women, that is, the bread, on which he makes two crosses with the wine, one with his finger dipped in the wine, the second with the consecrated bread, dipped also into the wine. If a person is sick, they administer the sacrament in the house, and give only the bread. The consecrated mysteries are not kept in the east, even by the Roman Catholics; the Coptis commonly receive the sacrament two or three times a year, but rarely before they are sixteen, except the deacons, unless they marry before that age.

CHAP. VIII. — *The History of the Rise of the Nile.*

IT may be proper to observe, that the same height of water may be sufficient or not sufficient to overflow the country at different times, according to the canals that are cut through the land, and also according to the manner in which they are kept open, by carrying off the annual sediment. In ancient times they seem to have feared inundations more than they do at present a want of water, and it is probable, that before the canals were opened, there was every year such an inundation as rendered the country incapable of being cultivated; as Herodotus observes, that before the time of Menes, who might open some canals, all Lower Egypt was a marsh; and it was making canals, and causing a great diversion of the waters into the Lake Moëris, when it was necessary, that drained the country, and carried off the waters that would have caused inundations; for the greater the outlet of the waters, consequently the more water is required to overflow the country, and if these canals filled and were obstructed, the Nile must overflow sooner than it did before. It seems indeed, when it is once overflowed from the canals, that less water in quantity would be sufficient for the land, as it must have been in a manner filled with water from the canals cut through it in several places, being a sandy soil, through which the waters easily pass to the height of the Nile: though at the same time, a greater rise might be required after its overflow, to make it rise to the upper lands towards the Nile, than was required after the overflow from its own banks: for there is great reason to think, that, contrary to what is generally observed, the plain ground of Egypt is highest towards the river, and that there is a gentle descent to the foot of the hills; and if so, when the canals were once opened, and the water let into them, it would sooner overflow the banks of the canals than those of the river, after that the canals were cut; though not sooner than before they were cut: but then the water would overflow less, sooner abate, drain off, and evaporate, by reason of the greater outlet; so that though the canals carried off a great quantity of water, and might by that means make the overflow rather later than if it overflowed the banks of the river alone, before the canals were cut; yet notwithstanding, it might, in certain seasons and places, overflow them at a time when the water was so low as not to overflow the banks of the river after the canals were cut; for, though the Nile overflows its own banks at Delta, where they are very low, yet the overflow in the higher parts is mostly by the canals.

In order likewise to explain what follows, it must be observed, that I suppose the Nile, when at lowest, to be four cubits high, which I shall have occasion to explain; and it must always be considered, that there is a great difference between the Nile's overflowing its own banks before the canals were cut, and after; for in the former case, it would overflow them sooner, though the Nile must be higher than if the canals were cut; in the latter it would overflow them later, though the Nile need not be so high, overflowing by the banks of the canal; on the supposition that the ground is lower at a distance from the river.

There are some grounds to think that the soil of Egypt has risen some years near half an inch, without considering what is carried away of the produce of the earth; for on the banks of the Nile, I observed, that the soil was in several strata or cakes of about that thickness, which, as the banks wash away, separate and fall down; but then, as the loss is great, by carrying off every year such a quantity of the produce of the land, it is difficult to make a computation; and as the bed of the river also rises by the subsiding of the more heavy particles of earth or sand, though, it may be, not in the

same proportion, so the real increase above the bed of the river must be very small; and as to what is carried off by the produce of the land, though conclusions have been made from experiments, by weighing the earth both before and after a tree has grown in a pot for some years, that vegetables subsist mostly by water, and that very little of the earth is incorporated into the body of the plant; yet there may be mistakes with regard to this, as the water such plants have been supplied with might not be perfectly clear, as there might be accidental accessions of earth by dust or other means. And we see likewise, that the ground visibly sinks where vegetables are produced and taken away, and there is no accession of manure. However, nothing can be certainly said as to the rise of the soil; for these banks being high, possibly these strata of earth might be made only at the time of such inundations as overflowed these banks, when we are to suppose the sediment must have been greater than in the ordinary overflow. It is possible also, that they might not be the sediment of one year. But as to the height of water that is necessary, that must always have differed in proportion to the outlet of the waters; so that from considering how much the Nile ought to rise for the benefit of the country, no sort of computation can be made, how much the soil has risen, all this depending on the openings there are for the waters, on their breadth and their depth, on their being kept clean or neglected: so that, if there were no greater reasons for keeping the canals clean than for letting them fill up, it is apprehended, the country in general would be in less danger of a want of water, in that case, than if they were permitted to choke up; but then the villages would be in greater want of water when it was gone off; and particularly in one instance, as the canals would be much sooner dry, in case they were in some measure filled up; which appeared when I was in Egypt, with regard to the canal of Alexandria, which after it was cleaned had water in it two months longer than it had the year before. I would also observe, that in very few parts the overflow extends quite to the mountains; it may have reached very near them in some great inundations, and the sediment might afterwards be covered over with sand; in relation to which a great number of curious experiments might be made by digging down and examining to see if there are any strata of good soil, how many, how far beneath the present surface, of what depth, and how far they extended.

To go on then with the history of the rise of the Nile. Herodotus speaks of the rise of the Nile from the bottom of its bed; and probably as soon as one cubit was completed, called what was above it by the name of the other. He says, the Nile did not overspread the country, unless it rose to sixteen cubits, or at least fifteen; and, as to what he observes, that nine hundred years before, in the time of Myris, eight cubits were sufficient; it is possible, this tradition might be of its rise, and not of its height from the bottom; in which sense Herodotus indeed seems to understand it, otherwise the truth of it is very much to be doubted: nor can it well be accounted for, on any supposition, unless we suppose, that the canals were cut after Myris's time, and so made a greater rise of the Nile necessary, and that afterwards they might gradually fill up, and then again a less height of water might be required sufficiently to overflow the country: so that, in order to reconcile these accounts, we are to suppose that Herodotus speaks of fifteen or sixteen cubits in his time from the bottom of the Nile; but that, where he mentions eight cubits, an account which he had by tradition, that might be the way of expressing themselves of the rise only of the Nile in the more ancient times; so that the height of the water, when at lowest, ought to be added to it, which computing it to be in proportion to the number of supposed pikes that it is at present, about four cubits must be allowed for the height of the Nile, when at lowest,

lowest, which would make the height of the water twelve cubits; so that in all these accounts, if we except that of the time of Herodotus, it seems to be necessary to add the height the Nile is at when at lowest to the height of its increase, which might be, as said, about four cubits. Strabo spoke of the cubits from the increase, and not from the bottom, and seems always to have mentioned the full number, and not to call the cubits by a higher number, as soon as it rose to complete the last; for, he says, before Petronius's time the earth was very fruitful when the Nile rose fourteen cubits, but when it rose only eight a famine ensued. If we add four cubits to the one, and the other that makes twelve, and eighteen, which is something more than the measures of Herodotus's time, sixteen and eleven; so that if we suppose it rise a cubit higher than twelve, to make it thirteen, we may imagine it was then a Nile that would at least deliver Egypt from famine; as Herodotus seems to say, that fifteen was a middling Nile to overflow the land, and sixteen a good one, so fourteen was likewise probably in his time an indifferent rise, as sixteen was a good one; therefore the good Nile before Petronius's time, differed but two cubits from what was a good one in Herodotus's time, yet the bad Nile was probably at twelve only, which is two cubits lower than Herodotus's supposed bad Nile, which might be owing to opening canals; so that, though a cubit more might be necessary to overflow the lands plentifully before Petronius's time, than what was in Herodotus's, the earth being risen, and canals made; yet canals, being made, it was not a bad Nile, though two cubits lower than the bad Nile of Herodotus; because a less height occasioned it to overflow, in some measure, as the banks of the canals were lower than the banks of the river; though to overflow it plentifully, a greater height might be required to overflow the upper lands; for when they were once covered a less height of water after the overflow, though not less in quantity as to what was drunk up by the earth, might be necessary, for the reasons mentioned; for when it once overflowed from its own banks, it overspread the whole country, had not such outlets to carry it off at first, or drain it off afterwards; so that the rising a very little higher might be sufficient, in this case, though not in the other.

The great advantage of opening the canals appears from Strabo's account; he says, before Petronius's time, if it rose eight cubits only there was a famine, and fourteen caused a great plenty; but in Petronius's time, a rise of eight cubits preserved the country from famine, and twelve was a plentiful rise. For Strabo, observing the advantage of banks, to confine the Nile within its bed, and the water of the canals within their beds, to be distributed in a proper manner, as he must be understood, says, that in the time of Petronius (who probably opened the canals, and raised the banks) twelve cubits, and four added to them, making sixteen, caused a great plenty of the fruits of the earth; and when it was only eight, adding four to make them twelve complete, there was notwithstanding no famine in the land.

In Kalkasendas's quotation of the rise from the bottom, in the time of Almasudi, in the year seven hundred of the Hegira, or one thousand three hundred and twenty-four of Christ, it is said, that if the Nile rose twelve pikes only there was famine; fourteen pikes caused plenty for one year, and sixteen would produce sufficient for two years, but not for the grass; and when it came to seventeen, that is, sixteen complete, it was still better; but what was feared was its completing seventeen, and entering on eighteen, which was an inundation.

			Cubits or pikes begun.	Cubits or pikes completed.
In Myris's time, a good Nile from the rise	-	-	9	8
In the time of Herodotus, a good Nile	-	-	16	15
Indifferent Nile	-	-	15	14
Bad Nile, supposed to be	-	-	14	13
Before Petronius	-	-	-	17
Bad Nile	-	-	-	11
In Petronius's time	-	-	-	15
Indifferent	-	-	-	11
Supposed bad	-	-	-	10
In seven hundred of the Hegira, or one thousand three hundred twenty-four, bad Nile	-	-	14	13
Indifferent	-	-	15	14
Good Nile	-	-	15	15
Very good	-	-	17	16
Inundations that hurt some lands	-	-	18	17
In Omar's time, in the year twenty-nine of the Hegira, or six hundred and fifty-four of Christ, bad	-	-	12	11
Indifferent, sufficient for one year's provision	-	-	14	13
Good for two year's provision	-	-	16	15
Inundation	-	-	18	17

At present

Bad under	-	-	-	-	16
Indifferent	-	-	-	-	18
Good	-	-	-	-	21, 22, and
Inundation above	-	-	-	-	24

In Kalkafendas's time, eighteen pikes do not seem to have been feared as an inundation: as may be seen in the paragraphs "Pluvius annis, &c." and, "Vidi in Historia Nili, &c. *

CHAP. IX.—*An Attempt towards settling the real Rise of the Nile.*

THE subject of the rise of the Nile is so difficult, that I am sensible what I shall say on it, as well as what I have said, will require more than ordinary attention, to be in any measure understood, and will be comprehended only by often considering the several authors that have wrote on it, and what observations have been made on this subject; a trouble that probably will not be undertaken by any, but those who are so curious as to go into Egypt, and endeavour by seeing the Nilometer, and observing every thing they can in relation to this affair, to settle a matter of fact that has hitherto been so much in the dark; and for such this attempt is chiefly designed: not that I positively affirm any thing; but what is writ on this subject is only intended as so many hints to be considered by others, in order to find out the real truth, in relation to this difficult subject; for there is nothing the world has been so much deceived in as about the real rise of the Nile; and some great men have reasoned on it, upon a supposition that it rises near fifty feet, or twenty-four pikes, of above two feet each: and when the

* See Dr. Shaw. Excerpta e Kalkafenda de Nilo et Nilometro.

Nile has been said to be of such a height, they have imagined that it had risen so high above its surface, when at lowest; so that, in order to make this affair as clear as possible, I have made the following observations.

That in the time of Omar Alketab, about the twenty-ninth of the Hegira, or six hundred and fifty-fourth year of Christ, the measuring pillar consisted of twelve pikes, and that he added two more to it; which is proved from this quotation of Kalkafendas, from the above-mentioned abstract: "—— Omar —— called Ali, the son of Abu-Taleb to the council, who advised that he should order a Nilometer to be built, and that he should add two cubits to the twelve cubits."

That from the time of Omar, they had five imaginary cubits, or pikes, below the pillar, to answer to the height of the Nile when at lowest, which appears from the words of Kalkafendas below, in which mention is made of eighteen pikes; for, otherwise, they could not reckon eighteen on a pillar only of twelve pikes, these making seventeen complete with the twelve, which brings to the eighteenth: and it is to be observed, that they gave it the name of the pike it was rising to, as soon as any pike was completed.

The words of Kalkafendas are these: "When the Nile has risen to the seventeenth, then it goes on increasing to the eighteenth." These five pikes, which might be such as I shall explain below, as I suppose them to be at present, might answer pretty near in measure to the four cubits I suppose the ancients allowed for the height of the Nile when at lowest.

That to the first twelve pikes the water rose to, they reckoned twenty-eight digits taken from the two pikes added, to make the twelve pikes of twenty-four digits, so many pikes of twenty-eight digits. It is to be observed, that in these the five imaginary pikes are comprehended. This is proved from these words of Kalkafendas: "When they suppose the Nile to rise to sixteen cubits, they distributed the two cubits over and above, that are of twenty-eight digits (which I should rather think to be a mistake for twenty-four), to the twelve cubits of twenty-four digits, and so every cubit is twenty-eight digits." That therefore the two cubits added were distributed to the twelve first cubits. It is to be observed, that I make use of the word digits for the division of pikes or cubits, because, in some places, I suppose them to be different from inches.

That when the water rose to above twelve cubits, they reckoned only twenty-four digits to a cubit; proved from these words of Kalkafendas: "Every cubit contains twenty-eight digits, until the water rises to twelve cubits, and then the cubit consists of twenty-four digits."

That the manner of computation has been altered; the highest having been eighteen pikes, whereas now it is twenty-four; the pillar also seems to have been changed.

The account they now give is, that the sixteen lowest pikes are of twenty-eight inches or rather digits; that the four next are of twenty-six, and the four highest of twenty-four.

That according to the account in a drawing of the Mikias, the highest pike or twenty-fourth, is the beam over the capital.

That the twenty-third pike is the capital.

That the twenty-first and twenty-second are pikes, marked on the pillar shorter than those below.

That the four next pikes marked on the pillar are pikes of twenty-six digits, or divisions, and it may be examined, if they are not divided into twenty-six parts.

That the eleven pikes above the five imaginary ones, are pikes of twenty-eight digits.

I observed

I observed the divisions of the lower pikes, much larger than those of the upper pikes.

I suppose that there are in each of the other twenty-four divisions two digits, that is, in all forty-eight digits.

So that a little more than six of these pikes on the pillar make eleven of the pikes of twenty-eight digits, which contain three hundred and eight digits, whereas six pikes of forty-eight digits make two hundred eighty-eight digits, wanting only ten divisions, of two digits each, to complete the number of the eleven pikes; so that possibly there may be six pikes and a half or seven pikes of this kind marked out on the pillar, making it as low as the Nile ever was known to fall, which possibly might be four pikes and a half, or even four. The reasons for these suppositions are, that going into the Mikias in June, 1738, when they said the Nile was at lowest, a little more than eleven pikes were above water, besides the capital and beam. But as thirteen pikes only, with the capital and beam, were above the water when the Nile was at the lowest, there could not be above five or six under the water, according to the account they give; to suppose which does not so well agree with several circumstances as the other supposition.

There are two things travellers will do well to observe; first, whether the divisions of the six upper pikes are not much less than those below; and secondly, whether the third, fourth, fifth and sixth front the capital are not divided into twenty-six parts: and going into the Mikias at the time of low Nile, when on the last step they might, as it were accidentally, with a long pipe in their hands, try whether they could reach the bottom; by which it would be known whether the pillar goes down so far or not.

It is also to be remarked, that it would answer no end to have the pillar go down lower than the surface of the Nile at lowest; because it was intended to shew the rise of the Nile, which is a circumstantial proof that it does not reach lower. It is also to be observed, that in the Mikias there are three flights of steps down; the first of one and twenty degrees, the next of four, and I saw seven of the last flight: they say there are fifty in all; to which I do not give credit.

When it is a good Nile, and the water about twenty-three pikes high, it is said it comes to the top of Moses's steps, and there are twenty-six of those steps down to a landing place where the women stand to wash; and when the Nile was at lowest I saw two steps above water, that were below this place: twenty-eight in all: the other steps in the Mikias not being so deep, there were thirty-three of them above water.

To this I have added what I observed the two last times I was in the Mikias. On the 17th of May, 1739, eleven pikes of the pillar were above the water, excepting the capital of the pillar; and six steps of the last flight were above water. They were to begin to clean out the Mikias in two days after. I observed, at Moses's stairs, there are twenty-six steps down to the place where the women stand to wash; and at this time I saw the water a little lower.

Returning, I saw them moving away the mud from the mouth of the canal that goes through Cairo, leaving a column of earth, that was then about eight feet high, which I mentioned before on another occasion.

On the third of June following, I went the last time into the Mikias, after it had been cleaned. Eleven pikes and a half of the pillar appeared, and seven steps of the last flight were above water. I observed there were only twenty-one steps in the first flight, besides the upper one, which was but half the depth of the others, and rises above the floor; and I took notice that the top of the capital of the pillar was even with the bottom of the second step.

At Moses's stairs another step appeared, besides those I saw before. It was expected at this time that the Nile would begin to rise very soon; and some said that it had begun to rise.

I here add an account I procured in Cairo, of the rise of the Nile for three years; and in reckoning the pikes, it must be remembered that the first sixteen, including the five or six first of the height of the Nile when at lowest, are pikes of twenty-eight digits; the next four, of twenty-six, and the rest, of twenty-four. The day they declare the Nile is risen sixteen pikes, they call Ophila; that is, The will of God is completed.

In 1714, on the 29th of June, the Nile was five pikes high, and rose every day so many digits as are marked, twenty-eight of which make a pike for the eleven lowest pikes, and twenty-six for the four next.

		Pikes			Digits Pikes
June 29	Water high	5	27		10
			28		15
June 30	the Nile rose	3			— 1
July 1		2	29		20
2		3			— 1
3		2	30		30
4		4			— 1
5		3	31		48
6		4			— 2
7		6	August 1	the canal was cut	—
8		4			16
		— 1			—
9		5	In 1715, on the 30th of June the water was six pikes high		
10		4			
11		3			6 Pikes
12		5	July 1	it rose	Digits
13		4	2		2
14		6	3		3
		— 1	4		2
15		8	5		3
16		10	6		4
17		15	7		5
		— 1	8		6
18		25			8
		— 1	9		— 1
19		15	10		7
20		10	11		8
		— 1	12		7
21		8			6
22		6	13		— 1
23		7	14		7
24		8	15		5
		— 1	16		4
25		7	17		5
26		8			4
					— 1

Digits

Digits Pikes

18	3
19	4
20	5
21	4
22	8
23	50
	—2
24	45
	—2
25	75
	—3
	—
	16
	—

1738, it rose as follows; the Nile being
five pikes high.

5 Pikes

Digits

June 20	it rose	2
21		3
22		2
23		3
24		2
25		4
26		5
27		6
28		8
		—1
29		6
30		7
July 1		6
2		5
		—1
3		4
4		3
5		4
6		3
7		4
8		3
9		5
		—1
10		4
11		8
12		10
13		12
		—1
14		8
15		7

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

August 1

2

Ophila 3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

Digits Pikes

10

—1

8

10

8

—1

7

6

8

10

—1

7

6

5

6

—1

5

4

5

6

8

—1

20

50

—2

8

4 16

3

5

5

6

5

—2

4

5

4

3

3

4

—1

4

5

3

3

4

3

4

Digits

Digits			Digits
		27	4
		28	3
3	4 of 26 digits	29	2
25	5.	30	4
26*	3		

As they publish such an extraordinary rise as fifty inches, about the time that they declare it is risen sixteen pikes, it is probable that they keep private the real rise before that time; which may be a piece of policy of the people not to pay their rents, if it does not rise to eighteen pikes; for unless it rises so high they have but an indifferent year; and possibly, when they declare that the Nile is sixteen pikes high, it may be risen to eighteen; and the pasha who opened the canal, before they declared it had risen to sixteen pikes, might have assurances that it was risen so high; but as it might abate soon after, so they would not pay the tribute notwithstanding. Nobody but the pasha, or one from him, can enter the Mikias when the Nile is rising, except the people that belong to it; and notwithstanding, they say they keep the manner of computing the rise of the Nile as a mystery even from the pasha and his people, which may be for the reasons I have mentioned above.

The following account was also given me in Cairo, of the times when the canal was cut, on the rising of the Nile to sixteen pikes, for forty-six years before, specifying almost every year.

1692	9 August	1711	2 July
1693	7	1712	10 August
1694	1 Sept. plague and famine	1713	6
1695	13 August	1714	3
1696	14	1715	1
1697	11	1718	26 July
1698	7	1720	22 August
1699	15	1721	5
1700	5	1722	9
1701	17	1723	15
1702	15	1724	15
1703	18	1725	12
1704	2	1727	17
1705	19 September, plague	1734	5 July
1706	9 August	1735	25
1707	10	1736	4 August
1708	4	1737	3
1709	4	1738	4
1710	9		

CHAP. X.—Of the Method of cultivating and preparing Rice, about Rosetta: of the Manner of making Sal Armoniac; and of hatching Chickens in Ovens.

BETWEEN the full moon and new moon in February, they take baskets of rice well dried, with the husk on; they tie down the cover of the basket, and put it into the water, leaving the top a little above water, so as that the sun may shine on it; it remains there till the seed begins to shoot; then they take the basket out of the water, and

and put it and the grain in the open air to dry. The water that comes out of the basket of rice they throw on the land where they design to sow it, but they throw away the water that runs from the bottom of the basket; both which practices seem to be some superstition. After this, they take the rice and sow it, as they do other grain, and immediately overflow the land with water a palm deep, and so they leave it for ten days; when the rice begins to grow, they draw off the water and leave it so for two days; afterwards they just cover the earth with water; but then they must draw off the water every day, and convey fresh water to it; and take care to keep the ground well weeded; and when the rice is about a palm and a half high, they take it up where it is too thick, and plant it in those places where it is thin; and then they give it a palm of water, and leave it so until it is ripe, which is in about seven months after it is sown. When it is ripe they cut it down, put it in a clean place, and thresh it, take away the straw, and leave the rice to dry well in the sun, putting it in heaps by night and spreading it out by day till it is thoroughly dry. They then put it in the warehouse, where they have machines of iron to take off the outer husk, as before described. When that is done, they mix some salt with it, about half a measure, which is seven okes and a half to twelve measures or one hundred and fifty okes, which is an adeb of rice. They put the salt in an oven, that it may become dry and hard, and beat the lumps of salt and rice together, that the salt may penetrate into the rice to whiten and preserve it. After this they clean the rice well, and separate all the dust from it.

A notion has prevailed that sal armoniac was made of the sand on which camels had staled, and that a great number going to the temple of Jupiter Ammon gave occasion for the name of ammoniac, corrupted to armoniac. Whether it ever could be made by taking up the sand and preparing it with fire, as they do the dung at present, those who are acquainted with the nature of these things will be best able to judge. I was informed that it is made of the soot which is caused by burning the dung of cows and other animals. The hotter it is the better it produces; and for that reason the dung of pigeons is the best; that of camels is also much esteemed. In order to make fuel of it, they mix it, if I mistake not, with chopped straw, and I think sometimes with earth, and make it into cakes and dry it; and it is burnt by the common people in Egypt; for the wood they burn at Cairo is very dear, as it is brought from Asia Minor. They put the soot that is made by this fuel into round thin vases of glass, made in Cairo, with short necks about two inches diameter. They cover these glasses with a coat a quarter of an inch thick, made of earth and husks of flax, chopped and mixed together; and when it is dried in the sun, they lay on such another coat half an inch thick, and dry it in like manner. They then fill the glasses within an inch of the neck. The house it is made in is divided into four parts, with arches built in each part, about three feet high and two feet thick, and about as far apart; between which they place the glasses, so as that they may rest on the walls of the arches, there being about six glasses placed in one row, each three feet diameter. Between them are placed smaller glasses, about ten inches diameter; under them they make a fire of the earth of the Nile and straw mixed, which I have been told they burn also for other uses. A great fire is kept up, as they informed me, for seventy-two hours constantly, in which time all the salt is boiled up to the top. The vases, when taken out, are like earthenware; and breaking them, they take out the cakes of salt in the form in which it comes to us.

The method of hatching chickens in ovens may be reckoned among the arts peculiar to Egypt. I have been informed that only the people of one village are masters of

of this art, and that at the proper time of the year they spread themselves all over Egypt. The season for it is when the weather is temperate, about February and March. In the apartment they keep a smothering fire, of horse-dung and chopped straw, to be disposed of in the apartments where the chickens are hatched; it is exceedingly troublesome to go in, by reason of the smoak. The gallery has holes at top, and on each side of it are five rooms, about ten feet square and four high, with holes at top likewise. They buy their eggs at the rate of seven or eight for a medine, or three farthings, and put them in heaps in the lower cells for eight days, laying the burning dung and chopped straw along in the channel, in the gallery, and turn them by moving the heaps three times a day: they then carry them into the upper apartments, and spreading them so as only to cover the floor, and turning them in like manner, they put the fire in the channels and within the apartments, and open or shut the holes at top as they find occasion. In two and twenty days they begin to hatch. They leave them in the ovens till they are perfectly dry, and then put them in the gallery, and the people come and buy them, two or three for a medine, and carry them away in sieves. If it happens to thunder great numbers of the eggs miscarry. This manner of hatching is not so natural as the common way, and the chickens often want a claw or a rump, or are some way or other imperfect.

CHAP. XI.—*Of the Procession of the Caravan to Mecca.*

THE procession was in this manner:

1. One iron cannon and six brass cannon on neat carriages, each of them drawn by two horses.
2. Four frames in embroidered cases, I suppose of leather, for holding powder and ball, drawn by men on foot.
3. Seven camels with the provision of the emir hadge, or prince of the pilgrims.
4. Four camels with persons on them that played on some musical instrument.
5. A tartavan or litter, carried by four mules.
6. Eight light litters of the emir hadge, each carried by two camels.
7. Seventy camels loaded with biscuit.
8. Fourteen with oil and butter.
9. Fifty with corn, and one with two long boxes of large wax candles for the service of the house of Mecca.
10. Ten with sugar, coffee, and the like.
11. Four with kitchen utensils.
12. Nine with plates.
13. Eight with the kitchen tent, and tables for the cooks.
14. Eighty-six camels of the emir hadge, not loaded.
15. Twelve others in the same manner, very finely caparisoned.
16. Sixty camels of the emir hadge, not loaded.
17. Fifty-four camels loaded with water.
18. Ten loaded with tents.
19. Eight camels loaded with water.
20. Twelve with a sort of boxes on each side to carry the sick; two of the boxes being covered, in which, if I mistake not, were medicines for the sick; and on one were two boards, with holes in them, for washing the dead on. All these are said to have been some private benefaction.
21. Two camels, on which were the persons that take care of the sick.

22. Men on camels, beating kettle-drums, as almost at the end of every string of camels.

Near half an hour after these, the rest proceeded in the following order :

23. Six camels loaded with iron frames, in which they make fires.
24. A litter.
25. Four loaded camels.
26. One camel with kettle-drums on it, and two men, each beating a drum.
27. Twenty camels without loads.
28. Two cases for ball and powder.
29. Six camels loaded with tents and other things.
30. Five cases for ball and powder.
31. Ten camels loaded with water.
32. One camel with kettle-drums.
33. Two cases with ball and powder.
34. A litter.
35. Two camels loaded.
36. One with music.
37. Thirty-one camels not loaded.
38. Ten overseers of camels to carry water given by some Califs and Sultans of Egypt and others.
39. Three camels without music.
40. Twenty camels with loads.
41. Two camels with water.
42. Sixteen overseers of the water, on horses.
43. Three men on camels.
44. Twenty unloaded camels.
45. Four cases for ball and powder.
46. Two camels loaded with water.
47. The Imam, or head sheik, on a camel, who is chaplain of the caravan, and offers up the prayers at the place of Abraham's sacrifice. His outward garment of ceremony was white; he carried a green flag, and blessed the people with his right hand, by holding it out, and moving it gently, as they do when they salute, but not bringing it to his breast.
48. Eleven camels not loaded.
49. Three with pilgrims on them.
50. Two camels with music.
51. Twenty-two without loads.
52. Two camels with sheiks on them, who lead the way on the road.
53. Twenty camels loaded with water, one with drums.
54. Ten without loads.
55. Five loaded with water.
56. The banner of the body of spahis, called cherkes.
57. Thirty of their body.
58. Twenty ikiars of that body, each having a pike carried before him.
59. The fardar of the cherkes, and his lieutenant.
60. Three or four led horses.
61. Two seraches, who are servants under him.
62. Twelve slaves on horses.
63. Sixty of the body called 'tuphekjees.

64. Thirty ikiars, or elders of them.
65. Four slaves on horseback, in coats of mail made of wire.
66. One and twenty slaves.
67. Twenty men on camels, most of them slaves of the fardar.
68. Two led camels for the fardar.
69. Two camels without loads.
70. Two camels with kettle-drums.
71. Seven with baggage.
72. Fifty of the body of the gjumelucs.
73. Their fardar.
74. Twenty soldiers, and ten slaves with bows and arrows.
75. Thirteen camels with men on them.
76. Two camels with kettle-drums.
77. Four loaded camels.
78. Two officers, called oda bashas.
79. Two led horses.
80. Two sabederiks in castans.
81. Seven camels saddled.
82. Two led horses.
83. Two oda bashas.
84. One camel.
85. Thirty-four chouses, or messengers of the divan.
86. Other officers.
87. Then came the officers of the emir hadge; particularly these that follow.
88. A chous, or messenger in black.
89. Three standards.
90. Five saddle-camels.
91. Eight led horses.
92. Two seraches.
93. Two janizaries.
94. Two caias of the emir hadge.
95. The hafnadar, or treasurer of the emir hadge.
96. Twenty-six saddle-camels.
97. Five horses.
98. One saddle-camel.
99. Twenty-eight men on camels; two of them playing on musical instruments.
100. Five loaded camels.
101. Next came the body of the azabs.
102. Their two sabederiks.
103. Odabashas.
104. The standard of the azabs.
105. Three in castans, who walked.
106. Three azabs in dress of ceremony.
107. The fardar, and his lieutenant.
108. Saddle-camels.
109. Men on loaded camels.
110. Music.
111. A body of azabs.
112. Then followed the janizaries.
113. Two sabederiks of that body.

- 114. Two janizaries.
- 115. Two seraches.
- 116. A standard.
- 117. Three men walking, in castans.
- 118. Three janizaries.
- 119. The fardar of the janizaries, and
- 120. His lieutenant.
- 121. Two janizaries.
- 122. Two saddle-camels.
- 123. Thirty-four men on camels.
- 124. Eight loaded camels.
- 125. A body of janizaries.
- 126. One standard-bearer.
- 127. Another dressed in a leopard's skin.
- 128. One and twenty chouses.
- 129. The agas of the seven military bodies, with silver chains hanging from their
bridles to their breast-plates.
- 130. Twelve beys.
- 131. Before each of them two shatirs, with black velvet turbans.
- 132. The trucheman aga.
- 133. The muteserrica basha.
- 134. The muteserrica guards.
- 135. The chousler caia.
- 136. The guard of chaouses.
- 137. Then followed the immediate attendants of the emir hadge.
- 138. Eighteen janizaries in their dress of ceremony.
- 139. Four officers of the pasha.
- 140. Four janizaries.
- 141. A standard.
- 142. Two standards.
- 143. Four Arab sheiks.
- 144. Two mad sheiks, bare-headed, in white shirts.
- 145. The emir hadge, in a rich castan, and on a beautiful horse, adorned with the
richest trappings.
- 146. About forty soldiers.
- 147. Two janizaries.
- 148. The caia of the divan.
- 149. Sixty slaves with bows and arrows.
- 150. Two imams.
- 151. Four led horses.
- 152. Three standards.
- 153. A band of music.
- 154. Four led camels.
- 155. Twenty-six camels loaded.
- 156. Two men on camels.
- 157. Then came the sheiks of the mosques, and the several companies of tradesmen
with their standards, as in the procession of the hangings from the castle to the mosque;
some of them dancing in the same manner. The fishermen carrying fish-like serpents,
probably eels, tied to the ends of long fishing-rods.

158. Four chouses of the divan.
 159. Sixteen janizaries in their high drefs.
 160. The sheik called Cassani.
 161. The great standard, carried by the proper officer on a camel.
 162. Five camels; three of them having trappings of very fine embroidery.
 163. The covering, as in the other procession.

CHAP. XII. — *The Route of the Caravan from Cairo to Mecca, from the Account of one who had been there Fourteen Times.*

Days of return.	Place.	Distances by degrees, each of four hours.	Days they stay.	Water.	Days of departure.	
					Month Shuvat.	
Month Zeffar	19 Byrkè	90	four	lake	27	
	18 Der el Hamera	200	—	none	28	
	17 Adjeroute castle	210	one day	bad water	30	
	15 Newhateer	160	—	no water	1st	
	14 Wahad Te	210	—	none	2	
	12 Newhail	230	one day	water that swells the body	4	
	11 Allahailh	230	—	water only fit for bealts	5	
	10 Soot	240	—	none	6	
	9 Achaba	100	two days	much and good	9	
	6 Darha el Hamar	160	—	bad	10	
	5 Sharaffa	220	—	none	11	
	4 Mugair shaip	230	—	rivulet	12	
	3 Ain-el-Katab	230	—	rivulet	13	
	Month Zeffar	2 Muellah	210	two days	much and good	16
		29 Selma	180	—	much and good	17
28 Azilem		220	—	bad	18	
27 Ailabel		230	—	good	19	
26 Weth		180	one day	good	21	
24 Akrah		240	—	bad	22	
23 Hanech		180	—	none	23	
22 Howra		220	—	purging water	24	
21 Nubt		240	—	much and good	25	
Month Mahorem		20 Houdera	220	—	bad	26
	Yemboh castle	210	two days	rivulet	29	
Where the caravans of Cairo and Damascus meet }	Bedder, a town	300	one day	rivulet	1st	
	Kaah	250	—	none	2	
	Arabugh	220	—	much and good	3	
	Gudeid	220	—	much and good	4	
	Azafan	220	—	much and good	5	
	Wahad-el Faitmah	210	—	much and good	6	
	Maccab, or Mecca	100	three days	—	10	
	Arrafat	100	two days	—	13	
	Munna	40	three days	—	17	
	Mecca	60	from twelve to fourteen days.	regularly depart on	30	
	From Mecca to Bedder in six days, as they came; from whence they go to Medina.					7th Month Mahorem.

Days of return.	Places.	Distance by dierates, each of four minutes.	Days they stay.	Water.	Days of departure.
	Gedeedah	200	—	—	8th Month Mahoreh.
	Shuhada	220	—	—	9
	Medina, a town	230	—	—	13
	Biar alli	45	three days	—	14
	Shuhada	175		—	15
	Gedeida	220		—	16
	Dahena	220	two days	—	19
	Yembo	220		From this place they go on to Cairo, as they came, and con- sequently make the same stay, as may be seen in the first co- lumn above.	

CHAP. XIII. — *An Account of the Bey of Tunis ; his Court and Government.*

HAVING met with this relation concerning the old bey of Tunis, from one who had lived for some years in his court, I thought it might not be unacceptable to the reader, as it will give an insight into the customs of the east in general, and of that part in particular.

The name of the bey, in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, was Hafsain Ben Ali; he was between seventy and eighty years old, and had been twenty-eight years bey; his father was a Greek renegade, he himself was a soldier, became rich, and was made bey as usual, by the soldiers, who chuse one that will promise to give them the most pay; and if, at the end of the month or at any time after, he cannot pay it, he is surely deposed. The soldiers are renegadoes, and Turks of the Levant; and they had a notion that the bey must be the son of a renegade, married to a Barbarous woman; which is probably false, all depending on the will of the soldiers. The title they gave him is *Isfede Bee*. This bey rose two hours before day, and immediately eat a *shourba*, that is a rice soup made of mutton; after that he drank coffee, then a *shirbet* of cloves and cinnamon, or some other hot thing. He then went to the mosque, returned to his apartment, and performed his devotions on his beads; when it was day, he always went to the court of justice, with an the gallery before his two apartments. In the middle of the gallery there is a fountain of water, and pillars round it: the middle room is the chamber of audience, where he stays most part of the day; it is furnished with looking-glasses and English clocks. Within the room of audience is the small room in which he sleeps. He stays in the court of justice till half an hour after ten, for here he is obliged to be every day to do justice. Any one that comes for justice, cries out *Sharallah* *lailah*, that is, Justice, fire; repeating it till he answers, and asks him what he would have. Before eleven he goes to the audience chamber, and at eleven dines at a long table, or board, about three inches above the ground, covered with carpets, and bread is laid all along the table: he sits at the head of it and washes. They set a large dish before him, on which are small plates of every sort of dish that is on the table; the great dishes being placed along the table. The *grandees* sit near him. When they have eaten, they rise, and others sit down, and the poor take away, in wooden plates, what is left. The food is, first mutton (of which they kill twelve every day) dressed in three manners, either with a rice pilaw, or with oranges and

eggs, or with onions and butter. The women send three great plates of cuscufow, which they eat with the broth, and they have also either fish or fowls boiled with lemon or orange sauce. The bey drinks camel's milk, the others go after they have dined, to drink at the fountain. The dinner is served in the sofha, which is to the right of the apartment, by the audience room, where they have cisterns of water to wash. After dinner is over, he goes to the audience room with the grandees. He never smokes, nor does any one in the palace. He stays in this room till the hour of prayer, about three or four of the clock, when the Imams come, and all the court go to the mosque. After prayers, the imams and grandees stay in the audience room, sitting and discoursing. An hour before sun-set, he eats as before, and then retires to a room where all his officers and great people come and drink coffee, and in the summer, shirbets. At night he generally goes to the seraglio of women, and stays from one to four hours after sun-set; from thence he goes to the bagnio, and thence to bed. If he does not go to the women, he goes to sleep in his own chamber, and sometimes gets up in the night and goes to the harem, and afterwards to the bagnio, and then to bed again, if it is not day. He has four wives, one of which only has had children. He has likewise four sons: the eldest is Bey di 'Turki (General di 'Turki) called Mustapha Bey: the youngest was but twelve years old, and was married. He was esteemed a very wise man, and a good politician.

The palace of the bey is four miles from Tunis, and is called the Bardo: they say the palace itself and the buildings that belong to it, among which the bagnios where the slaves live are comprehended, are altogether a league round. He goes twice a year to Tunis, (before he makes a progress over his dominions to receive his tribute) when he goes into the cadi's house, takes coffee, makes a circuit in the city, and returns to the bardo. One of the seasons he chooses for going over his territories is the month of January; the other was thought to be that of July. His progress takes up about fifty days.

The several officers of the bey take precedence in the following order.

His prime minister, called *Il Cafa Natale*: he is also treasurer and paymaster: he lives always at the bardo in his own house.

Il Sapata, or the keeper of the seal.

The cadi in Tunis, who administers justice when the bey is abroad in his circuits; he is obliged to lie every night at the bardo, in his own house, during the absence of the bey.

The officer of the custom-house.

Il Guardian Bashaw di Bagni, that is of the college of the slaves, which is built like a cane or caravansera, in which the slaves live, and some have shops in them. There are four of these buildings, in which the slaves are locked up every night: the bey has in all two thousand slaves. They may be ransomed for about five hundred and thirty piastres each.

Li Leukini; who are intendants of the buildings; there are several of them.

Li Guardiani de Schiavi, who go with the slaves to guard them at work.

The servants of the bey's house are almost all Christian slaves. They are,

Il Bas Cafaca, a Christian slave over the other Christian slaves in the bey's service.

Two officers; one called *Il Bashaw Guarda Robe*, who serves the bey at home; another called *Bashaw Guarda Robe del Campo*, who serves when he goes abroad.

Twelve others called by the same name of *Guarda Robe*.

Caffejee; who has the care of serving the coffee.

Guarda Fanali; who takes care of the lights.

Guarda

Guarda del Aqua, for the water.

Guarda Papouchi, who has the care of the papouches of all that come to court, to carry them to persons of distinction who dine there.

Guarda Banda, who has the care of putting vases of water in all proper places.

Guarda Hamam, who attends at the bagnios for bathing.

The gardeners.

Guadaletti; there are two so called, who have the care of every thing belonging to the bed-chamber.

Muchachi del Camera, boys of the bey's chamber; there are of them from twelve to eighteen; two of them always in waiting in sight of the bey for two hours, who give the bey's orders to the Bas Cafaka.

All these are Christians, and have a chapel under the bey's apartment, where the Capuchins say mass on Sundays and holidays.

Cooks; part of whom are Christians and part Turks.

Grooms; who are Christians.

Guardi Piki, who carry each a pike before the bey when he goes abroad.

After the bey goes the Guardo Letto, with water both cold and warm; one for drinking, the other for another use; and always two led horses are ready near him.

They have a man of war of seventy-four guns presented by the Grand Signior, and one of forty guns, and a little vessel called a sambikino, which has fourteen small guns. The cities are governed by agas and cadis; an aga being sent to every village. The agas and cadis are often taken from among the rich people, to put them out of the way, and afterwards on a pretence of mal-administration, they seize on all they have. He had not above three thousand soldiers for his standing army, who are Turks and renegadoes. The general is called Aga del Campo: the soldiers are all horse, and are called Spahi. It is said that the bey ought to pay a tribute to Algiers, which he had refused. He has to the east of Tunis the ports of Mahomet, only a gulf, Suta, Jerbe: to the west, Farini, Caponegro, Buferti, and Bena.

CHAP. XIV.—*The Patent of Mahomet, which he granted to the Monks of Mount Sinai; and to Christians in general.*

AS God is great and governeth, from whom all the prophets are come, for there remaineth no record of injustice against God; through the gifts that are given unto men, Mahomet the son of Abdallah, the Apostle of God, and careful guardian of the whole world; has wrote the present instrument to all those that are his national people, and of his own religion, as a secure and positive promise to be accomplished to the Christian nation, and relations of the Nazarene, whosoever they may be, whether they be the noble or the vulgar, the honourable or otherwise, saying thus.

I. Whosoever of my nation shall presume to break my promise and oath, which is contained in this present agreement, destroys the promise of God, acts contrary to the oath, and will be a resister of the faith, (which God forbid) for he becometh worthy of the curse, whether he be the King himself, or a poor man, or what person soever he may be.

II. That whenever any one of the monks in his travels shall happen to settle upon any mountain, hill, village, or other habitable place, on the sea, or in deserts, or in any convent, church, or house of prayer, I shall be in the midst of them, as the preserver and protector of them, their goods and effects, with my soul, aid, and protection,

jointly with all my national people ; because they are a part of my own people, and an honour to me.

III. Moreover, I command all officers not to require any poll-tax of them, or any other tribute, because they shall not be forced or compelled to any thing of this kind.

IV. None shall presume to change their judges or governors, but they shall remain in their office, without being deposed.

V. No one shall molest them when they are travelling on the road.

VI. Whatever churches they are possessed of, no one is to deprive them of them.

VII. Whosoever shall annul any one of these my decrees, let him know positively that he annuls the ordinance of God.

VIII. Moreover, neither their judges, governors, monks, servants, disciples, or any others depending on them, shall pay any poll-tax, or be molested on that account, because I am their protector, wheresoever they shall be, either by land or sea, east or west, north or south ; because both they and all that belong to them are included in this my promissory oath and patent.

IX. And of those that live quietly and solitary upon the mountains, they shall exact neither poll-tax nor tythes from their incomes, neither shall any Mussulman partake of what they have ; for they labour only to maintain themselves.

X. Whenever the crop of the earth shall be plentiful in its due time, the inhabitants shall be obliged out of every bushel to give them a certain measure.

XI. Neither in time of war shall they take them out of their habitations, nor compel them to go to the wars, nor even then shall they require of them any poll-tax.

In these eleven chapters is to be found whatever relates to the monks, as to the remaining seven chapters, they direct what relates to every Christian.

XII. Those Christians who are inhabitants, and with their riches and traffic are able to pay the poll-tax, shall pay no more than twelve drachms.

XIII. Excepting this, nothing more shall be required of them, according to the express order of God, his laws. Do not molest those that have a veneration for the books that are sent from God, but rather in a kind manner give of your good things to them, and converse with them, and hinder every one from molesting them.

XIV. If a Christian woman shall happen to marry a Mussulman, the Mussulman shall not cross the inclination of his wife, to keep her from her church and prayers, and the practice of her religion.

XV. That no person hinder them from repairing their churches.

XVI. Whosoever acts contrary to this my grant, or gives credit to any thing contrary to it, becomes truly an apostate to God, and to his divine apostle, because this protection I have granted to them according to this promise.

XVII. No one shall bear arms against them, but, on the contrary, the Mussulmen shall wage war for them.

XVIII. And by this I ordain, that none of my nation shall presume to do or act contrary to this my promise, until the end of the world.

Witnesses,

ALI, the son of Abou Thaleb.

HOMAR, the son of Hattavi.

ZIPHIR, the son of Abuam.

SAITT, the son of Maatt.

Thavitt,

THAVITT, the son of Nefis.
 MUATHIEM, the son of Kafvi.
 AMPHACHIN, the son of Haffan.
 AZUR, the son of Jaffin.
 ABOMBAKËR, the son of Ambi Kaphe.
 OTTMAN, the son of Gafas.
 AMBTELACK, the son of Mcffutt.
 PHAZER, the son of Abbas.
 TALAT, the son of Amptoulak.
 SAAT, the son of Abbatt.
 KASMER, the son of Abid.
 AMBTULLACH, the son of Omar.

This present was written by the leader, the successor of Ali the son of Abou Thaleb; the Prophet marking it with his hand at the mosque of the Prophet, (in whom be peace) in the second year of the Hegira, the third day of the month Machorem.

CHAP. XV.—*Forms of some Letters and Passports, according to the Eastern Style.*

I.

A Firman from the Grand Signior to an English Gentleman.

SULTAN Mahmud the fifth, the Ottoman Emperor,

To the ever glorious judges, rulers, and governors, the never-failing sources of virtue and eloquence, who are between the confines of Germany and our happy and most high Porte.

To the cadis in the same road, that your knowledge may increase. And ye glorious lieutenants and generals of the janizaries, that your valour may be exalted.

When this our imperial command shall arrive at your hands, be it known unto you, that the illustrious ambassador of England A. B. (whose end be happy) has signified to us by his memorial presented unto us, that one of the nobles of England A. moved by a desire and intention to travel and to see divers countries, is for that purpose departed from England to come into Germany, and that he may afterwards come with safety to our happy Porte, he has requested of the said ambassador to provide for him, that he may come from the said confines of Germany to our imperial residence in safety, according to his intention, in his lodgings, quarters, and on the road; and that faithful assistance may be given to his servants with his baggage, goods and provisions; that he may not on any pretence meet with any trouble or insult; but that he may be protected and defended.

For this purpose he has entreated us to grant our royal command.

Wherefore, in tenor thereof, that this request may be punctually complied with, we have caused our imperial order and command to issue forth. At the arrival, therefore, of this our high command, let every thing be done in conformity to the orders we have given.

And you, who are above named, take care diligently to execute our commands with regard to this noble person, to protect and defend him and all his attendance, baggage, goods and provisions, and take you especial care to put a stop to any trouble or insult he may meet with.

You will not fail to fulfil the contents of this our noble command, as you will see and give undoubted credit to this our sign, that we have caused to be put to it.

Given at Babaduk on the first day of the month Zilchige, 1149. (Which was the first of April, 1737.)

II.

The following Firman or Passport was granted to one who passed for a Merchant.

THE command directed to all judges, mufclimes, waiwodes, fardars, haratchjees, and other commanders, that are in the road from Constantinople to Adrianople, to Natolia, towards Budrum, Brussa, and the isle of the Morea.

When this our imperial command comes to you, be it known to you, That the most noble among the grandees of the Messiah, A.B. (whose end be happy), ambassador of England, residing in our splendid court, has, by his memorial sent to our high throne, represented, that a certain English gentleman, M.N. going on some affairs from Constantinople to Adrianople, and thence to a place called Budrum in Natolia, to Brussa, and from that place towards the isle of the Morea; and in order that no gatherers of taxes be permitted to molest him or his two Frank servants, or any others, on any kind of pretence, in any place where they stop, or in any place where they are going, or on their journey, or wherever they stay on the road, either going or coming to the afore-said places; he has requested that we would grant our imperial command to this effect; concerning which the said ambassador having set forth to us his request, we have granted this our high command, that nothing may be done against the sacred capitulations, that he may meet with no let or hindrance in his journey to the said places. And we command, that when he arrives you do conduct yourselves in the above-said manner; and that you regard this our noble order with respect and veneration. So far, finally, you are to regard and give credit to this our noble sign, which was put to these presents at the beginning of the moon Rebuiahir, in the year 1153. (Which was towards the end of June, 1740.)

In the city of Constantinople.

III.

A Letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople, to all under his Jurisdiction, recommending to them a Clergyman of the Church of England, who was travelling in the East.

NEOPHITUS, by the grace of God, archbishop of Constantinople (or New Rome) and œcumenical patriarch.

Most holy metropolitans, most reverend archbishops and bishops, all you who are subject to our patriarchal and œcumenical throne, most dear to God, and our brethren and fellow ministers in the Holy Ghost.

Be it known to you all, that the bearer of these presents, the eloquent father A. B. a native of the British jurisdiction, having an inclination and intention to visit divers cities and dioceses, both to the East and in Europe, curiously to view and inspect them; to which purpose he has obtained a venerable order from the powerful Emperor, containing a grant of free passage in his intended travels; and he has requested from us, in a civil manner, our patriarchal letter of recommendation to your reverend lordships, that is, all those that are subject to our œcumenical throne, for his intended journey; that wheresoever he arrives, or in whose diocese soever he travels, he may meet with a worthy reception from you, with the honour and friendship that are due to his eloquence;

quence; and for this reason we have condescended to comply with his commendable and friendly desire, knowing him to be an honourable and well-deserving gentleman. Therefore, by the present grant, we do require and exhort you, and every one of you in particular, to whom these our patriarchal letters shall be presented, most holy metropolitans, most reverend archbishops and bishops, that is, those in whose diocese the above-named eloquent father A. B. in his travels shall arrive, to receive him in a kind and friendly manner, according to his merits and station, that he may be satisfied with your kind reception. This you are required to do, and not otherwise. May the grace of God, and the prayers and blessings of our mediocrity, be with you all.

June the first, 1740.

IV.

Several Arabic Letters written by the Great Men in Egypt, recommending a Traveller to the Governors under them.

A Letter to an Arab Sheik, to conduct him to the Convents of St. Paul and St. Anthony in the Desert.

What we make known to sheik Omar of Scione.

AS soon as you know that one from the Frank consul comes to you, who would go to the monastery of Arabia, immediately, as soon as he is arrived, call the sons of the Arabs, the sons of Vachel, and consign him to them, that they may conduct him to the monastery; and when he is returned, take care of him; and do every thing for him that is necessary.

Dated the 22th of Sabân, 1150.

ABRAHIM Bey MIRLUR
Tefterdar.

A Letter to the Sheik of Saccara, in order to see the Pyramids.

To Ahmed Sheik of Saccara.

May the great God protect you!

AFTER saluting you. There comes one of the nation of the Franks to the pyramids, having a desire to see them. And I recommend him unto you, that no one may molest him, or give him any sort of trouble. Take all possible care of him, because he is under our protection. I again recommend him to you; and may the great God be your defence!

ALI KEKIAH.
HAZABAN GELDI.

To Sheik Hassan of Bouche.

May the great God have you under his protection,

AFTER saluting you, know that a Frank of the part of the consul comes to you, who would go and see the monastery of Arabia, and when he is returned, he would go to Faiume; so when he is returned from the monastery, send some people with him to accompany him to Faiume. And take all the care you can of him, and endeavour to prevent every thing, with all care, that may give him any trouble.

Dated on the 18th of the month Sabân, 1150.

ABRAHIM Bey BELFIE
Tefterdar.

Guide of the great support of the nobles ; the chief Omar Agà, governor of the country of Faiume.

May the great God, &c.

AFTER saluting you much, and greeting you with all affection ; be it known unto you, that one of the family of the consul of the Franks in Cairo has some business at Faiume. As soon therefore as he arrives, take care of him, and suffer no one to molest him until he returns to Cairo. Do this by all means, and with the utmost care, that he may return satisfied. May the great God have you always in his keeping !

HASSAN Bey MERLUE.

Dated the 16th of Shaban, 1150.

To Mustapha Bey, Governor of Girge.

WE write, after saluting you, that you receive the person who brings this letter, who is going into Said, to see the curious places there. I pray you to take care of him ; and I desire you again to do me this pleasure to take great care of him, and protect him against any one that would do him harm. I desire you not to fail to do him this service, for the love you bear to us.

OSMAN Bey, senlatar ;
At this time Emir Hadge.

To Emir Mahomet Kamali.

What I order.

THE person that brings this letter is an Englishman, going into Upper Egypt, to see whatever is curious there ; so when he delivers this letter, take care to protect him from all harm ; and I command you again to take care of him. I desire you not to fail of it, for the love you bear to us.

OSMAN Bey MERLUE,
At this time Emir Hadge.

V.

The Letter of the Copti Patriarch of Alexandria, recommending to the Monks of the Deserts of St. Macarius, and of the Convents of St. Anthony and St. Paul.

IN the name of the merciful God, the peace of God be with you. The reason of this benediction to the blessed sons, the faithful priests, and the reverend deacons, the abstemious monks, and religious, in the holy society of the four northern monasteries.

To those of the spiritual congregation of the monasteries of our father, the great St. Anthony, and of St. Paul.

May God Almighty bless you with his spiritual benedictions, that descended on his prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and the workers of his will and commandments in all ages, by the intercession of our Lady the holy Mary, always a virgin, and of all the holy martyrs and confessors ! Amen. We give you to understand (first repeating that God may bless you, and give his spiritual salvation) that the reason we say of this our letter to you is, that one of the Franks, that is A. B. is going to you. Have the utmost regard for him, and receive him with the greatest civility. And may the peace of our Lord descend on you ! for ever glory be to God.

Dated the 29th of Asur, 1154.

DISSERTATIO DE GEOGRAPHIA ÆGYPTI.

PRÆMONITIO.

EN tibi, lector benevole, dissertatiunculam de Ægypti geographiâ in eum finem a me conscriptam, ut lucem aliquam tabulæ nostræ geographicæ darem, simul et eam contra objectiones præmunirem.

Istius tabulæ ea ratio a me instituta est, ut quam accuratissimè definitam exhiberem veterem geographiam Ægyptiacam. Quod ad subsidia hujus operis perficiendi attinet, scias velim, mihi in Ægypto agenti, forte fortunâ, in manus pervenisse parvam quandam chartulam manu P. Sicardi delineatam: nostra cum illâ convenit de gradibus latitudinis, sicut etiam de situ istarum partium, quascunque oculis ipsemet non lustravi, excepto quod delineationem oræ maritimæ a Delta, tam orientem quam occidentalem versus, transtulerim ex chartis nauticis. Chartula quædam alia, manu exarata, ex Ægypto allata, suppeditavit mihi chorographiam regionis quæ circumjacet SS. Antonii et Pauli monasteria: tertiam quandam chartam pro solitâ suâ humanitate mecum communicavit doctissimus præsul D.D. Nicholaus Claget episcopus Exoniensis: eam antea videram Constantinopoli penes dignissimum virum: nihilque amicissimum Thomam Payne archidiaconum Breconiensem: ea descripta est signis tam Arabicis quam Græcis, in usum (ut titulus præ se fert) Chrysanthi patriarchæ Hierosolymitani, anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo vicesimo secundo. Delineator (quisquis fuerit ille) videtur se totum composuisse ad librorum descriptiones, non oculorum fidem in locis perlustrandis acutus: Inde ad eò cautiùs illius vestigiis inhærendum censui. Siquid excerpserim, suis notis distinctum exhibet tabula nostra.

Binorum ostiorum Nili præ cæteris ingentium, et totius fluminis ripas usque ad cataractas, et ultra, ipse navigans delineavi. In ea navigatione, quam potui diligentissime notavi fluxus varios fluminis et situm locorum: Montium juga depinguntur prout in ista navigatione apparebant.

Loca hæc suis descripta nominibus, tam veteribus quam hodiernis; illa signantur literis majusculis Romanis, hæc autem Italicis. Notas insuper vides, quibus dignoscas cujusnam auctoris potissimum fidem hinc inde sum secutus; additis insuper aliis, triplicis generis, compendio exhibentibus *ἐπιγραφαι* meam de vero locorum situ, quatenus dispositio nostra inniti videtur argumentis certis, probabilibus, vel demum conjecturabilibus: sub classe posteriore cadunt ea loca, quæ nullâ signantur notâ. Veterum fossarum cursus, quantum conjecturâ assequor, signavi duplici punctulorum subobscuriorum serie. Latitudinem fluvii vix ullo in loco pluri aestimaverim quam quin-gentis passibus; inde adeo ratio magnitudinis ejus a me certo consilio amplificabatur, ut esset facultas et spatium insulas signandi. Alveum continuò decrecentem vides superne; est iste quidem error chalcographo vertendus vitio. Magnitudo fossæ seu fluvii Baher Joseph, in consuetio Benesuef ab occidente alluentis, ad ipsum Nilum eam fere habet proportionem, Sicardo autore, quam nostra exhibet tabula.

Ex utrâque ripâ Nili, trans Deltam insuper, et a Copto ad Berenicen, itinera signavi, secundum Antoninum, additis distantis. Ubicunque occurrit numerus duplex, scias velim, posteriorim a me emendationis loco haberi; quippe cum numeri olim recepti non quadrarent cum veris distantis locorum: idem est institutum meum quoad loca in vicinio Maris Rubri, quorum latitudines ex Ptolemæo desumuntur.

Insularum, quasunque oculis ipsemet attentius perlustravi, margines signantur lineâ altiùs impressâ.

Sicardianæ chartæ fidem omninò secutus sum in fossis delineandis, quæ conspiciuntur circa Faiume. Hæc satis est monuisse lectorem, cujus candori me tabulamque meam committo. Errores hinc inde latere nullus dubito; neque enim ea est ipsius regionis Ægyptiacæ natura, non ii incolarum mores, ut fas sit peregrinantibus animo obsequi, aut tutò curiosis observationibus instituendis se dare. Habes tabulam cæteris forsan, quæ hætenus prodierunt, emendatiorem, quantulumcunque meæ industriæ monumentum, alienæ tamen, ut spero, incitamentum.

Dissertatio de Geographiâ Ægypti.

ÆGYPTUM ab occidente excipit Libya. Nomos prima (isto enim nomine vocabantur provinciæ ejus) occidentem versus dicitur nomos Mareotis, in qua conspicitur vicus Chymo*, habitus pro Cynosema Strabonis, quam quidem locaverim in situ turris Arabicæ: Tabula Chrysanthina turrem hanc collocat in situ Plinthines, quæ, me judice, magis ad orientem vergebat.

In ipso introitu vallis cujusdam aliquantulum recedentis a mari, et ab Alexandria circiter triginta millia passuum occidentem versus, adhuc conspiciuntur rudera quædam urbis cum columnis magnificis: ita nimirum memoravit mihi vir quidam fide dignus αὐτίπλης. Hanc habeo pro Taposiri Strabonis†; columnas autem pro reliquiis senaculi in quo agebatur panegyris, seu conventus publicus. Introitum vallis habeo pro termino maris Ἀνδρῶν dicti.

Hinc commoda sese offert occasio disquirendi de lacubus Mareoti et Mœri. Strabo‡ collocat lacum Mareiam seu Mareotin prope Alexandriam, latitudinem æstimans octodecim millibus quingentis et quinquaginta passuum; longitudinem triginta septem millibus et quingentis; lacum Mœrin vero probe labyrinthum. Herodotus§ nullum alium lacum memorat præter Mœrion; ille, assentientibus Diodoro Siculo|| et Mutiano, æstimat circumferentiam ejus quadringentis quinquaginta millibus passuum; Pomponius Mela¶ quingentis, Plinius** ducentis quinquaginta. Hic ille lacus fuit ad labyrinthum; quantum vero ipse oculis eum metiri possem, non videbatur longitudine pertinere ultra triginta mille passus, latitudine vero sex mille; Sicardus longitudinem ejus æstimat quinquaginta passibus, latitudinem quindecim mille, Gallicæ scilicet mensuratione. Sicardo lubens tribuerim hæc in re laudem accuratioris observationis, ideoque in tabulâ meâ illius fidem sum secutus.

Quandoquidem scriptores supra memorati huic lacui tantam amplitudinem ambitûs uno ore tribuant, Herodotusque affirmet illius longitudinem ab aquilone ad austrum extendi, nihil prius potiusve conjectura statuendum arbitror, quam hunc lacum aliquando olim diffusum pertinuisse per totam istam vallem, maris Ἀνδρῶν (seu vacui aquâ) nomine etiamnum nuncupatam. Nec vero absimile est eum etiam occidentem

* ΝΟΜΟΥ ΜΑΡΕΩΤΟΥ παράλιον Χιμῶ κῆρυ. Ptol. l. iv. c. 5.

† Εἴσα Ταπόσις ἐν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, πανήγυριν διχομήτην μεγάλην. Strab. l. xvii. p. 709.

‡ Ἡ δὲ Μαρία λίμνη παραλίωσα μέχρι καὶ σείρης, πάλαι δὲ μὲν ἔχει πλείωνον ἢ σπηήκοισι καὶ ἰκατὸν σταδίων, μῆκος δὲ ἐλαττόνων ἢ τετρακοσίων. Strab. l. xvii. p. 799.

§ Ἡ Μοίρη ἀποκαλεῖται λίμνη. — τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιώδης πρὸς στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τριπχίλιοι — κίελοι δὲ μακροὶ ἢ λίμνη πρὸς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ὅσον. Herod. l. ii. c. 149.

|| Τὴν μὲν γὰρ περιμέτρην αὐτῆς φασὶν ὑπερβαίνειν σταδίων τετρακίστων καὶ ἑξακοσίων. Diod. l. i. p. 48.

¶ Mœris, aliquando campus, nunc lacus quingenta millia passuum circuitu patens. Mela, l. i. c. 9.

** Inter Arfinoiten ac Memphis lacus fuit, circuitu cccm passuum; aut, ut Mutianus tradit, cccclm, a rege, qui fecerat, Mœridis adpellatus. Plin. l. v. c. 9.

recenset tres præ cæteris amplios, Canopicum, ad partem Deltæ maxime Occidentalem, Pelusiacum ad Orientalem, et Sebenniticum utrisque interjectum; e Sebennitico profluxisse ait Saiticum et Mendesium: Bolbitinum et Taniticum artis opere, non naturæ fuisse elaboratos. Intra omnes scriptores convenit de alveis Orientali et Occidentali; Taniticum etiam ferunt fuisse proximum Pelusiaco, nisi quod Herodorus addit quendam nomine Bucolicum (eundem ipsum fortasse cum Tanitico:) convenit etiam inter omnes proximum esse Mendesium et Bolbitinum excepto Canopico fuisse maxime Occidentalem.

Obscurior est Strabo, in eo quod, mentione facta de Sebennitico et Phatnico, subiungit “amplitudinis ratione pro tertio habetur,” quæ descriptio procul dubio intelligenda est de Sebennitico.

Herodoto memorante, Sebenniticus alveus, per medium Deltam secans iter, introierat ad partem ejus maxime Australem, ubi Sicardiana tabula exhibet quandam fossam, quam in meam transtuli. Eodem auctore, alvei Saiticus et Mendesium profluxerunt e Sebennitico, unde conjecturam facio, Phatnicum eundem esse cum Saitico, et hoc nomen traxisse ex eo quod proflueret e Saitico ad urbem Sain, secundum repræsentationem in nostrâ chartâ.

Alteram fossam, quæ ducit a Sebennitico ad Phatnicum, crediderim fuisse opus recentioris ævi, in eum finem elaboratam ut conjunctio fieret Sebennitici alvei cum Bufiritico et fossa Sabuniaca: Arthribiticum fluvium e Sebennitico orientem versus crediderim profluxisse et postea deductum fuisse in duo *ψευδοσύματα*, Pineptimi et Diolcon. Variæ insuper occurrunt fossæ transversæ, per quas navigatur directo tramite ab uno alveo ad alium; verbi gratia, Thermuthiaca Ptolemæi videtur pertigisse a Canopico ad Sebenniticum, Bufiriticum at Phatnicum: Fossam Sabuni habuerim pro fluvio, qui, teste Ptolemæo, exiit e Bubastico seu Pelusiaco ad urbem Athribin (torte Sakir) in Pathmeticum, quo fere in loco exiit etiam Arthribiticus.

Bubasticum fluvium deduxi septentrionem versus usque ad Mansouram; ex ea parte exiisse videtur Taniticus. Nullus dubito quin Bubasticus fluvius ferebatur olim cursu magis ad orientem vergenti; (iste ipse est cursus hodiernus fossæ Bubasticæ;) nec ulla

ἐνομασίην. τὸ καλέσαι Σεβέννικὸν σύμα. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτέρα διφασία σύματα ἀπὸ τῆ Σεβέννικῆ ἀπογοσθῆναι, φέρναι εἰς θάλασσαν, τοῖσι ἐνόμαζα κέλειαι ταῦτε, τῷ μὲν Σαῖτικόν αὐτίαν, τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον, τὸ δὲ Βολβίτικον σύμα καὶ τὸ Βηκολικὸν ἐν ἰθαγενείᾳ σύματα ἐστὶ, ἀλλ' ἄρκελά. Herod. I. ii. c. 17.

Ἐξήσθαι δ' εἰς τὸ θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὰ σύμασιν, ὧν τὸν μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κεκλιμένον καὶ πρῶτον καλεῖται Πηλεσιακόν, τὸ δὲ δευτέρῳ Ταντικόν, ἥτα Μενδήσιον καὶ Φαθμικόν καὶ Σεβέννικόν, ἔτι δὲ Βολβίτινον, καὶ τελευταῖον Κανωβικόν, ὃ τινὲς Ἡρακλείην ἐνομάζουσιν. Diod. I. i. p. 29.

Μεῖζον δὲ σύμα τὸ Κανωβικόν ἐστὶ τὸ Βολβίτινον, ἥτα τὸ Σεβέννικόν καὶ τὸ Φαθμικόν· τρίτον ὑποέρχον τῷ μεγάλῳ παρὰ τὰ πρῶτα δύο, οἷον ἡμεῖς τὸ Δέλλα — τῷ δὲ Φαθμικῷ συνάπτεται τὸ Μενδήσιον ἥτα τὸ Ταντικόν καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ Πηλεσιακόν. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τέτταρα μείζονα, ὡς ἀν' ὑψοσύματι ἀσημειώτα. Strabo, I. xvii. p. 601.

Sunt in honore et intra decursus Nili multa oppida, præcipue quæ nomina dedere ostia, non omnibus (duodecim enim reperiuntur) superque quatuor, quæ ipsi falsa ora adpellant, sed celeberrimis septem, proximo Alexandriæ Canopico, deinde Bolbitino, Sebennitico, Phatnico, Mendefio, Tanitico, ultimoque, Pelusiaco. Plin. I. v. c. 19.

Χημ. ΝΕΙΛΟΥ σύματα ἐπὶ τὰ.
 Πανήγυρ. χόν σύμα.
 Βολβίτινον σύμα.
 Σεβέννικὸν σύμα.
 Πινέτιμον Ψευδόσμον.
 Δύλλων Ψευδόσμον.
 Παθμικὸν σύμα.
 Μενδήσιον σύμα.
 Ταντικὸν σύμα.
 Πηλεσιακὸν σύμα.

videtur

videtur esse alia methodus commodior, (incommodam utique dixeris nostram) conciliandi Ptolemæum cæterosque scriptores, quàm si fingamus hunc fluvium socialibus aliterius fluvii ab austro venientis undis fuisse adauctum, et Pelusium demum alluisse. Fluvii exeuntes per ostia Pelusiaca, Canopica, Bolbitina, suo quisque nomine signabantur, nimirum Bubastico, Agathadæmone, et Tali; ab ostio tamen aliquando ad fluvium nomen transiit. Huc forsan referenda est ambiguitas nominum Bucolici et Tanitici, quorum forsan illud fluvium, hoc vero ostium primitus denotabat. *

Ptolemæus recenset tria Delta, primum et quidem maximum, alveis Orientali et Occidentali interjectam: Alium, cognomine Parvum, fluvio Bubastico et alveis Busiritico Phatnicoque comprehensum; et tertium demum ab Oriente terminatum fluvio Busiritico et Pathmetico alveo, ex altera parte a fossâ quæ ducitur ex Bubastico fluvio ad fluvium Pathmeticum juxta urbem Arthribin, neque audiendus est Ptolemæus (nec enim sibi constat) dum affirmat hanc fossam conjungi cum Pineptini. Et hæc quidem de alveis Niliacis cæterisque eorum dicta sunt: ea omnia quæ potui accuratione charta nostra exhibet descripta; vestigia veterum scriptorum nec indiligenter sum secutus, ut nodos expedirem quibus laborare solet hæc materia præ cæteris vexatissima; quam ut plenius intelligat, iterum iterumque monendus est lector, ut eosdem illos scriptores evolvat, dispositionesque chartæ nostræ ad vetera illa monumenta attento animo studioque referat.

Ab Alexandria, naviganti secundum Strabonem, Eleusis prima occurrit, sita ad fossam Canopicam: ulterius progredienti ad dextram sese offert fossa, quæ ducit ad Schediam; itinere scilicet deslexo versus Euro-astrum; unde conjecturam facio Schediam recte collocari in vico hodierno Damanehou, nec alium vicum denotare τὸ Circu Itinerarii, quippe cum ab Alexandria æquali distat intervallo, ut auctor est Strabo cum Itinerario collatus.

Crediderim alveum Canopicum occlusum fuisse in eo fere loco unde exiit Balbitinus, et viam postea sibi fecisse triplici ista fossa quam charta nostra exhibet descriptam, (quotiescunque scilicet altiori flumine infurgit Nilus.) Nunciatim collocaverim ad vicum Foua ex adverso fossæ Alexandrinæ hodiernæ; eam ipsam esse veterem illam auguror quæ olim itum est ad Schediam. In vico Samerate aliquatenus australiore agnoscere videor reliquias veteris saltem nominis Naucratis.

Sain veterem constituerim ad ripam occidentalem fossæ illius quæ exit ex ostio Sebennitico; Ptolemæo nimirum teste, ea urbs isti fluvio et Canopico alveo interjicitur, nec tamen negaverim urbem Sakir sitam in ripa Orientali conservare reliquias istius nominis parçè detorti: ea urbs a Naucrati distabat duorum schoenorum seu decem millium passuum intervallo. Sicardus eam habet pro veteri Xoi, ego vero ad Aquilonem magis vergere statuerim; Ptolemæus utrumque nomen Sebenniten al austro spectare Arthribin; inferiorem scilicet, cui metropolis Pachnamunis, superiorem, cui Sebennitus.

Xois * haberi solet pro urbe insulari; nimirum objectu fossarum quarundam sit insula. Ptolemæo statuyente, sita erat hæc urbs inter fluvios Thermuthiacum et Athribiticum, ideoque in terrâ continente: Strabo collocat eam in nomo Sebennitico. Ptolemæus autem recenset nomen quendam Xoitem, ævo forsan recentiore desumptum ex Sebennitico, ab hac urbe profluxisse videtur appellatio illa totius regionis, quæ occurrit in sacra scriptura, scilicet Terra de Zoan.

* Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆ Σεβεννιτικῆ καὶ Φάτινικῆ γόμαλις ἑοὺς ἴσσι, καὶ ἡῶς καὶ πόλεις ἐν τῇ Σεβεννιτικῇ γούμῃ: Strabo, l. vii. p. 802.

Ptolemæus habet Thmuim pro primaria urbe nomi Mendefii, Strabo autem Menden; unde conjecturam facio eandem esse urbem, duplici insignitam nomine: Herodotus etiam recenset nomon quendam Thmuiten; hinc factum ut hicce nomos etiam duplex sortitus sit nomen. Mentione facta de alveo Tanitico, Strabo eum appellat Saiticum, quam binomiam sunt qui augurantur ortam fuisse ex eo quod urbis Tanis primitus appellata fuerit Sais: Cum vero neminem Straboni suffragantem legimus, statuerim potius Strabonem erravisse, et Saiticum eundem esse cum Phatnitico. Busfriticus fluvius, secundum Ptolemæum, effluit ex alveo Bubastico in Phatnicum, adeoque habetur tantum pro fossa quadam transversa inter eos alveos.

Sicardus auguratur se reperisse vestigia veteris Cynopoleos apud Chiu.

Tertium Delta * statuitur inter fluvios Busfriticum, et eum qui effluit e Bubastico in Pineptini (dicendum forsan erat, in Phatniticum;) eum ego habuerim pro fossa Sabuni, quæ ex Nilo ducitur ad urbem Aboufir. Dum Ptolemæus fluvium appellat Bubasticum, tam hic quam ubi mentionem facit de ortu Busfritici, intelligendus est innuere velle Taniticum ex eo adhuc inferius defluxisse, forsan apud Mansouram, quo in loco, conjecturæ meæ aliquantulum tribuens, collocavi Tanin; cumque Bubasticus eo in loco defleat versus orientem, eum habuerim pro Tafone, ob captivitatem Ludovici IX. in bello sacro fatis famosa. Recentiores quosdam lectitavi recensentes rudera quædam urbis adhuc conspici apud Themaie, intervallo septem leucarum a Mansoura orientem versus: In iis signare posse videor reliquias veteris Heracleopoleos parvæ, seu, memorante Sicardo, Balbeios: Primaria quidem urbs fuit illa nomi Sethroitzæ, Sethri nomine olim appellata. Secundum Itinerarium, hæc urbs recedit a Pelusio intervallo viginti duum mille passuum.

Fossa Regalis pertinebat a Phacusa, quæ sita erat ad alveum Bubasticum, usque ad mare Erythræum: in eo cursu videtur lacum quendam pertransisse, forsan etiam impedito aquarum cursu fecisse, et præterlapsam Heroopolin exiisse denuo ad urbem (Arsinoem hodie) Suez: et intervallo circiter ducentorum quinquaginta passuum ab occidentali parte Suez animadverti vestigia veteris cujusdam alvei.

Fossa Trajani extendebatur a Babylone, vel vetere Cairo; et disertis verbis dicitur allabi Heroopolin; hoc autem fieri non potuisse statuunt aliqui, nisi exaruerit fossa Regum: Mihi quidem facilis videtur esse nodi hujusce explicatio, si secundum chartæ nostræ repræsentationem fingamus hanc fossam Trajani influxisse in illam alteram Regalem supra memoratam. Apud veterem Cairo adhuc conspicitur quædam fossa vergens ad Euro-aquilonem; Sicardus eam terminari fingit in lacu Birk-el-Hadjee; aliis autem memorantibus audiui eam rivulo quodam illapsam lacui, in ulteriora deferri.

In parte chartæ nostræ Euro-aquilonari conspicitur fluvius Sihor, qui determinasse dicitur Palæstinam ab Egypto †: In textu biblii originali vox sonat Torrentem Egypti, et apud LXX. redditur Rhinocorura: tabulæ nauticæ hîc loci exhibent rivulum quendam, inservientem aquationi nautarum; nec desunt probati scriptores qui mentionem faciunt de torrente de Rhinocorura: vici itidem Gazæ ‡ pertigisse dicuntur usque ad torrentem Egypti; falsos itaque habuit quosdam ea opinio, voce ista innui Nilum.

Lacum Sirbonim colloco apud Faramidastangoni, eique pro limitibus antiquis constituo insulas istas, seu rupes, quæ notantur in charta nautica. Hic ille lacus est apud

* *Διήγοντο δ' αὖ καὶ τρεῖς Διήλια μέλας τε καὶ τὸν ἡρημένον, καθὼς σχίζεται ὁ Βυβάσιος εἰς τὸν δι' Αἰγύπτου πύλον, καὶ τὴν Πινέπην (Pineptin) ῥέοντα, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ τρεῖς Διήλια διέσκει.* Ptol. iv. c. 5.

† *Esaie xxvii. 12.*

‡ *Josue, xv. 47.*

poetas ob Typhonem subter positum famosus : longitudine patuit viginti quinque millia passuum, latitudine autem sex millia et quingenta. Aliquandiu ab eo ad mare exitus dabatur per alveum quendam nomine Ecregma. Strabo scribet hanc fossam objectis arenis aruisse : postea temporis crediderim impetu maris, d'uturno recessisse ripam istam angustam, cujus objectu lacus olim determinabatur a mari; cumque hoc modo vltum minus accuratum effugiat, lacus iste, non miror quosdam a recentioribus scriptitasse Sirbonin jam diu arenis esse oppletam. Conjecturam nostram confirmant duæ chartæ geographicæ manuscriptæ ex oculorum, non aurium fide descriptæ, quæ mihi Venetiis agenti in manus pervenerunt, et sinum quendam, lacu Sirboni exhibent : animadvertendum est Strabonem, dum recenset quædam memoratu digniora de hoc lacu, videri eum parum distinxisse a mari Mortuo.

Ad ripam orientalem ostiî Pelusiaci collocatur Carabez in tabula manuscripta ; eam crediderim signare locum Chabriarum ; quas, sicuti etiam Gerras, scribit Strabo fuisse fitas in loco depressiori et palustri ; Plinius habet Chabrias pro Castro.

Hic loci animadvertendus est error Itinerarii Antonini, quo numerante recensetur certe nimis longum intervallum ducentorum et tredecim mille passuum a Pelusio ad Alexandriam.

Pelusium in tabula Chrysanthina dicitur Attineh, etymologia prorsus consimili in utrâque linguâ, tam Græcâ quam Arabicâ ; Tine enim Arabice, *تينة* Græcè, sonat Cœnum.

Inter proficiscendum a Nilo ad Mahallam, dividio (scilicet duûm mille passuum) itinere confecto pertransimus fossam quandam exiguam deductam ex magnâ illâ quæ pertingit ad Borlom : ad ripam ejus Borealem conspicitur vicus, quo ferè in loco jungitur cum aliâ quâdam majore ad Thraciam vergente. In ripâ istius majoris fossæ, iter erat quasi duorum mille passuum, quo confecto, eam cymbâ trajecimus, aliamque porro, cui superimponitur pons lapide quadrato, ad orientalem partem urbis Mahallæ. Hinc Euro-aquilonem versûs iter est ad Baalbait quasi novem mille passuum, inde devenitur ad ripam occidentalem prædictæ fossæ, aliamque porro cymbâ trajecimus, quartamque vado ; et duûm mille quasi passuum intervallo denuum pervenitur ad amplum quendam alveum a Nilo deductum infra Semmenud, et in mare profluentem ad orientalem partem lacus Brulos : Accolæ eam appellarunt Thabaneam ; ego vero statuerim eam esse ipsium Mendesium, e Phatnico profluentem, quem itaque eo nomine distinxi, Herodoti mentem, ni fallor, assecutus.

In hujus mei itineris cursu cum sola extrema alveorumlegerim, nec in interiora regionis delatus fuerim, hæc notasse satis habui, neque satis subsidii sum assecutus, ut de alveorum cursu quidpiam auderem mutare.

Sunt qui Babylonis vestigia quærent in ipsâ vetere Cairo, eo autem disconvenit eos inter et Strabonem *, quod hic asserit per clivum ascendi a Nilo ad Babylona, planities autem mille passuum latitudine patens extenditur inter Nilum et veterem Cairo : Lubens itaque Babylona collocaverim in colle Jehusi, situ a vetere Cairo euro-australi ; in quo quidem adhuc conspiciuntur ædificiorum collapsorum rudera ; huc adde, quod hic situs apprimè quadrat cum Herodoto asserente Babylona e diametro spectare versus pyramidas.

Memoriæ proditum accepimus Memphin abfuisse a Delta quindecim mille † passuum, quinque à pyramidibus ; lacu ad aquilonem et zephyrum fuisse terminatam ; ad orientem

* *Ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνης πόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου καθήκουσα, δι' ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς ποταμῆς τροχῶν καὶ κοχλίας τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνάγεται.* Strab. l. xvii. p. 807.

† *Ἐξ ὧν δὲ καὶ ἡ Μίμφις αὐτὴ τὸ βασιλεῖον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. ἔστι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Δέλτα τρεῖς χεῖρες ἢ αὐτὴν — Τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἀπὸ τῆς πυλῆος τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου, ἔστι τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης. Strabo, l. xvii. c. 808, 809.*

ab ipso Nilo; intervallo quasi duodecim mille passuum, versùs austrum ingentem portendi aggerem in eum finem coacervatum, ut Nilus, relicto veteri alveo, in quo alluebat radices collium occidentales, nec infrequenter terras demissiores aquâ inundabat, medium iter institueret inter colles orientales et occidentales *.

Verum Memphis situm et rudera frustra quæfiveris in ipsâ regione: attentioni vero disquisitioni veteres scriptores perscrutatus eam collocaverim haud procul a Mocanen; in eo nomine apparent vestigia nominis Moph, quo a sacris scriptoribus indigitari solet; hinc austrum versus a planitie, per quam itur ad Faiume, adhuc supersunt tumuli arenosi, reliquæ, ni fallor, aggeris supra memorati.

Acanthum Strabonis collocavi apud Osman, nullâ habitâ ratione calculorum Ptolemæi, qui eam Canthon appellat; constituit abesse decem mille passuum intervallo a Memphi versus austrum.

Tabula Chrysanthina, in definiendo urbium situm, præcipuam rationem similitudinis nominum videtur habuisse, e. g. Βάγχιον habet pro ipsâ Bacchi, eamque collocat ad fossam Josephi apud Bahnesam quadraginta mille passuum intervallo a lacu Moeri, ad ejus ripam eam constituisse auctor est Ptolemæus.

Si similitudinem nominis sequamur, in Selinge agnoscere posse videmur Selinon; quo quidem in loco rudera quædam adhuc superesse dicuntur: Repugnare tamen videtur intervallum, quo distare a Panopoli hodie Akmim dicitur in Itinerario.

Regionem istam urbis Thebarum, quæ dicebatur Memnonium, constituerim apud Medinet Abou, quæ quidem vox sonat Civitas Papa, seu Patris (quo nomine forsan Memnon apud vulgus audit;) huc refer urbem Papam Itinerarii: cumque vox Abba seu Abbou a primævis temporibus sonaverit pater, in eâ quæfiverim etymon Abydi urbis cujusdam Mediterraneæ prope Ptolemain palatio peramplo Memnonis conspiciendam.

E tabula Sicardiana desumpsi descriptionem fossæ, in quâ occurrit insula satis ampla Edfou; eâ itidem duce signavi intervallum, quo ea insula distat ab Ombo, minus forsan quam par est; cum vero meæ observationes nihil habeant certi, cui satis possum fidere, nil mutandum duxi.

Ad mare Erythræum signantur duo portus, nomine Cossair, neuter quidem stationi navium satis tutus; ad novum, quæ ad austrum magis vergit, statuerim Berenicen fuisse sitam: Versus aquilonem ulterius naviganti sese offert alius perquam commodus, nomine Hamroffe: nescio sane quonam intervallo absit a Cossair, ideoque incertus an veteri portui Leuco sive Myo respondeat.

* "Εστὶ γὰρ ἡ Μίμψις ἐν τῷ στενῷ τῆς Ἀργύπτιος ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιεσφῆσαι λίμνην ἐκ τῆς ποταμῆς πρὸς βορρῆν τα καὶ ἀπείρη, τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τῇ αὐτὸς ὁ Νῆλος ἀπείρη. Herod. l. ii. c. 99.

AN ACCOUNT OF WEST BARBAR

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WE find a commonwealth compared to a ship, and the western part of Barbary hath fulfilled the allegory, not only in respect of the intestine broils wherewith it has been so long tossed; nor yet in regard that the government thereof hath been continually floating from one faction to another. But in this especially, that there remains no track, or impress, no registers to acquaint us with what hath passed, except ruins and devastations, the genuine memories of a desolating war. For to demand of atalib (one of the most learned sort among the Moors) the annals of remote vicissitudes, or an account of the traverses that bear a fresher date, were to baffle his observation, and thereby affront his adored literature.

Now the likeliest reason, that can be rendered of this ignorance, is the neglect of preserving records of their transactions, for the Moors trust all to an illiterate tradition; inasmuch that the best chronicle can be now compiled of their late changes, must for the most part be collected from some aged grandfire's memory; a frail foundation to support an historical credit.

As for the ancient model of the *Moreisco* Polity, it is so miserably convulsed and shaken through manifold alterations caused by prevailing interests, that not many of its first maxims, nor much of its old constitution, are visible in the present state; and this superseded my curiosity in making researches into the Moor's politics, further than to be informed of the methods used to ascend to government by the aspiring factions of the last age, of which I have given an account in the foregoing narrative. And therefore without the solemnity of any larger introduction, I shall give a faithful narration of the present customs of Barbary in the succeeding chapters.

CHAP. I. — *The Soil, Productions, Commodities, and Husbandry of the Country.*

LEO Afer delivers two etymologies, which are so agreeable both to the nature of the language, and glebe of the country, that they may seem to have been imposed by Adam, the primitive nomenclator. For if we listen to the Moors' language, Barbary seems to be descended from Barbar, which signifies an inarticulate murmur and grumbling noise without accent or harmony, for their speech is harsh, being very guttural: which is esteemed an argument of its antiquity. And indeed it hath gained the vogue of no less ancient a pedigree, than to be bred of the old Punic and Arabian.

Another reason why this country bears the name of Barbary, may be taken from the frame and disposition of the earth, which being full of wild and unkindly tumours, well

challengeth the name of Bar (a word not known to the present inhabitants), signifying a desert, and the duplicate of the monosyllable Bar-bar implieth that of old, Barbary was nothing but a great solitude. And for this derivation, Leo Afer tells this story: King Iphycus being driven out of Ethiopia, fled into Egypt, where finding himself much pressed by his enemies, and dubious what course to run for his safety, he asked his adherents what they thought was the most probable way to secure themselves; whereupon they all, with an unexpected consent, answered Barbar, meaning thereby that the hopefullest method of protection was to pass over Nilus into the deserts of Africa. And finding this etymology to bear so fair a proportion with the complexion and surface of the land, I shall not scruple the occasion of its imposition.

But when we look from the outward shape, to the productions of the country, we see the uncomeliness thereof recompensed in the fertility, which forbids us to judge of internal dowries by the outward model: Providence usually supplying the defects of the body with the abilities of the mind, it being the fate of many excellent parts, like Galba's, to be ill lodged. The ancients accounted wood and grain, the more natural and useful issues of a country, as having a more immediate tendency to supply mankind with the greater necessities of lodging and diet. But in this canton of Barbary, the woods are scarce and mean, and fitter to warm the house than build it. For ranging their groves, I found them consist chiefly of cork-trees, which seemed to differ but little from the scarlet-oak, excepting the indenture of their leaves. Their fruit is a smaller kind of acorn, woody within: at the root of these trees is usually found the lentisco, which is generally but a shrub, and of little other service to the Moors than to feed their goats. The juice whereof, mingled with other ingredients, is used by the potters to give a faint colour to their earthenware, which they find to enhance the price, and advance the sale.

The next remarkable sort of wood is the alcaróbe, a tree of great curiosity, and meriting a larger note. The alcaróbe bears a cod, in quantity and likeness much resembling the English bean; the inner substance thereof is sweet, and lodgeth hard small kernels. This fruit is eaten by the Moors of inferior condition, and by all at the feast Ashoràh: but it is chiefly preserved for their horses, to whom it is both physic and repast. For as a Moor, well skilled in that animal, told me, the fruit of the alcaróbe hath two excellent properties, to drench, and make their horses fat.

Some have called the fruit locusta, and supposed that it was the Baptist's food in the wilderness: but others conjecture that St. Matthew's *Ἀκρίδες*, were only the tops and extremities of herbs and plants. And there are also some judicious critics, who interpret the Baptist's locusts to be a kind of fly or grasshopper, which in warmer climates are very large and many, and were formerly dried and eaten by the inhabitants. But they were observed to yield but small nutriment, and ever thought fitter for medicine than alimony. I was told (but by a traveller) that in Egypt these flies come in such clouds, that they darken the sky where they appear, and that in a short space they consume the fruits of the earth where they are permitted to fall. To prevent which mischief he told me that, the people observing the season of their coming, prepare against them, and keeping them from settling by discharging guns into the air where they are discovered. That these locusts and grasshoppers were eaten by the barbarous nations, may be concluded from the law that made them forbidden meat to the Jews, Levit. xi. 22.

But to leave the Moor to this sort of flies, whereof he hath no scarcity, there is a greater probability that the fruit of the alcaróbe is the same with the prodigal's ceratia,
or

or husks; for it doth excellently accord with their description set down by that great intelligence of divinity in his note. B. S. Luke xv.

In some parts of this country there is great plenty of white mulberry trees, nourished on purpose to feed the silk-worm, a creature that doth afford the curious many delightful speculations; but the Moor regards it only for its emolument. The season of the worm being passed, they feed their cattle with the residue of the mulberry leaves.

The towns of commerce, and conversation, have pleasant orchards of orange, lemons, and limes, with gardens yielding plenty and variety of fallad. And that which maketh their gardens both profitable and delightful is, that they are always fruitful and retain a refreshing verdure. And this they effect by keeping the soil constantly in a temperate moisture: for the water-courses are so providently contrived that every garden receives it in due proportion, and at a certain hour; which running among the little trenches, affords a very equal and fertile irrigation.

Besides the fallad ordinary in other countries, they have one sort rarely to be met with in Europe, which they call by a word, sounding Spanish *Tomátos*. This grows in the common fields, and when ripe is plucked and eaten with oil: it is pleasant but apt to cloy. *Barengénas*, as in Spain, grow creeping like cucumbers upon the ground; these are boiled with beef and mutton, and of no vulgar estimation among the Moors.

Some *Cavilas* (a division in the country that much resembles that of counties in England) have large and fruitful vineyards, and the blood of the grape, though it be utterly prohibited them by Mahumed their prophet, yet of late, through the licentiousness of the times, it is liberally quaffed by many of the Moors. But that they might not herein give offence to the weaker Mussulmen, nor betray any contempt of the law, they are generally cautious in this liberty, and use it, as we say, *under the rose*.

The plants of this country are very observable for their variety and strangeness, for many are to be found in Barbary, which cannot be met with in colder climes. And some, which are usual in other countries, are in this found to differ much from their descriptions in common herbals. This I learned from a worthy friend (well read in this part of nature) who had enterprized, and would doubtless have finished, a collection of Barbary simples, if his too early immortality and immature death had not deprived the world of that profitable endeavour.

The grain in this differs not from that in other countries, excepting that here are two sorts of grain, scarce well known in other parts of the world. The one they call *Pharouk*, which is of a lesser size, hungry and coarse, much resembling, if not altogether the same, with the Spanish *Panizo*, and it is only the more beggarly Moors that use this for bread. The other is known among them by the name of *Tourkiá*, which is a larger body than the former, and yields good flour, whereof bread is made for the nobles of the land. As the barley and beans are reaped in April, the wheat in May and June, so in September the usual season for gathering the other kinds of bread corn.

The rains are to the Moors, what the Nile is said to be to the Egyptians, for according to their plenty or scarceness, they are able to foretell the dearth and plenty of the year. But there is a sort of religionists among them, who measure the products of the earth by the sins of its inhabitants, and who divine of the success of their tillage from the observation of their *Ramadán* (or Lent) and the due celebrating of their [Easter] *Hid Seguer*, or the little feast that concludes it.

If the clouds are sparing in showers at seed-time, and earing, the crop is little lean; and in their best harvests, they seldom reap more than will bring about the year, so that the failure of one crop brings an inevitable dearth upon the land. The Moors

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are very observing of the trade rains, (for so they may not improperly be termed; as never falling but at such a time.) The former rain is called by a word importing blessing, and the latter [Nafon] or Holy-water, of which names I could meet with no other rational but tradition.

There appears but little industry in the Moors' husbandry, for their tillage is so mean, that he that sees it may justly wonder, that the land under such small improvement should be so fruitful. In most parts they plough but with two oxen, carelessly tied by the horns, and in some Cavilas with a like number of asses, mules, camels, and a baser breed of horses. The plough turns up no more mould than sufficeth to bury the seed: for (say they) if the furrows should be deep, and the drought begin, ere that the corn hath broken the earth, it would not be able to force a passage through the stiffened clods. They use no labour to assist the Arbale by manuring it, except, that the order of their towns is cast out, not so much to enrich the glebe, as to keep themselves cleanly. But this painful part of husbandry is supplied by the anniversary burning of the withered grass and stubble, which serves to help the soil, and destroy the vermin, which otherwise, especially the scorpion, would render the country very dangerous for habitation.

When the Moors have reaped their corn, they tread it out with oxen, camels, &c. and winnow it upon the place where it grows, and then set the chaff on fire; in which particulars they are an excellent comment upon the like, reflected upon in sacred writ. Instead of granaries, they have caves bricked or wrought with stone, called Matamóras, in which they reposit their corn, where it is preserved from the worm and other enemies. The straw they chop and keep for their horses; for although there be abundance of herbage, yet no part thereof is cured and preserved for a winter store of hay, which I impute to the Moors' sloth, rather than the needlessness of such a provision.

After I had taken this survey of what appeared upon the earth by nature, or its improver, husbandry, I found sufficient instigations, both by curiosity and reason, to dive into its entrails, which I have been told are in many places as rich as the best ores can make them. And of this truth there have appeared large specimens about Tituàn, Aicazàr, Ghebèr, &c. And the reason why the Moors pursue not so advantageous a temptation, may be charged upon their ignorance, idleness, or fear; as in another place I may have occasion to demonstrate. The commodities of this country bearing the name of Mercantil, are chiefly honey, wax, hides, marokins or córdavans, dates, almonds, coarse twine, mats of a curious straw and workmanship, mantles, alheicks, and in some places great store of salt-petre. As for the fabulous abundance of gold reported to be found in Barbary, I leave its legend to the poets.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Beasts in Barbary, tame and wild.*

THE survey now passeth one stair higher, from vegetable to sensible creatures, whereof Barbary has no less plenty than of grass to maintain them, but looking into their flocks and herds, I found the latter more numerous, yet not to that quantity as report informed me. And enquiring why the Moors were more for the stall than the fold; they replied, that cows yielded them more constant relief than sheep, and were more ready to furnish out both their tables and purses. Their horses are both few and mean, and for the most part much inferior to those of other nations, which at first created my wonder, because of the great repute the Barbary horses had obtained in most European countries. But they have a peculiar cast of barbs able to maintain this renown, which the Moors carefully preserve, never employing them in low and base offices, but keep them only for the saddle and military service; and to the great ease

of their horses, the Moors have store of camels for their forest drudgeries. Now the camel is a creature of strange bulk and humour, whose diet is mean and incredibly little; for they will travel great journies under heavy loads, without further allowance than the tops of thistles or any mean herbage. Nor are they less abstemious in their beverage than meat; being so patient of thirst, that they travel four days without touching water, and then at one drinking take in as much as will serve them as many days more. The Moor from observation hath this general rule concerning camels, viz. that those which when young drink much and often, are of a degenerate lineage, and will never prove serviceable.

There is a presumption that the camels engender backward, but Ali Mulùd, an ancient and inquisitive Moor, would often swear by the hairs of his chin (an oath that he had learned in the time of his being a slave in Spain) that he had much enquired after the manner of the camel's copulation, but could meet with no certain information therein; for (said he) these creatures are strangely bashful in their embraces; which makes them very secret in the time of their amours; and to retire, if possible, even from their keeper's eye. At the season of their coition, both sexes are very furious, and like their Moresco masters, they never forget to revenge the injuries done them at that time. I was told by an Alàrb, who had no temptation to abuse my credulity in such an unconcerning story, that the mácho, or male camel, generated with the female when she is asleep, and that the female brings forth in a kind of negligent slumber. But I leave the curious inquisitors of nature to discover the frailties of this story, and pass on to remark the docile gentleness of the camel, which is evident in their submission, kneeling to be laden and unloaden at their driver's pleasure. And we find it reported in the history of beasts, Jonson. Hist. Quadrup. that camels have been taught to dance exact measures, which is no more strange than the Ballétto di Cavalli, that not long since graced the nuptials of a duke of Florence.

But intending no zoography I pass from this and other tame quadrupeds, to observe that Barbary hath all sorts of beasts that are called wild: lions, leopards, wolves, foxes, &c., with great plenty of jackals, so much famed for catering for the lion. They usually hunt in packs, opening with a shrill yelping noise, and are described to be mongrel creatures, of an equivocal generation, deriving rapaciousness from the wolf their sire, and cunning from the fox their dam; they are very ravenous, eating carrion, digging up dead bodies, and will feed upon that which a genuine fox will not deign to taste.

Wild boars are no rarity in this diocese, which the Moors hunt and kill in a manly pastime, they being no way subservient to the trencher, because all sorts of swine's flesh is forbidden meat by their law. But their slaves, that are Christians, have permission to dress and eat them, and know from experience that they are very wholesome and strong food.

But I shall surcease to travel further among these inhospitable salvages, with whose descriptions natural histories are so largely replenished, and therefore I will shut up this chapter with this general remark, that Barbary hath variety of all sorts of beasts, birds, and serpents; the land affording habitations most suitable to such unsociable beings.

CHAP. III. — *The Division of the Inhabitants, different Manner of Living, their Genius, their Entertainment of Foreign Ministers.*

THE family of Noah (saith the Jewish antiquary Flav. Joseph.) being jealous of a second deluge, durst not descend to cultivate the plains, but dwelt upon the tallest mountains, till at length, Sem ventured to inhabit the valleys; where they lived in a cluster, and seemed suspicious of the divine command, bidding them disperse and overspread the earth, fearing that this might be a design to scatter them, that they might the more easily be destroyed, for which reason they long time kept together in a close neighbourhood. Out of which story nothing is needful here to be collected, but that mountains have ever proved the refuges of the distressed, and the people that inhabited them valued for their antiquity above the rest of the land. Of which truth, Barbary yields a pregnant instance in the division of her inhabitants, of which there are two sorts known among them, by the usual names of Alárbes and Barabàrs.

The Alárbes are usually by the Europeans styled mountaineers, from the place of their greatest residence. And these think themselves the elder natives, and therefore of the better house. They are not altogether so civilized as the other, but live more rudely and rovingly, shifting from mountain to mountain according to their exigencies, never confining their rambling humours to any settled mansion. They live in haimas or tents, made of a coarse brownish cloth, which the women work and weave of the bark of palmitocs mingled with goats' hair; and these itinerary habitations they remove from one place to another, in obedience to their fickle humours and cogent necessities. Robbery is their master-piece and best livelihood; and in this estate they much glory, as coming so near the condition of Muley Mahuméd's first votaries. About an age past they were very numerous, but the late civil wars have made great abatements of their musters.

The other sort of Moors are vulgarly called Barabàrs, but by a dialect Brébers: these have fixed dwellings, and live in neighbourhood; and finding conversation to be useful and safe, affording comfort and profit, they are combined into aldéas or villages, where their cottages are so disposed, that there is not any considerable disproportion among them in respect of their distance from the gicmma, or church.

Over these Barabàrs are subordinate governors or almocadens, to whom they pay a dutiful observance. Their vocation is tillage and grazing; and live much after the condition of the Labaradóres in Spain, the peasants in France, and the boors in Flanders. The Barabàrs of late are grown more numerous than the Alárbes, and for several years have inhabited both the mountains and champaigns. But albeit they have taken the hills from the Alárbes, yet they have left them the reproach of robbery, though they themselves are no novices in that mystery.

But notwithstanding their different mode of living, they unite in the general character of body and humour: for they are all of a large stature, strong constitution, stately carriage, and differing in complexion according to their conversing with the sun and air. Those whom for distinction I must call the gentry, are according to their rules of chivalry well skilled in managing of the horse, and dexterous at the lance, for they scorn all toil that is not military, and account no employment so noble as that of a soldier. They agree likewise in humour, for both are jealous and revengeful. Their jealousy is palpable in their carriage towards their wives, whom they keep in great subjection and retirement, which makes adultery a stranger to their beds: nor can it reasonably be otherwise, seeing that the wife is fully assured that the very attempt to pilfer

passer a pleasure, if discovered, will cost her her life. They are likewise implacable in their hatred, and impatient till they have avenged an injury; for they are taught by their Prophet, that revenge is a virtue. But leaving these passions to the justification of the Moresco law and customs, the Moors are guilty of a censorious suspicion towards strangers, which hath no colour to be excused. This I first observed in their carriage toward Don Diego de Palma, a cavalier of the habit of St. James, who being sent to compliment Gaylan from His Catholic Majesty, and chancing to smile at the Moor's deportment, as not answering the starchedness of his own nation; the Moors, who were very circumspect in observing every tittle of the Don's deportment, were so sagacious as to find in this casual smile a derision of their courtship, which they left not unrevengeed in intriguing his errand. Now it is observable, that the Moors are very morose and abstemious in point of laughter, esteeming those who are much thereunto addicted, to be scornful and foolish.

And now having promised to give an account of the Moresco manner of receiving public ministers, and finding that they have no solemn and fixed rites; I conceive the description of their entertaining the Spanish envoy, may serve for a specimen of their carriage toward all persons of the like character: which take as follows.

The envoy, Don Diego Felipe de Palma, having from Ceuta (a Spanish garrison on the Barbary coast) advised Cidi el Hader Ben Ali Gaylan, that he was come from the crown of Spain on a message to His Excellency (that was Gaylan's title), and desired to know when and where he should have permission and security to deliver it: Gaylan returned him answer, concerning the set day and place for the Don's reception, which was according to our style, the tenth of September, in the one thousand six hundred sixty-third year of grace, and at a place equally distant from Ceuta and Tituàn: where, to grace the entrada, Gaylan appointed a parade of the best horse of his own cavila, and committed them to the conduct of his brother Cidi Tobib Ebn Ali, who marched with them from Arzila to Tituàn, whither according to appointment, Gaylan's father-in-law, almocadèm of the cavila of Angerà, had sent his sons with about sixty of their cousins, to join with Tobib, who with many more went to receive the envoy at the prefixed time and place: where the Moors, having paid him their greetings, they all marched in this order.

In the first troop came the two sons of the almocadèm of Angerà, with about sixty of their kindred, all bravely mounted, and according to their gallantry, richly accoutred: these, in several rings, exercised the lance with laudable agility, the music of Tituàn still playing before them.

In the next rank came Cidi Tobit, attended with about fifty horse, maintaining a very slow march, as if they intended to revie or deride the Spanish gravity. Next to them rode the envoy, Don Diego Felipe de Palma del Habito de Sanjago, with a single trumpet sounding before him: next came led six stately horses trapped in blue clòth; after them fourteen mules laden with trunks; and in the last place rode the governor of Tituàn, with the Alárbes music tinkling before him, and attended with a large and well ordered train. Vast multitudes were flocked thither, having no other business but to gaze, being strangers to such a procession.

In this order was Don Diego conducted to his lodgings in Tituàn, where he courteously received the Christians that came to give him the parabien to Barbary, and declared a great readiness to serve my comrade and myself, whom he knew had no other concern in those parts, but securely to travel and view the country. After two days refreshment at the Moor's charge, the Don began his march towards Arzila, but first caused the horses to be richly trapped, and led in state through the streets of

aan; which being done, they came into a plain a little out of the town, where the people made a spacious circle, in which the Moreſco cavalleres ſhewed their active horſemanſhip, and dexterous darting of the lance; after which, about fifty negroes and Alacs began a dance, which they performed with pleaſant variety of geſture, and ſtrange ſtillity.

Theſe ſports being finiſhed, the envoy advanceth his journey, and found the ways crowded with ſpectators, invited thither by Gaylan's politic friends, who deſigned that the people might take notice of the honour done to Cidi El Hader, and that his frienſhip was ſought by one of the greateſt of Chriſtian monarchs. But there were many that came not ſo much to be ſpectators, as to reap the fruit of a common report, that the Don would caſt great ſtore of realitoes among the poorer Moors. But their hopes were deceived in the rumour of the Spaniard's bounty, who did not hercin degenerate from the nature of his nation, which has ever been noted for a backwardneſs to ſuch inſignificant profuſions. The envoy being ſafely arrived at Arzila, he was lodged in an apartment of Gaylan's palace (pardon the word); where I leave him to lodge, and eat, if poſſible, worſe than he did at home.

The buſineſs and deſign of this embaffy met with diverſity of conjectures: by ſome it was ſuppoſed that Don Diego was ſent to ſolicit larger privileges for the Spaniſh garrifons on the Barbarian coaſt. Others concluded that the Duke of Medina Celi, envious at the Earl of Tiveot's ſucceſſes againſt the Moors, and his truce concluded with Gaylan, cauſed this meſſenger (a creature of his own) to be ſent with inſtructions, to interrupt and diſturb the new correſpondence and amity betwixt Tanger and El Hader. But to find out the riddle, I ploughed with one of their own heifers, having employed a Moor verſed in public affairs, (and recommended to me by that great lover of the Engliſh, Cidi Abdclerim Nacſis, then chief governor of Tituan,) who from the Spaniard's inquiſitivenefs after the ſtate and condition of Tanger, the number of the ſoldiers, the quantity of the conſtant guards, the height and ſtrength of the walls, the ſituation and number of the guns ready mounted, &c. with his deſign in a Moreſco habit to take a narrow view of the whole place, (which in Gaylan's company within few days after he performed) filled us with jealousies that ſome miſchief was purpoſed againſt Tanger. And it is very certain, that the fore-mentioned duke had an evil eye upon the immortal Tiveot, for the renowned victories, which, under the moſt Chriſtian King he atchieved againſt his nation's intereſt in the Low Countries, which aged choler he found highly inflamed by the victories gained by that indefatigable captain over his Moreſco neighbours, which inſtigated the duke's ſpleen not ſo much againſt Tanger, as its reſtorer Tiveot, who being at this time in England, took the advantage of his abſence to diſgrace him (if any ſuch thing had been poſſible) with his new confederate Gaylan. And acquieſcing in this account of the embaffay, I purſue my province in ſetting down the exact account of the preſent cuſtoms of the Moors.

CHAP. IV.—*The Moreſco Compellations, Reverence to Superiors, Complexion, and Converſation of the Women, pious Manner of Salutation and Style.*

I HAVE not found any nation ſo rude and barbarous as to be utterly devoid of all rites of civility and reſpect: for ſome tokens of honour and kindneſs, ſome terms of diſtance and familiarity are uſed by the moſt uncultivated. And the Moors though they are very ſparing in compliments, yet they uſe both words and geſtures of reſpect. Towards all ſuperiors they indifferently uſe the compellative Cidi, which is as extenſive as [Sir;] to women of better quality they uſe Lala, ſignifying as largely as

Madam doth now in England. And as to their outward demonstrations of respect, there is little variation; for a grave inclination of the body, with a putting the right hand first to the heart, next to the forehead, and then kissing the two foremost fingers laid across the lips, is the exactest manner of saluting the grantees; whose hand, knee, or bottom of the vest is kissed by the vulgar. Those that are familiar, and of equal rank, at their first meeting strike hands, but shake not, and then lift them up and lay them to their breasts. And their greetings are in the second person singular, using [Thou] to all from the slave to the King: wherein they observe the eastern custom. But in their addresses to their prince no people can testify more signal tokens of humbleness and piety; for at the entrance into the royal presence, they bow their bodies to the ground, saying, *Sálam Allig Allá Enforúck Muley*, Peace be to thee, God preserve King Fuláno; and these words and gestures are devoutly repeated at every pace they advance toward the King. And if any come with petitions they kiss the earth when they present them to his royal perusal. The like reverences are discharged when they depart the presence. But I pass on to view the female Moors, who if preserved from the injuries of the sun and weather, are generally well complexioned, full bodied, and of good symmetry. Those that live in great towns, together with the wealthier sort in the country, are inclined to paleness, which may be imputed to their sedentariness, or want of motion; for they seldom stir abroad, except it be to visit the sepulchres of their deceased friends in devotion, to pray for their felicity, and in the night time to the baths for health and cleanliness. As to their Friday-meetings, I shall speak of it another chapter. They never step without the threshold but so closely veiled that no part is visible but an eye. In the state of matrimony their principal study is to please their husbands, to whom they are taught by their Alcoran to bear a dutiful observancy, and to omit no art that may render them delightful to their conversation. Those husbands that are able allow their wives negroes or black women, to do all the servile offices in the family; but yet there is no quality that fits idle; for the chief of the Morefco dames employ their time in some thrifty housewifery. And this prevents that custom of expensive gossipings, with which in some nations so many wives are debauched, and husbands beggared. And yet the married women want not their friendly conversations, for they visit one another's houses in token of good neighbourhood, but without the company of their husbands; no male, though he be never so much a relative, can be admitted into their society. And to prevent it, she that makes the visit first, sends to know whether the husband be at home: if the answer be negative, then without further ceremony she goes straight to her gossip's apartment, where she is entertained with a liberality that never injures her husband; who if returning home in the interim of the visit, is careful to give no interruption, but upon notice quickly departs the house; yet they give such signals that he has been there, as are easily perceived by the visitant, who thereupon shortens the visit, otherwise it commonly lasts a whole day. But these being offices that are seldom in their returns may justly be pardoned in their length.

But foreseeing that I shall in another place have occasion to speak again of the Morefco women, I surcease to enlarge the paragraph that here concerns them, and therefore proceed to view the pious forms used by the Moors in their salutations and letters.

And indeed there is none that has had any intimacy with the Moors in this particular, but he might observe a great appearance of piety in all their customary expressions. And this I learned both from the discourse and practice of those with whom I journeyed, who at their setting out in the morning would with zeal and humility look up to

ven, and in a low voice say, *Bismillah*, that is, In the name of God; which is also done at the beginning of any labour or travail. By which they intend that nothing ought to be enterprised, but in the power and hope of the divine favour and help. And when the work or journey is finished they say, *Ham der illah*, Thanks be unto God; which words they deny all ascriptions of success to themselves. When they meet one another upon the road, &c. their greetings at large is this thanksgiving, *El ham dillan salam tiqi*. i. e. God be praised that I see thee well: but in passing by one another the salutation is usually this prayer, if there be no more but one, *Salam alleh*, if more than one, *Salam alleh cum*. Peace be with thee, or you. At the hearing of one another sneeze, they say, *Era hanig allah*, Dios tenga V. M. en jumano, God be your keeper. When one Moor goes to see another at his house, the first that receives him saith *Mar bába*, or Welcome, which, if repeated thrice, is an undoubted mark that they are glad to see him; which kind reception he requites with saying, *Allah estah miq*, i. e. God pay you. And the like air and genius of devotion and piety is observable in those letters that the Moors write in their own language; a taste whereof you have in these two ensuing, translated out of Morefco.

In the name of God gracious and merciful, whose blessing be upon our Lord Mahomed and his family.

To the mighty, honourable, glorious, and most excellent Lord and Governor of Tanger the Earl Tiveot.

GOD perpetuate Your Excellency's honour and glory; and vouchsafe your perseverance in grandeur and felicity. Happiness unto you with the odours of a glorious name, shall continually breath out their fragancies, and let God continue and prosper both you and your estate agreeable to your wishes.

Furthermore, to advise us of your abundant love, and especially generosity, there came to us the worthy gentlemen your servants in their ship, with the honourable commanders of it, the consul and the captain, and they behaved themselves amongst us like men, touching your command, which they observed, and accomplished our desires according as we expected in the going forth of our men, they returning home to us in health and safety, so that we now re-enjoy their company according to the best of our wishes. And let God in our stead largely reward and recompense you, who have so highly obliged us herein.

Your messengers staid with us for some days, till we had performed some of their desires, so that we sent along with them two excellent horses, and of the best sort that hath been in our time, one whereof was for our own riding, and the other is of the same breed; likewise forty good choice beasts, both bulls and cows, and a flock of about fourscore sheep, as a present to Your Excellency, which out of your grace and favour you would vouchsafe to accept from us. For the deserts and merits of your honour, God alone can recompense.

We gave also to your legates two special horses and a few cattle as the time permitted, and they likewise bought some horses as the time served, and then departed from us well contented. But we are always with you in that inviolable love and friendship, which neither distance of place nor length of time shall ever dissolve. And as for our country Barbary, (blessed be God) all of it that is loyal and in obedience to us, whether mountains, plains, or cities, you have free passage into in love and friendship, to converse and trade as you please, and to manage all your affairs. And this will be of great advantage unto us, if it please God we live, and the general take the castle

ADDISON'S WEST BARBARY

of the port town, and the rebels return wholly to their obedience, and then you not apologize for us, or excuse us in any service we can do you. But we request you to excuse us at present, as to the rest of your desires, being assured that we cease not to encounter and fight those enemies which have broken covenant with us, so that they may shortly (if God please) return to their allegiance.

And we intreat you to grant our servants, the inhabitants of the port, your best assistance in whatever they shall have need of your help and supply. And whatsoever of our comforts shall come to you, we beseech you not to be wanting in your care towards them.

But the most earnest and important business which concerns us to mention to you is, for a great ship to lie at the port between us and the enemy, on purpose to cut off all relief by shipping from the enemy, and pray let it be hastened with its freight, provision, and all other necessaries. This is our chief business which we entreat you to accomplish, according to our desires. And any of the ships that shall come to this port shall drive away whatsoever merchant ships they find there, and seize their goods. For the only thing we are wanting in, and in need of assistance, is this business of the merchants. Thus we have given you the full of our desires in what we have written. And let God accomplish all your desires. Farewell.

Written the third day of the week, being the twenty-fifth of the month Dulhevil, the last month of the 1073 year of the Hegira.

The servant of God who trusteth in him Abdalla ebn
Mahamed ebn Abobeker, of blessed memory.

The superscription,
To the chief of the nobles, Lord and Governor of Tanger
the Earl Tiveot, whom God preserve.

Another Letter.

IN the name of God the greatest of all great ones, whom we worship and serve, and none other.

To the most excellent Count Tiveot, Captain-General of Tanger, the just and valiant, greeting and desiring that he may have health and prosperity which we value much.

We received the servants of Your Excellency in our country, for whom we have done what we are able, and have commanded our vessels to guard them to Tanger. The present made us by Your Excellency we kindly receive. God augment your honour and happiness.

In all that is required at our hand, let it be upon our head, that we serve you with much willingness, being that we are made friends we esteem your friendship much. My son and cousins greet Your Excellency, desiring God that you may have health. Subscribed Almocadem Cassian Shat.

This Shat is father to one of Gaylan's wives, numerous in alliances, and reported to be an Andalusian, one of the race of the Moors banished Spain; he hath hereditary to his family the command of Angera, which is a large cavila adjoining unto Tanger. And having lodged at this grandee's house, I may from our entertainment there be able to give you an account of the Moors' hospitality, which differs not in the fashion, however it may vary in the stuff.

CHAP. V.—*The Moresco Entertainment, Fashion of Travelling, Hospitals, Diet, Reverence to Corn, forbidden Meats.*

IN the year of salvation, 1663, September the sixth, at the going down of the sun, we came to an aldéa, called Angerâ, at the utmost bounds of a mountain of that name, where we repaired to the house of Cidi Cassian Shat, whom we found sitting at his door, environed with about twenty aged Moors of the neighbourhood. Alighting from our horses, we delivered our segûra, or letters of safe conduct, to the old man, who, when he had perused, returned them with a grave nod, the testimony of his approbation, and the signal of our welcome. This done, we were called to a little upper room, which we could not enter till we had put off our shoes at the threshold, not for religion, but cleanliness, and not to prevent our unhallowing of the floor, but defiling the carpets wherewith it was curiously spread. At the upper end of the room was laid a velvet cushion, as large as those we use in our pulpits, and it denoted the most honourable part of the room. After we had reposed about an hour, there was brought in a little oval table, about twenty inches high, which was covered with a long piece of narrow linen; and this served for diaper. For the Moors, by their law, are forbidden such superfluous utensils as napkins, knives, spoons, &c.; their religion, laying down this general maxim, That more necessaries are to be provided for: which caused a precise Moor to refuse to drink out of my dish, when he could sup water enough out of the hollow of his hand. But this straitness has of late years begun to be enlarged, and the prohibition is interpreted to reach no farther than their churchmen, and chief ministers of justice; so that those who are able to provide handsome furniture for their tables, have a dispensation which they seem not prone to make use of, if the humour of the rest may be divined by that of this grandee; at whose house the table was adorned as before, and for supper there was placed upon it an earthen pot full of mutton, beef, cabbage, raisins, potatoes, berengénas, &c. all boiled together, and extremely hot with dimicuto and garlic, which is their immutable sauce. This hodge-podge was in imitation of the Spanish olla podrida, excepting that it wanted bacon, an ingredient so indispensable to the Spanish olla, that there can be none without it, which occasioned this proverb, No sermon without St. Austin, nor olla without bacon: *Ny sermon sin Agostino, ny olla sin locino*. But to proceed in our bill of fare: our next course was a single pullet cloven down the belly, with the four quarters spread out at large, by a way of cookery peculiar to the Moors. And these two dishes, with store of good bread, made up the feast. Our drink was strong wine newly brought from the press, which stood by us in a great stone jar, with a sort of wooden ladle in it, out of which we drank. Our posture was laying round about the table, according to the custom of the country. Our company was the second son of this family, a debonair Gentile person. Having supped, and solaced ourselves with muddy beverage and Moresco music, we all composed ourselves to sleep: about twenty were allotted to lodge in this small chamber, whereof two were Christians, three Jews, and the rest Moors: every one made his bed of what he wore; which made our English constitutions to wish for the morning, which no sooner appeared but we quitted our lodging, leaving our entertainer *sans adieu*, not tarrying to return thanks for his hospitality; which could incur no displeasure, as conforming to the style of the country. And this breviat of Cidi Cassian's hospitable housekeeping, is an essay of the rest; for the Moors have all one fashion of living, and their houses, diet, and apparel vary not, but in the matter.

Now

Now that which makes journeying in Barbary so full of fatigue, is the want of houses of public entertainment (like the *venta's* and *posáda's* in Spain; the *cabarets* and *hostelries* in France; and inns in England), whereby the travellers are constrained to carry their provisions with them. The Moors' usual viaticum are raising, parched beans, onions, garlic, and store of bread. They rely upon the fountains for their drink, which are kept in great decency and cleanliness: at every fountain there being a dish made of cork, fastened with a string, out of which man and beast drink for refreshment. Many of these fountains are provided with a large smooth stone, whereon the Moor, after he has performed his preparative washing, celebrates his *salla*, or orisons. And the bigots that live near these fountains, every day repair thither to pay their bigotage, or superstitious devotions.

They usually shut up their journey at the going down of the sun; and if there be an *aldéa* or village at hand, they turn thither for house-room, and lodge commonly in a cottage, as mean as that wherein Ovid's aged couple entertained the pilgrim gods. But if it be summer, or the weather fair, then they repair to some shady tree, under whose protection they sleep and eat. If the place be suspected for bad neighbours, the travellers watch by turns, and do the like in places that are troubled with wild beasts.

When I said that the Moors have no houses of accommodation, it was with exception of the *Almamóras*, or chambers maintained by the revenues of the church, built on purpose to receive strangers of any persuasion. These houses afford nothing but room to lodge in; but if it happen that travellers are in want of meat, the villagers are ready to supply them. The *alfaquí*, or priest of the place, hath inspection and superintendency of these hospitals. The Moors have likewise peculiar places, resembling the *Infirmatories* or *Lazarettos* in other nations, for those that fall sick in their journies, whom they treat with a laudable care, till they either recover or die: and if the infirm die, not leaving wherewith to bury him, there is care taken for his funeral, and a *Muláto*, or some baser Moor, is appointed to beg the alms of the place to defray the expence of the stranger's interment. In these *almamóras*, the stranger is permitted to stay till the weather and his health dispose him for his journey: but they repine at his abode, when it is not urged by necessity.

In later years, every town of traffic hath erected a sort of inns, called *Alfandách*, which affords nothing but house-room for man and beast, the market yielding provision for both. Those that farm these *fandáchs*, cannot exact above a blanki a night both for man and beast, which is in sterling money about two-pence. The horses lodging costing equally with his riders.

These *fandáchs* were at first built by the wealthier sort of Moors, who dying in a pious humour, gave them to the *giámma* or church, to hallow, say the *Moresco Rabies*, the filthy lucre raised by their employment. However, the *giámma* has its revenues greatly augmented by such donations. And whatever was the design of their institution, we find them of late under a great degeneracy, being little better than tippling shops, where the Moors quaff the fruit of the vine. But that which herein most raised my admiration, was to see the incomes of these *fandáchs*, appropriated to the maintenance of the *alfaquí's* or priests, and that that holy order, having the disposal of such houses, should not see them under a more regular administration.

But to go from these public houses to view the Moors in their private roofs, I find them in their caresses frugal without parsimoniousness, and placing no character of good house-keeping in abundance of viands. They have two dishes in singular esteem, the chief whereof *cuscúsou*, which is made of water and flour, or grated bread, boiled
into

into a consistence, into which they put butter, or any kitchen-stuff; and this they eat without spoons; for when it is ready, every one that is admitted to taste it, dives into it with his hand, and dancing it in his fist till it be shaped into a ball and cooled, then casts it into his mouth. The other dish is known by the name of pillow, vulgarly pronounced plaw, and it is the same with that which I said has so near a resemblance with the Spanish olla podrida. Besides these two dishes, the Moors of a better alloy make their breakfasts of bonuëlos, or small loaves boiled in oil, which they eat with sugar or honey.

The country Moors feed much on milk, which they are by their law forbidden to taste, if it has been touched by a dog. They have store of cheese, but very coarse and homely. And as for their butter, we may suspect their cleanliness in making it; for they churn it in a sheep or goat skin, dressed or fitted for that office, which they shake between their hands.

But not much delighted with their dairy-house, I leave it to observe their reverence to bread and corn, which is both great and general; for from the throne to the plough, if any see a crumb of the one, or a grain of the other cast out or scattered, he stoops to take it up, kisseth it, puts it to his forehead, and looking up, saith, *Dill an*, It is from God; and then gives it to the first creature that will eat it.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the Moreſco Giammas, or Churches: their Foundation, Consecration, Manner of Structure, Subordination.*

ALL religions in their first model and constitution have had some less intelligible articles and things of a remoter signification, mingled with their easier doctrines and more obvious institutions. And there has ever been found a catholic agreement, not only in the main article of the Deity, but also in some solemn manner of his worship. Upon which consideration there were ritual circumstances established, for the more decent celebration of religious ministers. In the number of which ritual circumstances, I esteem a dedicated place, separate time, solemn actions, prescript forms, and above all a distinct order of persons, by whom the exterior religion is to be officiated, and to whom for the power and sacredness of their function there have ever been decreed convenient observances and revenues. How determinate the Alcoran is in these particulars, falls not within the compass of these remarks, but it is evident to those that attentively read it, that the author thereof seems not in any thing to be definitive. But whatever the mind was of that impostor concerning the mentioned rites, we find his sectaries have in all their dominions made provision for solemnity in their worship; being guided thercunto either by the more lasting and regular principles of reason, or in imitation of some people of another persuasion, which they esteemed wise and deliberate. Nor can Mahumed be blamed for not leaving decretals in the rites of worship, because their nature is of so great an indifferency, that no religion doth acknowledge them to be determined in every particular by any law, meriting, or usurping, the title divine: neither is there any thing in themselves to make them originally necessary.

And therefore, without enquiring into the motives by which the Moors or others have been induced to the usage of the accessories of religion, I only observe that the Moors are not therein defective; having churches, priests, times, revenues, &c. appropriate to the Divine adoration.

I shall begin with their giammas, moschs, or churches, in which this country abounds, and to which the Moors perform a great reverence and liberality, never suffering

suffering them to be profaned, nor to want a competent stock to keep them in repairs. The manner observed in the erection of a new *giamma* is orderly and laudable, which is thus: when a considerable number of people have agreed and resolved to settle together in neighbourhood, they seek out a piece of ground convenient for their purpose, which by mutual consent is divided, every family being allowed sufficient room whereof to rear an habitation. This done, their next care is to set apart a spot of earth for the foundation of their *giamma*, with great regard that it have no considerable inequality of distance from their several habitations. After they have thus framed their design, the *giamma* is first built, to which holy work all ages, sexes, and qualities of persons contribute their labours gratis, every one valuing it for a peculiar felicity and honour to have his hands and shoulders wearied in such a sacred employment. The fabric or *giamma* being finished, they dedicate it to no patronage but the public worship, nor use any other ceremony of consecration, but only choose one that is able to read the Alcoran, whom they accompany to the new *giamma*, where some parcel of their law is read, and their fallas, or offices performed, and from that time it is accounted a holy place. And the *giamma* being thus raised to its full stature, every family begins a cottage for itself, and when they are built, they seek for an *alfaqui*, or priest, to officiate in their new church, with whom they agree for a yearly pension.

But we must restrain this custom of building churches to the Barabárs who have fixed mansions; for the Alárbs who retain no place of constant habitation, have for their *giamma* a large tent standing exactly in the middle of their dwelling-tents, whither they resort at canonical hours to their orisons, in which they are conformable to the other Moors.

The *gimmas* do all agree in the fashion of structure; being all long and generally narrow, not running into aisles, nor branching into chapels and quires. Their situation is east and west, without any windows at all, nor have their *gimmas* doors but on the north side. [They are without the too easy accommodations of seats, pews, or benches.] The floor of the *giamma* is handsomely matted, and so are the walls about two feet high. If the roof be large and weighty it is supported with pillars, among which hang the lamps, which are kept burning all the night.

Every *giamma* has a turret, on whose top is placed a crescent, or half moon (a Mahumedan cognizance): from this turret the *almudén*, or sexton, with a loud voice invites the people to prayers, which supplies the forbidden use of bells. The Moors keep their *gimmas* in a very reverend decency, never permitting any dilapidations. None are vouchsafed to enter them but the males of their own religion, which makes it dangerous for Christians or Jews to look within them; yet if this happens they think not the holy place to be thereby any way desecrated. But this signal respect to their churches renders not their devotions elsewhere performed to be invalid; yet if possible they never fail to be at their *gimmas*, attributing much to the statutory prayers made in the church.

In greater towns there are many *gimmas*: in Tituán fifteen, in Alcázar more, in Arzila five, and in Fez seven hundred; among which there is a subordination, for the *Giamma Gheber*, or great *giamma*, being the cathedral, or mother-church, commands the rest, and is the cure of the *alcalib*, or chief priest. To the *Giamma Gheber* all the other *gimmas* conform in the hour of public offices, and though all the rest are hung with lamps, yet this has one of a peculiar shape and quantity, called *Ettouria*, or the master-lamp, in testimony of the church's prelacy.

CHAP. VII.—*Of the Moreſco Priests, their Education, Orders, Office, Reverence of the Priest, Revenue, the Almudén, Penalties for Absence from the Giámmas.*

THE Moors have at this day no schools of science, like the European universities and colleges ; which may be a main reason of their growing stupidity and barbarism ; for the want either of leisure, or lack of opportunity to study arts and sciences, because their whole time is spent in gaining whereon to live, through a deficiency whereof the politest nations will soon degenerate into ignorance and rusticity. As for the college called Amarodóch in Fez (whose structure cost King Aba Henen 480,000 crowns, and which has been so amply celebrated for the concinnity of its building, delightfulness of situation, carved roof, Mosaic arches and brazen gates), it is now wholly destitute of students. And if the Moors were not careful to keep up great store of petty schools they would soon decay and fall into a total illiterature. In these petty schools the alfáqui, or priest, takes in the first rudiments of his learning, without any possibility of climbing higher than to write and read ; and if a youth be found towardly and capacious, and bearing a good affection to the priesthood, when he has arrived to the first form in the school, he is removed thence, and placed with one of the best learned alfáquis in the town, or cavila where the school is kept. And this new tutor instructs his pupil to read the Alcoran with perspicuity, and to understand the principal points it contains : the tutor likewise informs him of all the rites of the giámma, which being both few and easy, are quickly obtained ; and when the scholar is deemed competent both for age and learning to be a priest, then his institutor calls two or three alfáquis more to examine the candidate, who being found deserving, they grant him testimonials of his willingness and abilities to be an alfáqui ; and this is all the education and orders which I could observe to be bestowed upon their priests. But it is very remarkable, that among the Moors none are admitted to this holy dignity but such as are of a competent age, and married ; for the former they render this reason, a novice ought not to be admitted to the priesthood ; but I conceive that their jealousy, with which they are notoriously gifted, is the fittest account can be given of the latter.

The Moors suffer no giámma to be vacant, because they esteem an alfáqui to be altogether necessary to exterior religion ; and that common persons, or the laity, performing the solemn offices of religion, doth make them common. For holy rites are no more to be dispensed by all, than the secular laws ; and though all men have common interest both in religion and the laws, yet all cannot be ministers of either ; and upon this consideration, that in the combinations and communions of men religion cannot subsist without some to guide, officiate, and prescribe the ministeries thereof, the Moors are diligent to provide an alfáqui for every giámma, that there may be no vacancy nor omission in the service.

To the alfáqui the lay Moors pay a signal reverence, giving him the more honourable hand and place. They plough his ground, dress his vineyard, reap his corn, &c., to the end that by no secular cares he may be interrupted in his function ; and by this I am guided to look into the office of the alfáqui, which is first, to preserve the giámma in decency, and to provide that the structure be not dilapsed, and that the lamps and matts be duly supplied. But the priest never puts his hand to any servile work, having those under him upon whom all the drudgery is discharged.

The second part of the alfáqui's office is to inspect the institution of the children ; to which purpose he hath usually under him one that is fit for the toil, and reserves to himself no more but the examination of the children's proficiency, which he doth once a week ; and those whom he finds remiss receive his correction, but the diligent he

marks

marks of his approbation. They have no free schools, but pay a weekly salary to those whom the *alfâqui* doth appoint to teach, for none can be a schoolmaster without his licence and approval.

His next care is to take notice who absent themselves from the *giâmma*, having power at his own discretion to punish whomsoever he observes to be therein delinquent. He is very vigilant to assist the sick, whom dying he accompanies to the grave. If there happen any disagreement among the neighbours, the *alfâqui* mediates a reconciliation, but if the quarrel exceeds ill language, and be concerning *meum* and *tuum*, he is not permitted to intermeddle.

If the *alfâqui* dislike his cure, he hath liberty of removal, being not confined to any parochial *giâmma* above a year, and he seldom contracts for a longer space. And for that time he is the superintendent of the mosque, out of whose rents he defrays all the charges for reparations, &c., taking the surplussage for himself.

And now the remark passeth to the revenues of the *giâmma*, which chiefly arise from the donatives of the dead. In some places the incomes are very large, in all comfortable; for the Moors exercise a great benevolence to places dedicated to religion: whereby they reproach many styled Christians, who cast aside the least sheaf for the tenth, and who are so far from enlarging the church's patrimony, that they are ready to devour the pitiful remainder that she still enjoys.

Muley Mahumed, in his third commandment, enjoins his Musalmim liberality, and alms-deeds, which proceeding from goods honestly gotten are, according to the Alcoran, meritorious of Paradise. He likewise prefers private alms before the public, and declares the devil to be an implacable enemy against this expression of mercy. And indeed there are many such pious doctrines in the Alcoran, but they are but as so many good ears of corn in a good field of tares, or as so many single grains lost in a heap of chaff: it having been the subtilty of the old serpent in all ages to gild over his poisonous pills, and to blend truth with falsehood, that the latter might be embraced for the sake of the former. Besides it is an ancient mistake to think, that truth and falsehood are of too great a contrariety and distance to mingle and congregate; which makes many, when they have found some truth in doctrine, to conclude no falsehood to be joined with it. And those truths which are dispersed up and down in Mahumed's law, being evident to its professors, make them credulous of the whole system. And though they are zealous for all the precepts, yet for none more than that which concerns alms-deeds; for they have their *ashorâh*, which is an anniversary festival whereat they bestow a certain quantity of their substance upon the poor. But the greatest bounties are towards the *giâmma*, to which every one at his death leaves a portion of his estate, by which method the *giâmma* has considerable endowments, which are under a continual improvement, and made capable of no manner of alienation.

To every *giâmma* there belongs an *almudèn*, or a kind of sexton, whose office is to call the people to church at the hours of prayer; which he doth from the top of the turret, (mentioned above) crying with a voice articulate and loud, *Illâh Ghebèr*, God is the great; and sometimes, *Laillâh La Mahumèd Refûl allâ.*, There is but one God, and Mahumed the messenger of God. And these words the *almudèn* pronounceth at every corner of the turret, beginning at the east, and ending at the point that looks towards Mecha; by which they signify, that all the corners of the world should look towards Mecha in worshipping the Deity, that is, be Mahumedans.

The next office of the *almudèn* is to open the doors of the *giâmma*, to trim the lamps, and keep the mats in repair and cleanliness. He also informs the *alfâqui*, who hath an inherent power to punish those who can show no good reason of their absence.

But the penalty is very tolerable, being no more than five or six pounds of cuscuffow, which the offender brings to the giámma, where it is eaten by the priest and the assembly. None are found to offend therein through contempt or wilfulness, nor yet through the pursuance of their pleasures; for there is so strict an observance of the church-service, that the husband will leave the society of his wife to be there, if he hears the almudèn speaking the invitatory. The last branch of the almudèn's office is to dismiss the people, which he doth at the end of the falla, or orisons, in the same words that he called them together. And now before I close up this chapter, I cannot, speaking of their ecclesiastic penance, but observe that the Moors have no such thing as excommunication, so that they are for no crime debarred the giámma; but, on the contrary, the greatest mulct inflicted by the priest is for their absence, above three times in twenty-four hours, from that holy place.

CHAP. VIII.—*Of the Moors's set Times of Prayer. The Preparation, Entrance into, and Department in the Giámma. Church Music.*

THE Moors' season of prayers returns five times in twenty-four hours, or a natural day: the first is, alowilic shah, and comes about noon; the second they call allahiric luli, which is about three o'clock in the afternoon; the third atelthah asèr, at the going down of the sun; the fourth alarbèe ashá, a little within night; the last, alham-fah magnib, which is in winter a little before day. At every assembling the prayers are the same, except that at the allahiric luli they repeat the la illa ghehèr but thrice. The Moors esteem the prayers made in the giámma to be of the greatest efficacy, and therefore all endeavour to perform them there; but those who cannot repair thither, do discharge this duty where the solemn hours find them.

In their addresses to these holy celebrations the Moors use great tokens of reverence, being very punctual in fitting themselves for the giámma. Their general preparative consists in washing; which is such a necessary right, that without its observation it is impossible to be of their religion. And it is notorious to all acquainted with the Mahumedan institutes, that washing is a great part of that law; nor need this create any man's wonder, seeing that all the Musalmim of the Alcoran use washing in a mystic signification of internal purity, and that the soul receives the benefit of their corporeal labors. None among them return from natural evacuations, but they wash the parts liable to defilement; nor will any, who is a virtuoso in the ceremonies, eat with unwashed hands; which at first I interpreted a mere civil cleanliness, because they use no knives, &c., but tear their viands in pieces with their fingers, but upon farther scrutiny I perceived it to be reckoned by the superstitious among the actions of religion.

In places where they have hot baths, (which are in few places wanting) they use them after concubinate and all improvident pollutions; but their greatest exactness in washing is at their going to prayer. Then every part where nature disburdens her excretions is warily cleansed, and the other parts also which are more egregiously obnoxious to pollution. If any Moor, after he has washed at home, in his way to the giámma chance but to belch, he dares not enter the holy roof until he has used the lotion; and therefore in the foundation of a giámma, great care is taken that it may stand near some spring, or receptacle of water, that those who come to the church may be provided with that element in case of any contingent defilement, without the trouble of returning home to wash.

When they come to the door of the giámma, every one puts off his shoes at the threshold, and then enters with a slow pace, erect body, and eyes bashfully looking

towards heaven : in this posture they advance directly to the south side of the *giámma*, and they always make their prayers toward that point, because in all their devotions they are commanded to make them toward Mecha. While they are in the *giámma* none dare openly to yawn, cough, walk, discourse, spit, scratch his head or face, but if any has need but to wipe his lips, he doth it unseen, covering his countenance with his *alheic*, which is a loose garment generally worn by the Moors.

And by these reverences in their carriage toward holy places and performances, they are taught to upbraid the Christians, whose behaviour at sacred solemnities some of the Moors have observed to be of a far different character. And this I learned from a Moor who had unluckily been in England to make the animadversion, with whom when I discoursed about this point, he told me with anger and indignation in his looks, that it was a shame to see women, dogs, and dirty shoes, brought into a place sacred to God's worship, and that men should walk and discourse in a mosque, as in a public borsá or exchange, and that they should have chairs there to sit in with as much lascivious ease as at home ; which with other actions of the like irreverence he zealously repeated to reproach the Christian ; and indeed I was not furnished with arguments to (nor could in conscience) excuse any considerable part of his animadversion : only I told him, that as for the exclusion of women from the public offices of the mosque, it was a doctrine of the Alcoran, grounded upon conceits of imperfection peculiar to that sex, which are not so far to be owned, as for them to exclude the females from the means of their chiefest felicity. Besides, this excommunication of women was an article of interest and policy, and which Mahumed adopted into his religion on purpose to please the Jew, who at this day begins his public prayer with a thanksgiving to God, *que no le hizo muger*, that he did not make him a woman, a creature not allowed to serve him in the synagogue ; and that seeing we wanted reasons which moved the Moors to this practice, we could incur no scandal by its rejection. As for his objecting our bringing dogs into the church, I told him it was an uncomely and irreverend permission, and wholly abhorred by knowing Christians ; that there was a provision made against it, and that it had been his ill hap to look into a church where the sanction in that particular met with a remiss execution. Next, as to our having seats in the mosque (for I was to speak in his own dialect), and to sit at some parts of divine service, custom and innocent convenience were all that any one could pretend to hallow it. But as for walking in the church in time of divine service, or therein at any time to discourse of secular concerns, that it was only the practice of profane and ill-disciplined minds, the miscarriage of the rude, contrary to the rule, and a certain argument of a relaxed discipline and negligent superintendent.

Pudet hæc opprobria.—

But I return to the *giámma*, whither the *alfáqui* comes not till a considerable number of the people are assembled ; who in the priest's absence spend their time in a devout repetition of the *fallah*, a word that signifies the whole form of their prayers. And when the *alfáqui* is come, he advanceth straight to the south side of the mosque, and the people fall orderly into ranks behind him. Upon this the priest begins the prayer, in a voice moderately elevated, which the people humbly repeat after him. At the pronouncing of *Illah el gheber*, that is, God is the great, they all use an elevation both of hands and eyes to heaven : at the name of Mecha, they all kiss the ground ; but when they mention Muley Mahumed, and the mercies he procures them, they fall prostrate, and upon the sudden, in a kind of rapture, re-assume an erect. When the priest

priest hath repeated *La illah Mabumed reful allah* four times, the almuden dismisseth the people; and when they leave the giámma, the alfáqui goes first, as a token of his prelacy above the people. Their falláh or service is very short, for if it took up any considerable time, the frequency of its return would take up most of their leisure, and thereby be a sensible impediment to their temporal vocations.

In the closure of this chapter, I thought to have spoken something of the Moresco music in the mosquée, but this I found to be a delightful piece of devotion, wherein they seem to be very ignorant. I have been told, that in former time they had in every giámma some lay-persons that understood the cadences of the Alcoran, and which could sing it in its original metre, which must needs be very harsh harmony, if any at all, in regard of the incapacity that is in the Alcoran language to fall into syllabical measures and tunable proportions. Besides, the Moors have very harsh and sawing voices, as they will have cause to observe who have had their ears grated with their amorous sonnets, in which all are wont to express their sweetest and best moving accents.

CHAP. IX.—*Of the Moresco Church Government. The Alcalib, or High Priest. The Instruction of the Women. Forms of Prayer. Charms composed by the Marabitós or Marabouts. Sabbaoth, its Institution, Celebration.*

SOME have laid it down for a great reach in Muley Mahumed, that he reserved the church government to himself and his successors; which is still visible in the Grand Seigneur and the Sophi; for albeit the one hath a musti, and the other a mustard-dini to inspect the ecclesiastic affairs, and to be as the oracular interpreters of the Mahumedan law, yet their election is incommunicably in themselves. And albeit that these principal churchmen are had in so great esteem with their princes, that their decisions are scarce ever contradicted by them, yet when their determinations are not consistent with the interest of the public, these great oracles are dismissed, and others introduced, who are not so scrupulous in their sentences. By which it is evident, that the Mahumedan princes are in effect the heads of the church, and chief expositors of religion. But not much of this can be observed in the Moors' church government, who have in every cavila (or county) an alcalib, or high priest, in whose nomination the secular power doth not at all interpose, for he is chosen out of, and by the alfaquís, over whom he is invested with a power, whereby he is enabled to depose, or otherwise chastise the offending clergy. Immediately upon this arch priest's election, he is possessed of the giámma gheber, or great church: wherein upon every Friday he expounds some text of the Alcoran, unto which exercise he always goes accompanied with the chief personages of the neighbourhood; and being entered the church, he immediately ascends the albambár (which is a bench about five steps from the ground) with a tall staff in his hand, wherewith he often beats upon the bench to express his zeal, and to awaken the people to a more signal attention to what he then delivers. This discourse, homily, exposition, or sermon, exceeds not an hour and a quarter in length, and is delivered exactly by heart. And when it is ended, the almuden dissolves the congregation, and the alcalib returns to his house accompanied with the chief of the place, and in his passage he receives the customary tokens of respect from the people. And whatever some cursory review of this country tell us of the other priests making sermons to the people, yet having with some diligence made enquiry into this particular, I found that the office of preaching was peculiar to the alcalib, or chief priest, and that no sermons were celebrated at any other church, but

but at the *giámma gheber*, (that which I may English the cathedral.) This eminent church-man is seldom seen in public, but at this exercise; for to make himself the more revered he affects retirement, spending his hours in the study of the *Alcoran*, and in resolving such cases as the laity present him, who esteem his resolutions infallible; and this, with a careful inspection into the deportment of the inferior clergy, doth constitute the office and government of the *alcalib*. As for his revenues, they are suitable to his condition; and as to his life, it is austere and reserved, he affecting a peculiar gravity in all his carriage. Every *alcalib* has his distinct diocese, out of which he has no power, so that the *alcalib* of *Beni-Aròs* hath nothing to do in *Minkél*, for every one is absolute in his own *cavila*.

At the public instructions of the *giámma* none are present but the males, for the women, as I said, are denied admission into the assembly, yet are not wholly destitute of the means of being taught religion: for upon every Friday they repair to the house of the *alfaquí*, where his wife is bound to instruct them: but her lectures usually concern good housewifery, and how they should demean themselves to their husbands, in obedience and submission, and to live in peace with their fellow-wives. All the while the women are at the priest's house, he is not to return home, nor stir out of the *giámma*, but hath his meat brought him thither. But for what reason the priest should be under this restraint, I leave any one to imagine, who has heard of the *Moreisco* jealousy. But now in case the priest has no wife, who seldom wants four; or that by any indisposition she is not able to perform this office, then it is discharged by some aged matron of the place; and for a further supplement of the women's being debarred of the *giámma*, their husbands repeat unto them such lessons as they have heard there; and this is all that on this account I could observe of the Moors' women.

Muley Mahumed styled prayer the key of Paradise, and the pillar of religion, that he might the better recommend its practice to his converts, who generally maintain so careful a performance of this duty, that no secular business can detain them from, nor any thing divert them at, their devotion. I once endeavoured to collect their prayers into an order, the better to take a distinct view of this pillar of their religion, but I found them reduced to no certain form extracted out of the *Alcoran*, but were a collection of some incoherent sentences magnifying the power and mercy of God. Their first prayer, or rather their creed, is that which the *almuden* proclaims with a loud voice, when he calls the people to the mosque; as there is but one God, and Mahumed his messenger; and this admits of no variation. The second prayer is the first chapter of the *Alcoran*, wherein there is some difference according to translations (in which the *Alcoran* hath been very unhappy); but those which I have seen in Latin, Spanish, and French, agree in this traduction of the chapter.

In the name of God, gracious and merciful, King of the Day of Judgment: thou art he whom we adore: it is from thee that we require help: guide us in the right way, in the way of those with whom thou art pleased, against whom thou art not angry, and we shall not go astray. This prayer is repeated with the former, after the same manner as the Papists repeat their *Pater-noster* with the *Ave-Maria*: for the Moors have their *tesseræ precariæ*, or their beads, wherewith they number their prayers. And the whole corona or rosary consists of ninety-eight, which the devout, or religiously affected, carry always about them. They have a custom to repeat often together the first words of the prayer, which they conclude to be a great act of charity, as supplying by this repetition the defaults of such as are remiss in this duty.

In the name of God, merciful and gracious, is the proeme of every chapter in the *Alcoran*, and were the first words that Mahumed is said to have spoken when he came out of his epileptic fits, which he made the people believe were trances. And with the same words the Mahumedan doctors begin all their discourses; and the letters written in Moresco language, if the pen-men are precise, are likewise introduced in the same form. There is a learned man, that tells of a prayer among the Mahumedans, which is called The Prayer of Jesus the Son of Mary, ending thus, And let not such an one bear rule over me, that will have no pity upon me, for thy mercy sake, O thou most merciful. But having diligently enquired, I could not find that the present Moors have any such litany in their uses. There are few who are able to read, that want manuals of private devotions, which are composed by the morabitos, or morabouts, and are indeed rather to be termed charms, than prayers. Now these morabitos, or morabouts, are a sort of Alárbes which are skilled, or so pretend to be, in the law of Mahumed, severe in their conversation, bearing a great ostentation of sanctity, pretending to prophesy, or predictions. They compose all sorts of charms, to which the Moor is so addicted, that he has one for every occasion: I have seen a whole book thereof, containing some for the child-bearing women, to facilitate their travail; some for the passenger, to guide him in the way; some for the soldier; and one for the horse, which is much in the service of the saddle: this they hang under the beast's neck, and believe that it keeps him from being blind, or dim-sighted. They have likewise spells to keep their cattle healthy, and make them fruitful, all composed by the morabouts and priests; the latter, of late, being much given to this sort of compositions.

And now from these short notices of the *giámna* and its appendages, I pass to speak of the Moresco Sabbath. That the fifth day of the week is the weekly festival of the Mahumedans, to distinguish them from the Jew, who keeps the sixth, according to our account, and from the Christian who observes the seventh, is known unto every one that knows any thing of this subject. About the institution of this Sabbath, variety of opinions may be met with: for some derive its original from the veneration Mahumed bore to the new moon, which is said to have appeared on Friday, the same day he began his imposture; and in memory of so happy an abodement, he set apart this for solemn worship. There is another conjecture which fetcheth its institution from some heathen rites paid on this day to Venus, whose name Friday bears. But there is little ground of this opinion, further than it may well suit with the genius of Mahumedism to have a day sacred to the goddess of carnality. But that opinion herein seems best to agree with the chronicles of Mahumed, which makes his escape from the conspiracy of the nobles of Mecha, to have been the occasion of this Sabbath, from which deliverance the Mahumedan *hegira* had its original and name. And in this Mahumed undoubtedly imitated the ancient Christians, who took their *æras* from some notable persecutions. But whatever was the original of this Sabbath, I observed that it has no great marks of reverence above other days: for on it the Moors go to plough, hold their markets, open shops, and omit little of their ordinaries, so that I must retract my calling of it a Sabbath.

They indeed on this day have an exposition at the *giámna* gheber, and on it they put on their whitest alheics, dress their locks, and are seen in their best accoutrements. The women likewise on this day visit the sepulchres, and strew the graves of their deceased friends with green boughs and herbs: and this is all that I have been able to remark upon this subject.

CHAP. X.—*Of the Moreſco Judicatory, Chief Miniſter of Juſtice, Rule and Manner of Proceſs, Teſtimony upon Oath, Recovery of Debts, Punishment of Forgers of Writings.*

THE Moors have no judicatories, or public houſes where they aſſemble about judicial controverſies; neither have they any mercenary advocates, or profeſſed lawyers, but all is decided by an alcaddée, who is appointed by the ſupreme ruler to be the miniſter of juſtice in the cavila and town where he lives. Now every cavila hath a peculiar alcaddée, from whom they cannot appeal to any other but alcaddé gheber, or the chief of theſe juſtices, who is appointed to receive ſuch appeals, and is in conſtant attendance upon the King, or chief governor. But it is not permitted to uſe theſe appeals, except in cauſes which are ſuppoſed to be too difficult for the deciſion of the local alcaddées; and when the matter is of that importance that the parties are unwilling to acquieſce in the ſolitary ſentence of one ſingle alcaddée.

Theſe juſticiaries take no ſtate of retirement, nor do they weary out the poor clients with tedious attendances; but to ſignify the facility of acceſs, and their readineſs to relieve and ſuccour the oppreſſed, theſe alcaddées ſit in the gates of the city, or ſome open and public place, to hear and determine all caſes that are brought before them. And albeit that this manner of doing juſtice be conformable to the cuſtom of the greateſt and beſt antiquity, as alſo very ſignificative of open and clear dealing; yet the Moor renders another reaſon thereof, and that it is to avoid all ſuſpicion and jealousy of corrupt carriage in the alcaddée with the female plaintiffs that ſolicit him for divorces.

Every one of theſe local alcaddées has two aſſeſſors, who in abſtruſer pleas aſſiſt him with their counſels: but the chief employment of theſe ſideſmen, is to copy out the ſentences of the alcaddée, and to draw up all the contraſts that come to be confirmed by him; for there is no bargain eſteemed legal and authentic, till it be certified under the hand and ſeal of the topical alcaddée.

The Moors, as all other Mahumedans, acknowledge the Alcoran to be the immutable rule both of civil juſtice and religion, and therefore according to the letter and interpretation thereof, the alcaddée frames all his definitions and judgments. Here is no intriguing the plea with reſolutions, caſes, precedents, reports, moth-eaten ſtatutes, &c.; but every thing is determined according to the freſh circumſtances of the fact, and the proof of what is alledged. The teſtimony of two men, if they are of known ſobriety, is ſufficient to make good the allegation; but there muſt be twelve to ratify it, if their converſation be ſuſpected: for the Moors believe, that amongſt twelve men as much honeſty may be met with as will equal what can be found in any two. If any alfaquí or prieſt be introduced to give evidence to the depending conteſt, his bare affirmative or negative depoſition is of validity to put a period to the diſpute, and the alcaddée ſuperſedes all enquiry, when the prieſt hath declared the ſtate of the cauſe: and in this, as in all other inſtances, they give a reverend eſtimation to their prieſts, whoſe preſence ſecures the civil diſquiſitions a great veneration with the many.

In taking the teſtimony of a Moor upon oath, the ſervant of the alcaddée carries the deponent to the giánma or moſque, where in the preſence of the alcaddée he ſwears by that holy place, that he will declare all what he knows concerning the matter, to which he is to give evidence. But oaths are never adminiſtered to any in another man's caſe, but ſuch as are ſuſpected perſons, and they are uſually numbered among

the rogues and faithless, who have no credit without them; besides it is never permitted for a man to swear in his own case, but for want of witnesses, or when the accusation is of that nature, that the impeached cannot otherwise receive purgation. As for the Christian and Jew, they are suffered to give testimony according to the rites and customs of their own religions; but the Moors are not forward to put them upon this trial, as doubting that fear of punishment should tempt them to perjury, and those who are thereunto accessary (according to the Morefco principle) are involved in the guilt.

In pleas of debt, it is required that the reality of the debt be first manifest, which being done before the alcaddée, he signifies it to the almocadém of the cavila where the debtor lives, who upon his signification commands a present payment to be made; but if the debtor refuse or be unable to give the creditor satisfaction, the almocadém remits him to the alhá'b's, or prison, (which is always near the almocadém's house) where he stays till bailed thence by sufficient sureties, or personally pays the debt.

And to secure their courts of justice from interfering, or clashing one with another; the alcaddée of one cavila may not intermeddle with any thing that is transacted in another, but every one moves orderly in his own sphere, and confines his proceedings within the punctual limits of his assigned jurisdiction. And that herein there might be no collusion; covin, or imposture, every alcaddée has his privy seal, wherewith he firms the contract, or other things that pass under his hand. And the seal is usually engraven with the name of the alcaddée, and place of his office. And yet notwithstanding this care to prevent, they have the villany of forging deeds, which is done by some skilled in the alcaddée's office. But upon detection he that produces the forged paper is immediately imprisoned, and remains without hope of enlargement, till he declares the forger, and after that the alcaddée puts upon him a pecuniary mulct; but he deals much more severely with the principal in his forgery, who for the first conviction receives a sharp reprimand from the alcaddée, and after that the almocadém is ordered to burn his house; but if he be found to repeat his offence, the forger dies without mercy, which just rigour secures them from the mischiefs of counterfeit writings to the prejudice of another's right. So that this is a villany through the whole world condignly punished; and by our own laws, a second forgery of deeds concerning another's land after a former conviction, is felony.

CHAP. XI. — *The Morefco Punishments of Fornication, Adultery, Thievery, Retaliation, Murder, Bribery, Usury, Alcaddée's Revenue, Opinion of the Jews.*

IN the Morefco catalogue of crimes, adultery and fornication are found in the first comma, whose difference in the Moors' opinion may be collected from their penalties. For adultery, it is always capital, insomuch that without regard of any eminence or quality, the convict thereof is certainly stoned to death, which is done with most notorious circumstances. For first the day of execution is published, then the criminal is brought to the Calvary, where buried up to the naval in a mat mora, or a pit digged for that purpose, every one present casts one stone, and no more at him, saying, this is for thy filthy transgression of the law; but if the adulterous be persons of condition, their friends have licence to dispatch them privily, to prevent the open reproach to their family.

In the punishing fornication they are less rigorous, as finding the mischief thereof not to be of so large a derivation, as that of adultery. And if the persons convicted of this unchastity are in the state of coelibate, they are only chastised with scourges: but

but if either be married, or under matrimonial contract, death is the certain penance. But the Moors are no less solemn in whipping the fornicator, than in stoning the adulterer. For on Friday, after the arch priest has ended his lecture, the offender, if a man, is placed at the great door of the giàmma guebèr, or cathedral church, naked down to the middle, and in the presence of the congregation receives an hundred stripes on his back from an officer appointed for that purpose, who has a certain number of blankéles (or Morecco twopences,) for his service; the Moors as they pass by the chastised, use these deprecatory words, *Allab Jffeni min bad El ham. i. e.* God deliver me from this wicked fellow. The woman who hath been partner in the filthiness, suffers her punishment in the night, when she is whipt through the streets, but with more severity than the man, because the Moors suppose the female to be of a predominant allurements in such unclean commixtures.

The Moors who live in a roving condition are much addicted to thievery, against which the alcaddée proceeds by these steps of punishment: for the first theft the convict is publicly whipt in the alfoock or market; for the second, he loseth his hand; for the third theft he may truly be said to die without mercy. For the Moors observe Caligula's severity in making the offender exquisitely sensible of his death, which they inflict. Against the day of the thief's execution, the youth of the place are advertised to prepare their instruments of blood, which are little dry canes, made in the fashion of darts, accurately sharp pointed, these they hurl at the naked body of the malefactor, till his whole skin be struck therewith full of holes, and when they find him sinking under the torture, they drag and hang him up by the heels upon a gate, or the like, where he breathes out his last in torments, and being dead he is loathsomely exposed to the birds of prey.

In bodily injuries they observe the law of retaliation, as an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, &c. but it is in the power of the maimed party to receive a pecuniary reparation, or without any satisfaction to remit the wrong; but this is not permitted till the matter hath been tried before the alcaddée, and the hurt party publicly declared that he is willing either freely to forgive the injury, or to accept so much money in full repair.

And however the municipal laws of some countries put a vast difference between murder and man-slaughter, as appears in their defined punishments, yet in Barbary all homicide, or killing of a man by a man, is capital.

And the Moors have herein two concessions. The one is to license the next kindred of the slain, to take money for his blood of him that spilt it. The other to permit the relations of the murdered to kill the murderer, without any judicial procedure, if he be not already in safe custody; which is no more than a pursuance of that position, *Revenge is no sin.* Of this there happened a famous instance, not many months before I left Barbary, an account whereof, as it was given me by my old friend Cidi Alli Mulud Ben Ali, take as follows.

A Moor of Targa not far from Tituàn having his brother treacherously murdered by one of the vicinage, undertook to pursue the fugitive murderer, with design to avenge his relation's blood, and coming to Alcazer Gheber, he was informed that the person he sought for had some days before been there, and that he had put on a pilgrim's habit, with full resolution to pay a holy journey to Mechà; upon which the pursuer put on the like habit, and in prosecution of his design purposed to perform the same pilgrimage; but being come to Morocco, he overtook and lodged with the murderer in the pilgrims' hospital, where early the next morning he slew him; whereupon being apprehended and examined upon the fresh circumstances of the fact, he

produced a certificate under the hand of the alcaddée of the place where he lived, that his brother was slain, and that he had undertaken to avenge his death, the murderer being fled, and likewise answered them, that that was the homicide whom he had killed, whereupon he was set at liberty, and the corpse left to his disposal, to which giving a decent interment, he returned home to receive the praises of his gallantry.

But to return to the alcaddée, whom I shall here only observe in his revenue and office; as to the former it is very considerable, for he signs not a paper without a fee; and as to the latter it is very honourable and careful, for all civil affairs pass through his hands, and he daily sits attending on all qualities of persons without varying his respect to any. If he be corrupt in this charge, the alcaddée gueber, upon mature conviction, turns him out of office, which is his extremest penalty.

But indeed the ministers of justice have no opportunity to be collusive, as being free from the great allurements of dealing falsely, for bribery is not known amongst them. Usury (which I promised to intimate in this chapter) is totally forbidden by their law; for Mahumed hath made it an irremissible sin, and the usurer in as bad a condition as the devil, leaving him neither will nor hope to be saved.

Yet notwithstanding the severity of the law, and the supposition of this crime; the Moors have a custom which much favours it; for he that borrows money of another wherewith to traffic and gain, gives the lender an equal share of the profits, and in case the borrower lose the whole principal, he is obliged to make it good to him that lends it, but if only part be lost, the remainder is employed to regain it. And it is usual with the lender to forbear the borrower, till he perceives him fraudulent, careless, or unfortunate.

And because the sin of usury is so notorious among the Jews, the Moors believe that for it they are oppressed of God, and live exiles from their own Canaan. But it is easy to observe a sort of antipathy between these people, notwithstanding that they are conjoined in neighbourhood, commerce, and in very many rites both civil and religious. But the contempt is reciprocal; for if the Moor by way of proverb say, As deceitful as a Jew, the Jew repays, As unbelieving as a Moor. And this enmity I remarked in a Barabár of my acquaintance, who observing the Jews very much frequent my lodging, he very roundly reprov'd that conversation, and angrily told me, that the Jews were born to cheat both the Moor and the Christian, that he was assured that they were not descended of Adam, but that they were breed of the bone of a dead beast, and when he conjectured my incredulity of his ridiculous story, by my smiling thereat, he told me in angry zeal, that he would pledge his head for the truth of his assertion; whereupon I demanding what he conceived of those Jews who turned Moors, he answered that there was such efficacy in their religion that it made all those good who embraced it.

CHAP. XII. — *The Morisco Opinion of Marriage, Manner of wooing, Marriage Solemnity, carrying home the Bride, offering Wedding Feast.*

THAT marriage is honourable among all men, if it were not a truth dropt from an inspired pen, might be proved by induction, and the œcumenical content of all nations, which pretend to any settled rites in religion or policy. As for Mahumed, he had matrimony in so peculiar an estimation, that he made it the second of his eight precepts, and enjoined every subject of his law to marry in the vigour of his age, making the predominant end thereof, the propagation and maintenance of his sect. He like-

wife told them that chaste celibate was impossible, and that those who pretended to live therein, were justly to be suspected for unclean conversation. And hence perhaps it comes to pass, that the Moors (who are the Puritans in Mahumetism,) are so generally observant of this commandment; for few among them are found to live out of the state of wedlock, if they are able to purchase a wife. But many are not very prone to take all the liberty in marrying indulged them by their Prophet; for albeit he permits them plurality of wives, yet there are several families that for many ages have confined themselves to one: and I have met with those who abhor that filthy position fathered upon Muhumed, that the more they are spiritual, the more liberty and abilities they have to be carnal.

Unto the persons that are to be married there is no conversation permitted till the knot be tied, so that both parties take one the other upon trust, and the man perchance never sees the woman till they be brought to the bride-chamber; a custom that would be very hardly digested by the Utopians, who think it very unreasonable that a man should take a wife with less scrutiny than he doth his horse, and that he should bring one to be the perpetual partner of his life, with less information than he doth a horse to his stable, which he may part with the next day.

But the contriver of the New Atlantis finds all these inconveniences avoidable by the custom of Bensalem: where (saith he) near every town there is a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools); in these it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, another of the woman, to see them severally both naked. And the Moors have a custom not much differing from this of Bensalem, for upon the design of marriage two of the man's female friends, who have lived long enough in wedlock to understand its perquisites, are appointed to view the intended bride, and to give the suitor an account of her bodily accomplishments and defects, which is exactly entered in the contract, and if any infirmity be concealed for which the husband afterward dislikes her, he may put her away; and this makes them very cautious to omit nothing in the search or report; but there is no such examination passed upon the man, because he is daily exposed to a free censure.

If this inquisition be passed with satisfaction, then they proceed to frame the articles of marriage, which is always done by the nearest friends or relations of the parties to be contracted. And when they have finished them, they are brought to the alcaddée to be confirmed under his hand and seal; for unless the bargain be thus ratified, the woman in case of her husband's death, or her own divorce, cannot recover the portion that was promised her, or rather the price that was to be paid for her by the man; for I suppose that few are ignorant of the Moreisco custom of buying their wives. When the paper containing the bargain has passed the alcaddée, it is carried to the alfaquí, who having perused and declared his approbation of its contents, he bids the man take home the woman when he pleaseth to be his wife; and this is all that is done by the priest in this, according to their estimate.

And after this short dispatch of wooing, contract, and marriage, the bridegroom's next consultation is with his own convenience in order to fetch home his bride: in which the warm clime suffers him not to be tedious. But herein he is obliged to observe the appointed times; for neither all weeks in the year, nor all days in the week, nor all hours in the day, are free for this solemnity. For the taking home the bride is altogether prohibited during their Ramadàn, or Lent: the like prohibition reacheth unto the Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of every week, and on the canonical or regular days the afternoon and evening are the accustomed hours. At the time when marriage is celebrated, they use all possible significations of joy and hospitality; and it

is the custom for the friends of the married to contribute something to grace their nuptials. Therefore if the married pair live both in the same town, then at their set time the bridegroom goes attended with his nearest kindred, who coming to the lodgings of the bride are not suffered to go in, but wait at the door till the Negroes, which the husband hath bought or borrowed for that day, bring the bride from her chamber under a canopy of alheicks, and place her in an almara, or close chair (much resembling a tub) which they cover with scarfs and ribbons. And in this manner she is borne through the streets by Christians that are captives, and for want of these by Negroes, or by a meaner sort of Whites. When they begin their march from the bride's house to the bridegroom's, the music, colours, and drums pass in the first rank; next to them go some ancient women, who have been a long space married, all closely veiled; immediate next after the almara, or bride-chair, march those who carry the clothes and presents of the bride, which have been made her by her friends, who follow immediately after in a regular disposition. When they are come to the bridegroom's, the chair being lighted, the Negroes take out the bride, and under a canopy of alheicks conduct her to her apartment, where she is received by some aged matrons, who instruct her in the important offices of a good wife, and the rules of that relation, but they are wary of betraying any discouraging severity, and therefore intermit their documents by tasting the good cheer provided for their entertainment. While the bride is thus caressing the matrons, and receiving their maternal counsels, the bridegroom entertains his comrades, feasting them with the best cuscuffow, and brisk wines, if their over scrupulousness debar them not the cheerfulness of that beverage. But the bridegroom is not licensed for that time to drink freely of any strong liquor, for reasons not worth the mentioning.

In the interim of this entertainment, the bachelors make a kind of offering to their wedded companion; in which they observe this method: the bridegroom placeth himself upon a little low seat, behind him stand two Negroes bending his head moderately back; then come the bachelors, who cover the bridegroom's forehead and brow with metacales (or single coins of gold) and blaukeles, according to their affection and ability: and as they lay them on, the Negroes stroke them off into a basin set for that purpose in the bridegroom's lap, who all the while shuts his eyes. The Negroes likewise call every one by name who offer, saying *Fulano* (or such an one) lays on so much, God enlarge his life and riches. And this continues till all the bachelors have been at the corban. About eight of the clock the company breaks up, with resolution to reassemble the next morn; and when they are gone, the bridegroom visits the bride, whom he undresses with his own hands, first taking off her ornaments, then untying her drawers, and in every point prepares her for his bed; none being admitted to assist, or to be present at this office. And this they say he doth, in signification that she is wholly and only at his disposal.

Some conocidos, or intimate associates of the bridegroom, stay behind the rest of the company to congratulate the first pleasures of his marriage. For about midnight he leaves his bride to manifest unto his select companions the evidences of her virginity, by traditional arguments authentic with the Moors. This good news they all celebrate with increase of jollity; and now they venture to warm the bridegroom with his own fires, and endeavour to return him to his bride crowned with his own vine. But if she yield not these testimonies of virginity, it is in his power to put her to death, or otherwise to dispose of her as he pleaseth. For they esteem that the most unpardonable sort of cozenage, which takes a man's self and his money for that which is impossible to be

made good. And those women are accounted egregiously impudent, who conscious of their own failures dare put themselves upon this adventure.

But if for this injury he returns her to her friends, she meets with that rigour at their hands which she might easier have undergone from her husband; for all her cousins think themselves dishonoured in the debauchery of their kinswoman, which they imagine cannot be expiated but either by death or some more durable purgatory. And by reason of this just severity, the Morecco lamfels are very cautious of their behaviour, and scarce in half an age hath any one been convict of this delinquency; however, the man is circumspcct not to omit the ordeal.

When the bridegroom and bride have refreshed themselves apart with their choice companions, all are dismissed till the next day, when the festival is re-assumed, and lasts a considerable time; the wedding feast of the poorest continuing a week; and for this time the new-married man has a privilege to be absent from the mosque without fear of insult. Some grandees are not seen abroad, from the day of their wedding till they can shew the pledge thereof in their arms: but these are bound to have a dispensation from the attachi for their absence from the mosque, and to observe the times of prayer in their chamber.

CHAP. XIII. — *Of the Morecco Polygamy, Concubinage, Divorce, for what Reasons, in what Cases it is allowed.*

THAT the Muley Mahumed might the better compass the loose humours of his first sectaries, he made his religion to contain many carnal indulgences, denying nothing to believers of his doctrine, that had any sensible compliance with their brutal affections. And of this we meet with an example in his concession of polygamy and concubinage; for first he granted to every professer of his religion the liberty of marrying four wives; he likewise taught that they might take as many concubines as they were able to maintain, but in this also the more illuminated Moors confine themselves to one of their own persuasion, esteeming concubinate with infidels (under which name all are comprized that profess not Mahumatism) to be an unexorable uncleanness. As for polygamy it is looked upon as a divine institute, and when any object against it, the Moors vindicate it by the frequent examples and universal customs thereof, in the patriarchs and worthies of the Hebrew world. And I could meet with none who asserted plurality of wives upon politic considerations, as that it was convenient for the propagation of the empire, increase of people, and enlargement of their religion; but that it proceeded from God, was used by the holiest of his servants, and the economy of the old law.

When the inconvenience of these plurality is objected, and that their economies cannot but be much disordered, by reason of the inquietudes and strifes that will inevitably arise among so many female co-rivals for one man's affection; they tell you that this is a disease whose remedy is of a very easy procurement, by reason of that absolute dominion which the husband hath over his wives, whom, if they prove disagreeing, he confines to their several apartments, without allowing them any further conversation among themselves than that their society at meals affords them. And if this will not cure the unpeaceable humour, then divorce proves an infallible receipt; of which give me leave to give this brief account.

When the woman finds herself aggrieved by her husband, or any of her fellow wives, her only reparation and succour is to seek a divorce. And in this case she has liberty to address herself to the alcaddee, who has the sole power of dissolving, as well

as of tying, the knot of matrimony. And when the woman has declared her condition, and spread before the alcaddee the reasons upon which she grounds her desire of divorce, the alcaddee presently sends for the husband, and examines him concerning the verity of the complaint brought against him by his wife; if he deny it, then the matter is decided by the voice of the neighbours; but if the husband have a willingness to be quit of his wife, then he need but confess that whereof he is accused, and the alcaddee tears in pieces the bill of their marriage which he had confirmed, declares the marriage void, and certifies the divorce under his seal; and from hence forward they are both at liberty for new nuptials; from which the woman is bound to abstain till it be apparent that she is not impregnate by her last husband, who is still obliged to provide for the issue that she shall bring into the world five months after the divorce; but if she cannot tarry so long, then the alcabla or midwife, has her in examination, who is bound to return a just and true report, upon pain of being stoned to death. The Moors call the divorce and widows by the same word, and enjoin them the same laws of second marriage.

The chief causes of divorce on the woman's part are either disquiet and froward carriage to the family, especially when she will not live in amicable society with the sharers of the same bed; or when she is displeasing to her conjugal embraces, or when she will not endure his familiarity with his women slaves. But if she be found guilty of adultery, the injury is too great for divorce to repair, and in this case she is solely left to the pleasure of her husband, who has absolute power both to be her judge and executioner; and albeit the Moors are not sparing in the revenge of their kindred's death, yet they applaud the husband who kills their kinswomen, whom he has certainly found treacherous to his bed.

The occasions of divorce on the husband's side are his refusal of paying his wife marital due, or some other sort of unkind deportment. But after all the wife's complaints, the husband is at liberty to retain or put her away; and he may at any time divorce his wife, in case he will make good the marriage contract.

It is usually said, that the wives seek for divorce when their husbands deal unnaturally with them; and albeit this is said to be done with a great deal of modesty, the crime being signified by the turning up of a shoe; yet in Barbary examples of this kind are very unusual, for the Moors abhor the villainy, believing that it is not in man's nature to be so preposterous; and that it was at first the malicious invention of some vile and impudent strumpet.

The children which are begot before divorce follow not the woman, but are left to the husband's charge. And it is observable that the Moresco women seldom prove unfruitful; for in a town of above twelve hundred married women, it was reckoned for a great rarity that there was one died barren. But the wife, different from the Jewish custom, suffers no dishonour for her sterility, and if the husband takes a second wife who proves also childless, the husband bears the imputation. Mahumed in the fourth chapter of his Alcoran, adviseth the husband whose wife is barren to swear by her belly, and asserts it a means to make her conceive. A devotion which, as I have been told, is still in use among the Alárbes, but quite worn out of fashion with the other Moors.

In the nursing of children the mother abhors that unnatural pride of suckling them with other breasts, while her own are sufficient for that affectionate service. And to shew that there is something more than common kindness in this particular, the Empress herself is obliged for the first seven days to give her child suck.

And

And now, before I dismiss this remark, I cannot but acquaint you with all the material ceremonies of the second, third, and fourth marriages. Every former wife upon the introduction of another, lives seven days deprived of all manner of society with her husband, who for that time devotes himself entirely to his last bride; whom on the seventh day after marriage he solemnly brings into the acquaintance and fellowship of his other wives, whose brows the last married is bound to kiss, and tells them that they are not to be angry that their holy law hath entitled her to a share in his affection as large as any of theirs. The husband likewise exhorts them all to reciprocal kindnesses, assuring them that without fraud, or any partiality, he intends to divide himself among them.

Now that which seems most nearly to concern the wives, and proves the greatest and most incentive of their wrath is their husband's liberty of taking as many concubines as he lists; which for the most part are blacks, the Moors doting much on that Spanish saying, *la negra tiene turmentina en ella*. But those that keep concubine slaves, are not permitted to associate with them in the night, and if any of them bear their patrons children, she thereupon receives her liberty, and the child is coheir with those begot in wedlock.

CHAP. XIV. — *Of the Moreſco Admiſſion of Renegados, Circumciſion, Impoſition of Names, Surnames.*

EVERY religion has had ſtill ſome rites appropriated to the admiſſion of ſuch as undertook its profeſſion, and by which they were characterized and diſtinguiſhed. Concerning this the author of Mahumatism was much diſtracted, not knowing what inaugurating ceremony to ordain. His two aſſeſſors, Sergius the monk, and Abdalla the Jew, divided him with their opinions, while each pleaded for the character of his forſaken faith. But the wary impoſtor (labouring to keep up the credit of his pretenſions, in being ſent to be the reconciler of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religion, and to compoſe a law comprehending both) to comply with Sergius, who ſtood ſtiſſly for baptiſm; he ordained daily waſhings to all thoſe who became Mahumetans, and aſcribed thereunto no leſs efficacy than the cleanſing of the ſoul. And that he might not diſguſt Abdalla the Jew, he made circumciſion admiſſive of proſelytes into his law; but did not inſtitute it under any notion of abſolute neceſſity, and indiſpenſably required of all who undertook the profeſſion of his religion, but made the want of it no impediment of future happineſs. And therefore in the admittance of a renegado, or the denyer of his firſt religion, circumciſion is not exacted of the Moors, for fear that the undergoing of ſuch a painful ſacrament ſhould deter the proſelyte. But when any deſires to be of their perſuaſion, they carry the new Muſſulman on horſeback, in a kind of triumph through the ſtreets, and proclaim that ſuch an one being turned Moor, deſires the aſſiſtance of their prayers that he may not apoſtatize.

But their male children are initiated by circumciſion, and becauſe the child may die before it can be circumciſed, therefore the lack of this rite in ſuch a caſe is concluded to be no hindrance of its enjoyment of Paradife. When the child is ſeven days old, the Moors give it a name, and the father of it makes a feaſt. But the impoſition of the name is done in the public aſſembly; for the father at the evening-fallah carries to the church ſeveral diſhes of cuſcuſlow, of which he ſets one apart for the prieſt, and the reſt to be eaten up by the people. And when the prayers are ended, the congregation demand of the father what he will call his child, and if the name he gives it be not ſatisfactory to the people, they decide it by lots what he ſhall be called, for every man

here has a vote in the naming of his neighbour's child. And when they have agreed the point, all pray that the child may live, prove rich and valiant, and understand the Alcoran; then they eat up the cuscusflow and depart. It is observable that the priest, neither at the naming nor circumcision of the child, has any appropriate office, of which I could find no other reason, unless the Moors estimate of these ceremonies, which they never reckon among the essentials of religion.

There are some who have asserted, that there is an inevitable time of circumcision among all the Mahumetans; but if they had lived in Barbary, they might have lessened the proposition, for the Moors circumcise their children when they please, being by law not bound up to any particular day or hour. But it is generally grown into fashion, to circumcise at the animadversary feast called Mulud, kept in December in memory of Muley Mahumed. And few or none defer the circumcision of their males at the first Mulud after their nativity. Now there is no person set apart for this office, but the child is circumcised by any that has a gentle and nimble hand, to whom the parent gives a bountiful reward.

When the sons arrive to a due maturity, they are disposed of to vocations, among which the sword is reckoned the most honourable, as a privilege of primogeniture belongs to the first born. The rest betake themselves to such callings as best agree with their inclinations and fathers fortunes. Many of the wealthier sort put their sons to be talbyes, that in case they be reduced to want they be in capacity to be received into the priesthood and be maintained by the church.

The Moors have no surnames, which want they supply by adding to the child's name either the name of some remarkable time when it chanced to be born, as the Ramadan, Mulud, Ashora, and the like; or the name of the father by prefixing Ben, as Hader Ben Abdalla: being the same with Thomas Fitz Williams, &c. and the higher they derive the pedigree by reckoning up their ancestors, it is accounted the most honourable. And in this they follow the ancient custom, for to add to a man's proper name the proper name of his father by putting [son] before it, was of old instead of that which we now call surnames: and in some parts this is not yet worn quite out of use. Whether the names now given by the Moors, are significative of any virtues desired or foretold by those that impose them, to be in the children, hath not yet fallen under my comprehension.

Curiosity tempting me in pursuance of this note, to enquire into their child-births; I found that therein they observed a decency conformable to the best civilized people. For the pregnant wife perceiving the approach of her pangs, calls for the alcabla, or mother, the same with our midwife, to assist her travails, who never leaves her till the seventh day after her delivery, for so long she keeps her bed, and tarries forty days before she associates with her husband. Who if he be scrupulous will not embrace his wife from the time she appears impregnate, till the last minute of the forty days after her delivery be accomplished.

CHAP. XV. — *Of the Moresco Funeral Rites, Testaments, Mourning for the Dead, Esteem of Interment, Sepulchres, Places of Burial, &c.*

THE Moors are very careful that nothing be wanting or disorderly in the rites of burial, wherein the surviving relations signify great sentiments of humanity and affection toward the deceased: whom when they understand that they are sick, they delay not to visit, on purpose to admonish them of their faults, and to exhort them to look forward to the great pleasures of Paradise. The priest never omits this good

office of assisting the sick; and I have been told, that there are certain azaoras or parcels of the Alcoran, appointed to be read on this occasion to the infirm, who if he die not while those azaoras are thrice read over, it is an omen of his recovery; but if the agony be observed to increase in the time of reading, they conclude that the patient will not escape: which when the sick man observes, and sees that in all probability his distemper will terminate in death, he begins an exact disposal of his estate, whereof in the first place some part is bequeathed to the parochial church where he lives, and some small legacies to the alfachi and almodén, and the rest he leaves to be divided by the alcaddée among his wives and children: in which distribution, a son hath twice as much as a daughter, and the wives can claim no more than is set down in their contract of marriage.

In signification of their love to the dead, the near kindred of both sexes use tokens very expressive of sorrow: the men testify their griefs by putting on their coarser alheicks, and not wearing any thing that is very white about them, which at other times is a chief part of their bravery: for they account white to be no less a token of cheerfulness than innocence, and therefore account the wearing thereof very improper for such sorrowful occasions. The men likewise (that are of near alliance to the dead) cut not their beards, but declare their pensiveness; they suffer a great neglect in all those accoutrements, in which at other times they are very curious; and by a peculiar fancy they have some hairs hanging over their eyes in token of a careless sorrow. But this is done chiefly for such as come to untimely ends.

The women are very loud and dolorous in their lamentations of the departed; and they intermit not to howl over the corpse while it is in the house, which is not long, for as soon as the breath is expired, the dead body is washed with soap and warm water, by those of the same sex with the departed. Then the body is wrapt in white linen and laid in a coffin (though a coffin is but the lot of a few) on the right side, with the face toward Mecha, in which posture it is also buried. When the corpse is carried out to burial, the priest goes next unto it, who coming to the grave or sepulchre, prays that the sins of the defunct may be remitted, and that he may have a portion in the promised delights. Returning home from the burial, they have a feast to comfort those of the family who are not permitted to dress any thing while the corpse is in the house; and this consolatory feast is great or small, according to the condition of the dead.

They account it a great unhappiness for one of their faith to want a decent interment; and therefore if any die without an estate sufficient to discharge his funeral expences, they supply it by a neighbourly contribution. Those that are more wealthy and honourable have sepulchres, which vary both in materials and fashion: for some are built of rough stone, others of coarse marble, but the most of brick: some in form of a half moon, others open upon pillars; and some round and close, and to be entered by a door. But the vulgar lie in common graves, covered with green turf and boughs. At the feet and head of those that are thus buried, they fix large stones, in which are written the name of the interred, with the year of his age and hegira. As for epitaphs, they are quite worn out of request, yet they were in great estimation of old, as may be gathered from that collection which John Leo made thereof, and presented it to a brother of a King of Fez.

Upon every Friday the women repair to the graves of their deceased friends, whose deaths they bewail with a very loud and bitter lamentation, recounting the great satisfaction and pleasure which they once enjoyed in their society. And because they believe that on every Friday the soul returns to the body, they spread the graves with sweet flowers and green boughs on purpose to refresh it, and to adorn the grave. But

there are some Moors which hold this rite for a mystery in their religion, and therefore pretend not to give any account of its usage. They have one thing in burial, observed no where else, which is not to bury another in the same grave where one has been interred before, and therefore they use certain marks to secure them from mistakes.

It has been often told me, that the Moreſco women in their weekly lamentations of the dead, used to ask them what reason they had to die, seeing that they enjoyed loving friends, wanting none of the comforts of this life, &c. But I found this was an idle story, and a Moor assured me that they had no such custom, and that it could be the calumny of none but a deceitful Jew.

Neither is that other story of more credit, which makes the Moors reserve a vacant place in the grave, to give the dead carcase room to rise up and kneel before two pretty angels, who come to confess the departed concerning the great points of the law; namely, paying of tithes, giving of alms, and observing of ramadon; for upon mature enquiry, I was assured that the Moors had no such article in their creed.

The places of burial that belong to great towns, are in the fields: but in the country they are generally by the high-ways, which may be to put passengers in mind of their mortality. The ground which is set apart for this employment, is usually the donative of some devout person, or purchased with legacies bequeathed for that purpose. And that there might be no fraud practised in this particular, both alfachi and alcádee keep registers of all such donations, which are transmitted to posterity. When the ground is once devoted to this service, the Moors call it blessed and holy, and account its alienation an unpardonable wickedness. Neither the Christians, nor any of another religion, are permitted to tread within these burial places, unless they be their slaves, whom they admit to any thing capable of service, and use as sorely as their dogs. These slaves always wait upon the women to the sepulchres, but for no other intent than to carry their flowers and boughs, and to assist them therewith to dress the graves.

There is no aldea or village that has a church, but it hath also a peculiar burying place, given or bought as hath been already mentioned.

CHAP. XVI.—*Of the Moreſco Ramadán, its Institution, Moveableness, Manner of Celebration.*

SOME have imagined that for twelve years after the promulgation of the Mahometan law, the sectaries thereof kept the same fasts with the Jews: but Mahumed being displeased with that refractory people, and scorning to borrow any of their institutions, commanded his profelytes to abandon their fasts, and appointed in their room the moort ramadán, to be kept in an anniversary abstinence. But others date this Lent from the second year of Mahumed's prophesy, and that it fell out in the month September, at which time the Alcoran is said to have been sent from Heaven. But it is not likely that the fast was in memory thereof, because so great a blessing (in the Mahumedan's estimation) deserved to be kept in mind by a far different memorial, great mercies having never been celebrated with penances and corporeal humiliations, but rather with festival expressions of joy, and actions significative of exaltation.

The ramadán is moveable, and depends on the appearance of the new moon, which, if through the cloudiness of the weather they cannot discern, they tarry till it may be presumed by the course of nature that it is changed. And those who are less learned

in the lunar mutations, continue the fast for thirty days, being assured that in that period the moon must fulfil her course.

A winter ramadàn is very welcome to the Moors, because their labours are not then so pressive, and better then to be endured, by reason of the coldness of the season: and the fast is not so afflictive, because the days are short, and the nights long to revel in.

Though this be the severest precept in the Mahumedan law, yet it is not without all capacities of indulgence, for therein is had special regard to the wayfaring and infirm, who have licence to eat in the day time, with this caution, that at the end of their journey, and upon their recovery from sickness, they perform the full account of their Lent. As for the rest, they are enjoined no more than a diurnal abstinence, having the night at liberty for all fruitions they can procure, wine only excepted, which by those who at other times liberally drink it, is for this moon totally renounced. The breach of this fast they punish with stoning to death, and there is no necessity can privilege any (except travellers and infirm persons) to eat or drink till the evening star witnesseth that the day is shut in.

They make great provision for this ramadàn, wherewith they furnish out their nocturnal festivals; and for this end, use a great frugality before for some days.

They place a great sanctity in this fast, which yet to a scrupulist scarce would seem to deserve that name, for the day is usually past away in a loitering sleepiness, and the night in junketing: the one is at best but a drowsy Lent, and the other a luxurious carnival. Yet there is a devouter sort of bigots, who spend the day in the church and devotion, and are very reserved in their nightly carresses, living for the whole moon separate from women, where they supererogate, their law no where exacting this severity: for such was the carnal temper of their prophet, that he thought it an impossibility to live a whole day continent. Both sexes are bound to begin this fast at the twelfth year of their age, and it is placed among the articles necessarily requisite to the constitution of a perfect Mahumetan.

The last day of the moon, the Moors spend in doleful lamentations of their deceased relations, and with their yearly commemoratives end the fast.

CHAP. XVII.—*The Moresco Feasts.*

AT the end of their Lent, Mahumed instituted a festival solemnity, as hath been imagined in imitation of the Christians' Easter. The Turks call it Bairam; the Moors. El Ed Geer, or the little feast: little, not in respect of its duration, but expence: for it lasts three days, which equals it in length with any of the rest.

On the first day thereof they spread the floor of their giânmas with coloured leather, and then entertain each other with honey, sweet butter, and wafers. And according to the performance of this festival, they divine, as the Egyptians by their Nileoscope, the blessings and plenty of the descending year.

About two months after, the Moors have another festival, by them called, El Ed Gueber, or the great feast, in respect of the expences and charges thereof. This festival still commenceth with a sermon, which the alcalib or chief priest makes concerning its institution, with amplification of its praises. Returning home from the sermon, the Moors fall to killing such sheep as they have made choice of for their entertainment at this solemnity, and there is not the meanest fortune but now has his sheep, which is killed by cutting the throat thereof, with their faces towards Mecha, and swearing by Alquiblá. This done, every family takes the heart and appurtenances, and immediately

mediately drefs it with faffron, red and black pepper ; then, with ftore of bread, they bring it to their parifh church (where every quality knows his ftation), and eat it in communion. Returning from this ecclefiaftic ordinary, they pafs the fecond and third day in eating and drinking. This is alfo called the mutton feaft.

The next to this is their Afhorah, which lafts but one day, and called a feaft of fruits, nothing being then eaten but dates, figs, parched corn, and all fuch natural cates as their fubftances can procure. This feftival is not held in giámmas, but every father of a family treats his houfhould under his own roof. And the rich on this day give a portion of their eftates to the poor, who on the morning of the feftival go from one giámma to another, and receive the yearly alms, which are proportionably divided amongft them. None caft into this treasury who have not a certain fum of money in poffeffion, and he that has lefs than ten metacáles (which fomewhat exceeds our five fhilling pieces) is exempt from this corban.

At the receipt of thefe alms, the poor pray that God would increafe the givers' ftore, and enable them to beftow more the next Afhoráh, telling them, that this fulfilling of the law, is the beft affurance of rendering their petitions fuccefsful.

Anferáh is another Moreíco feftival, which lafts but a day ; and with the Andaluzian Moors bears the name of Saint John Baptift's, or the feaft of the Chrifians. On this feftival, thofe who live within ten leagues of the fea come thither to wafh themfelves ; and thofe who cannot, by reafon of diftance, repair to that great monopoly of waters, take falt and throw it into the fountains at home, and bathe themfelves in that counterfeit ocean. This is exactly at mid-summer, and held in commemoration of that great bleffing of water. The viands of this feaft exceed not their ordinary provifions, only they eat them with greater alacrity.

Mulud is the yearly feaft for circumcifion, and continueth three days ; on the firft whereof, they make a gátcha, or hodge-podge of flour, water, butter, and honey, and carry great quantities thereof to the church, whither they invite one another, faying, come, let us go to the Allamdillah, or to the feaft that is made to Mahumed for God's fake : and when they have eaten of this homely difh in the church, they leave ftore thereof to be devoured by the poor, and fpend the two following days in good neighbourhood and plentiful collations. This is their chief feaft, becaufe at it their males are circumcised, and may feem to have a reference to the old Whifuntide among the Chrifians. But I forbear to fwell thefe remarks with fuch conjectural references, which if I fhould enterprife, I might make all Mahumed's institutions yield fome probable refemblances of thofe ancient cuftoms and ordinances in ufe among Jews and Chrifians ; and fhew, that this great deceiver has confused both the Testaments into his Alcoran, labouring thereby to have his firft pretentions made creditable, that he came to reconcile Jew and Chrifian unto the obedience of one and the fame law.

Thefe Moreíco feftivals feem not fo much commemorative of received mercies, as relaxatives of corporeal labours, from which they are obferved to have no other divertifements. For cards and dice are utterly abhorred by the better families, not only as forbidden by the law, under the infamous terms of diabolical inventions, but as obferved to be occasions of many nocive paffions, engendering debates, and incentives to avarice : befides, they are looked upon as effeminate and trivial entertainments, fit only for feamen, and women ; the former being much verfed in this idlenefs, though no fuch afperfon can be caft on the latter.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Of the Moreſco Paſtimes, Muſic, Dancing, &c.*

WHEN the Moreſco gentry are diſpoſed to ſports, the wild boar fits them with a manly exerciſe, and affords them both paſſime and improvement; and when in the failure of ſome circumſtance they are debarred this kind of recreation, they ſupply it with their lances in luſory ſkirmiſhes on horſeback, wherein their dexterity cannot be too much admired.

But they are naturally uninclined to ſports, being very ſaturnine, and loving the extremes, either to ſit ſtill, or to be in robuſtious motions. They ſpend much of their time in a ſort of drowſy conference, but the ſum of their domeſtic entertainments is their women and their cheſs-boards: all communicating in the former, but the latter is only the ſerious paſtime of the virtuofos.

They uſe vocal and instrumental muſic, but in both are very ſerious and plain, devoid of levity or flouriſh. Their uſual instruments are the *rabèb* and *ahlùd*; the former reſembles our violin, but ſtrung only with one great cord of hair; the other a guitar. In *Fèz* they have lutes, and thoſe who will teach them well. The *Alárbs* have an instrument called *zauphèn*, like the bottom of a kettle, on which they tinkle with a ſtick. The *Tituanczes* have a leſs organ, and alſo uſe a ſort of tabor and pipe when they march in the field. So moſt towns have their peculiar ſorts of muſic. The ſinging part is performed by negras, not for any peculiar excellency they are happy in, but becauſe ſinging at public dances is looked upon as ſiſh.

In their dances they permit no mixture of men with the married women, which is granted to the virgins, who upon ſome ſolemnities dance with the bachelers; but ſo cloſely veiled, that not any part about them is ſeen naked. They act the tune with their hands and head, and abhor, as looſe and laſcivious, jigs, or high dancing. Every town and *cavila* have their own dances, which are known by ſeveral names. The *Feffians* have a dance called *eſtitati*, which is uſed in *Sally*, *Mekenèz*, *Alcazàr*, &c. Thoſe of the city of Morocco have one named *Sholakebèr*; and in the *cavilas* of *Minchèl*, *Bemi-Wadres*, &c., there is a dance ſtyled *Iſmmahàh*. It ſeldom happens that thoſe of one town know the dances of another, therefore thoſe who uſe this divertiſement only know the name and mode of the dance where they live.

Their ſet times are their weddings and yearly feſtivals, the married dancing on the day, the ſingle in the night.

CHAP. XIX.—*A miſcellaneous Chapter of the Temper of the Air, Diſeaſes, Medicine, Poiſons, Education of Children, Apparel, &c.*

BEFORE I ſhut up theſe tumultuary remarks, I cannot but add ſome miſcellaneous notes, occaſionally collected from diſcourſe and obſervation, of whoſe credit I have not many arguments to render me dubious. The firſt notice concerns the temperature of the air in this part of Barbary, wherein there is ſome variation according to the ſcite of the places. At *Fèz*, the air in ſummer is more temperate than at Morocco. The inhabitants of the latter for ſeveral hours cannot endure the heat abroad, and therefore for that time keep cloſe within: but the people of the former are by no ſuch exceſs conſtrained to intermit their labours. Albeit, as I have obſerved in other countries, much herein is to be imputed to humour and cuſtom.

The inland country is hotter in ſummer and colder in winter than the maritime, which may eaſily be conceived, by conſidering what neighbourhood the one hath with the

the sea, the other with the mountains, which from December to the latter end of February are covered with snow ; at the resolution of which, such rivers are caused, that in some places the channels will yield water the whole summer ensuing.

The inhabitants live long, and are generally healthy ; the diseases, when they happen, are fluxes, after the season of fruits ; and calentures, when they immoderately travel in the sun. And what seems herein remarkable, the winter (which season consists of great rains) is most mortal amongst them.

The lues venerea, or foul disease (which the Moors call bubè) is incident to those who accompany with variety of women : and though this may seem to confine that distemper to those Moors who live after a more rude and roving manner, yet it is no stranger to those of a more refined and settled life, the grandees of late having herein exceeded the peasants.

As to the plague, they observe no set time of its return, the tenth and fifteenth year of its coming being worn out of remarks ; and in this last century it has happened very seldom, but in no parts it doth rage more furiously than in Barbary : and when they are visited, the inhabitants take little or no care to avoid it, holding it to be inevitable.

In cure of sicknesses, they use very plain medicines, and whatever be the disease, cauterizing is first practised, which they do with more art or curiosity than with a knife red hot to gash and cut the place where the pain lies. To cure the head-ach, they take the root tauz argent and rosemary, burning them in an earthen pot, over which the diseased holds his head for the fume ; then binding the same in a cloth about the head, present ease is given. This tauz argent is a root much celebrated for an excellent and lasting perfume : there is great store thereof about Sally, which is white within, without dusky and streaked. The Moors use it in airing and perfuming their rooms, but the scent is much less durable than has been reported.

The people when sick cure themselves with herbs, in whose virtues the common people have a traditional knowledge. By this they supply the want of apothecaries and physicians, of which profession none are found, except a few mountebank ignorant Jews.

The Moors have an herb called la halis, which, mingled with honey, they make up into balls as big as pistol bullets, and of these they swallow five or six at a time, which they find to procure appetite, further digestion, and to make frolick, amorous, and witty. Opium is much used by all sorts, rather for diet than physic ; and a Moor will sooner buy a pill of opium than a cake of bread, if his stock be too little to buy both. And in many places they are so accustomed to this stupefactive, that the want thereof proves fatal.

In former times the people were so exquisite in mingling poisons, that they had some would kill by smell : of late they are acquainted only with two kinds which they call rahásh and zehim. The former is either white or pale, and more quick in dispatching the person who takes it. But zehim (signifying any thing that is contrary to the palate or liking) is cured with incessant spitting. As for that poison which once they had the art to communicate in letters, to kill those who read them, they are thereof at present totally ignorant.

Muley Mahumed having out of politic ends prohibited printing*, made thereby writing of a more singular use and esteem ; and the Moors of old were noted to be very excellent at the pen, but now in this, as in all other learning, they are much deficient

* Invented 800 years after his time ! EDIT.

of what they were formerly, for there are not many that arrive to a higher proficiency in letters than barely to write and read : to which end they have little schools, where the children are taught after this manner. The Moors having (as I said) no printed books, when their children are sent to school, they take with them pieces of boards or slates, on which the schoolmaster writes so many letters of the alphabet ; and when the child has learned their names and figures, the master writes them a certain number more, and so proceeds till the alphabet be ended : and then goes on to write some periods of the Alcoran (for they teach no other book), and continue this method till the whole Alcoran be wrote over, which usually lasts four years. When the child has thus spelt it over, he begins to get it by heart, which costs eight years at the least ; then the child, if his father be able, is taught a little orthography. When the child is come to certain periods of the Alcoran, the father is obliged to make him a congratulatory present : and when he has learned the whole Alcoran, he is brought home to his father's house in procession on horse-back. As he rides along, he holds a table written with Mahumed's law, whereon he continually fixeth his eye, thereby signifying that the honour conferred upon him was for the careful reading of the Alcoran ; and when the youth accompanied with the alfaqûi, schoolmaster, and schoolfellows, hath visited all the churches, they come to his father's house, where they are entertained, and the master rewarded for the care shewn in the proficiency of his scholar.

A
JOURNEY TO MEQUINEZ,

THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRESENT
EMPEROR OF FEZ AND MOROCCO;

On the Occasion of Commodore STEWART's Embassy thither for the Redemption of the British Captives
in the Year 1721.

By JOHN WINDHUS.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE JAMES EARL OF BERKLEY, VICE-ADMIRAL OF
ENGLAND, FIRST LORD COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY, &c.

MY LORD,

THE inviolable love which Your Lordship has always borne to liberty, and the part you had in forwarding the redemption of so many poor seamen out of captivity, are sufficient reasons for honouring this book with your name; and though I am so unhappy as to be an entire stranger to Your Lordship, yet this account, or rather journal of Mr. Stewart's expedition to Mequinez, may claim your patronage, since I have reason to apprehend it was by Your Lordship's influence that gentleman was sent on that service.

The happiness enjoyed by the people of England is, the preservation of those laws which give them liberty, and make the face of nature smile amongst us; while other nations, especially that which is the subject of this book, labour under oppression and the arbitrary will of a single person. Next to this happiness which our laws afford us, is the means we are possessed of to continue it. Well may we therefore rejoice in the most valuable blessing of the establishment of His sacred Majesty and his royal line: and in that strength over which Your Lordship presides; it is our naval force that so often hath preserved us, and baffled the invaders of our island, a force which knows no equal, and carries its terror throughout the world. To that we owe the establishment and continual preservation of our trade, our affluence and plenty, respect from the rest of the world, and the credit as well as means of treating in the most barbarous countries with success. To be placed at the head of such a power are better proofs of Your Lordship's great merit, than any form of words or panegyric on particular qualifications. That therefore Your Lordship may enjoy perfect and lasting health, and so continue long in the power of doing good, is the sincere wish of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and

Most obedient servant,

JOHN WINDHUS.

THE PREFACE.

AS I had the honour to attend Mr. Stewart into the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, I continued in those parts between three and four months, which time I employed in gathering such materials as encouraged me to proceed in the following work : and in this I have been particularly careful not to deliver any thing, but what either came under my own observation, or was supported by authorities not to be doubted of. Mr. Stewart was no less exact in making his remarks, than generous in bestowing them upon me ; and I am confident, that gentleman's character of ability and honour, considered with the public one he bore, which afforded opportunities of seeing things not easily met with by people of an ordinary rank, will give this account a value which I could never otherwise have hoped for. And what renders it still more complete is, that since my return into England, I have had the good fortune to be introduced to Mr. Corbiere, who formerly was at that court, and has been pleased to supply me with his memoirs, which no person to whom his name is known, will doubt to be less authentic than curious. Out of these I have made large additions to my own collection, and think myself the more obliged to him, because he never could be persuaded to publish them himself, though often importuned to do it.

The country I write of is very little known to us, whatever intercourse we seem to have had with it ; and though we have been pretty well accustomed to see its natives in our streets : yet the only consideration of trade, of which some notice is taken in this book, will convince the reader how much it is our interest to be better acquainted with it. No one indeed will expect, that having made so short a stay there, I should offer a regular history ; neither do I attempt it : I am nevertheless in hopes, that my honest endeavours, during that little time, the valuable assistance I have been favoured with, and the matters of fact which I report with truth, will both be of service and agreeable to my country.

I have said, that this part of Barbary is little known to us, because there has scarce been a tolerable account of it since Leo Africanus, who indeed wrote an excellent one about two hundred years ago ; and after him, another was published by Marmol, which for the most part was taken out of the former. And yet it is some satisfaction to find a great conformity between the present race of Moors, and those of Leo's time ; the reason of which I take to be this.

The people of the country are of two sorts ; one consists of Berebbers, (as they call themselves) or Barbarians properly so named, who chiefly dwell in huts upon Atlas, and other mountains, are the old natives ; and by not being entirely subdued to this day, have kept their own customs both civil and domestic ; and their language called Shilha, supposed to be the ancient Punic or Carthaginian, which, I think, would greatly deserve being particularly enquired into : and Mr. Jezreel Jones will be pleased to forgive me, (as I am informed that he is of the same opinion about that language, and a master of it,) if I wish he would acquaint the world with some account about it.

The other sort of inhabitants are the Arabians, who cultivate the plains, remove (as they ever did) from place to place dwell in tents, and make what was formerly called pecunia (or cattle), and corn their principal wealth. These also are particularly tenacious of their ancient ways, and of their language, both which, as far as we can learn from history, they have preserved with very little alteration near two thousand years.

They are the race of men who after having over-run a large tract of Asia, and all the northern parts of Africa from east to west, did, in the space of three years, subdue the whole kingdom of Spain, which they were forced to quit after a possession of seven hundred years, and retire into those parts that are now under the Emperor of Morocco's subjection, and then belonged to men of their own race and religion. They are the people who stood the fairest of any since the Romans for universal monarchy, who pushed their conquests with incredible rapidity, during those ages when Christendom was involved in dissensions, bigotry, and ignorance; and then it was they taught the world all arts and sciences, by reviving the mathematics, and translating into their own language the best Greek and Roman books. But now they are the very people whom, since their expulsion out of Spain, we have justly called barbarous, from their cruelty, pride, and inveteracy against the Christian name, and are as famous for their craft and insincerity, as the old Africans were reckoned by the Romans; and being no less idle than ignorant, they have little troubled themselves for many years past, but to exert their hatred to the Christians, and to enrich themselves by the number of slaves they made amongst them; till the Emperor, within these thirty years, assumed to himself the property in all slaves whatever, and even attempted to make every one of his subjects such in name, which they are in reality.

I cannot avoid observing on this occasion, that a man seldom makes so true an estimate of his own country, as when he views it by comparison with others. Thus it happened to me during my stay in Barbary, where it was natural for me to make such reflections, as must of course arise to an English subject, who having lived under the justest, mildest, and best tempered government in the world, is transported to one in every respect the reverse; where a fierce and unbounded tyranny and oppression have destroyed the very distinctions of right and wrong, and perverted all the ends of society. When I saw so many thousands of my fellow-creatures, who knew no law but the arbitrary and capricious will of their prince, and were reduced to such a degree of slavery, as sunk them below the dignity of human nature, I turned my thoughts back with a secret pleasure upon Great Britain, and considered with more attention than I had done before the invaluable blessings of our constitution. I then began to form the truest judgment of our laws, which had put every thing upon so equal a footing, and had fixed the boundaries between the power of the prince and the liberty of the subject; and which, in short, had secured to us our lives and all that is dear, by the strongest ties that natural justice and human wisdom can invent. May all men that are blessed with such a native happiness know the true value of it, without the experiment of any comparison with the contrary.

Amidst my reflections of this kind, I considered that it might be some alleviation to the miseries of those Africans, that they were born and bred in that condition of life, and had never known to any other: but the case was far different with regard to those who had tasted the sweets of liberty, and enjoyed it as their birth-right; and therefore I was much more sensibly affected with the sufferings of so many of my fellow subjects there who had groaned under a long captivity, and had nothing to support them under their excessive torments but the hopes of being one day relieved by the gracious and powerful interposition of our glorious Sovereign. Their deliverance, which was soon after happily effected, is one of those many instances of His Majesty's goodness, who has, through the whole course of his reign, made no other use of his power, than to employ it for the ease and benefit of his people. The rescuing several hundreds of his trading subjects from the severest bondage, and restoring them to their country, friends, and relations, was well worthy the care of so great a prince; and when they went in procession

cession to St. Paul's to return thanks to Almighty God for their happy deliverance; it was a spectacle of less pomp indeed, but of more solid and lasting glory than a Roman triumph.

A JOURNEY TO MEQUINEZ.

IS MAJESTY having been pleased to appoint the Honourable Charles Stewart, Esq. commander in chief of a squadron of ships, to cruize against the Sally rovers, and also plenipotentiary to treat of peace with the Emperor of Morocco; he sailed from England the 24th of September 1720, and arrived at Gibraltar the 20th of October following; at which time the Spaniards having formed an expedition against the Moors, had already made considerable embarkations to Ceuta, from their camp near the Bay of Gibraltar. The ambassador thinking this a proper juncture to begin his negociation, on the 28th of October wrote the following letter to the Basha of Tetuan.

To His Excellency Basha Hamet Ben Aliy Ben Abdallah, &c.

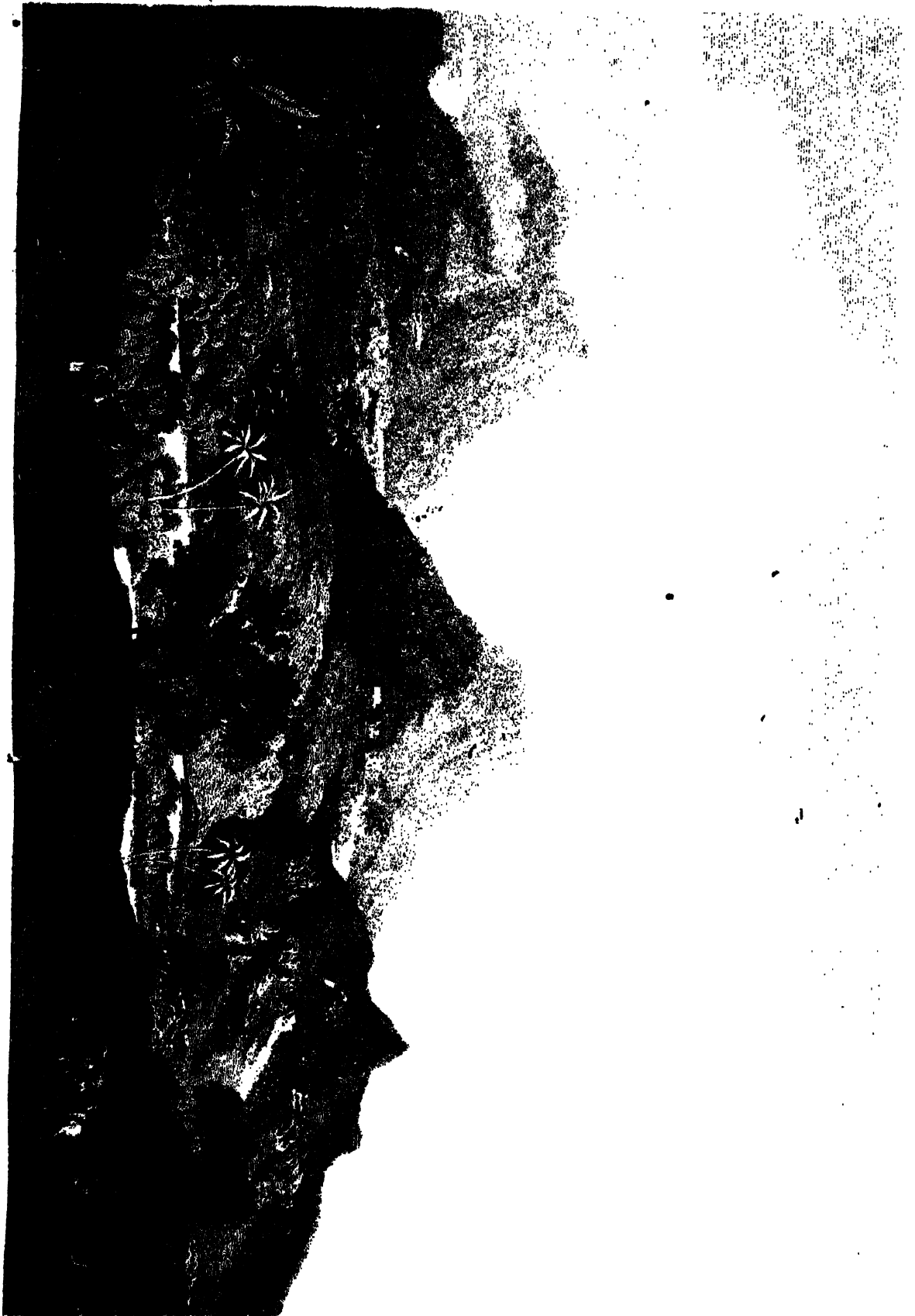
THE King of Great Britain my master, having thought fit to recal Mr. Cavendish from being ambassador to the most noble prince the Emperor of Morocco, and having done me the honour to send me abroad to succeed him, I take the liberty to acquaint Your Excellency of my arrival in these parts, with full powers to treat of a peace with Your Excellency, or any person or persons His Imperial Majesty shall appoint. And as the British nation is sensible of your great esteem for them, and the readiness which you have always shewn towards a friendship, and peace between the two nations, (though I do not know whether by destiny, or mismanagement, the so long desired peace has been retarded,) I am still in hopes Your Excellency will continue your great zeal for the common good of both nations, since I am come with a firm resolution to employ my hearty and best endeavours towards that good work, and the more because your glory and advantage are to be the fruit of it. But it is necessary that this negociation should begin as soon as possible, that I may be made sensible of the intention of His Imperial Majesty, whether he will make use of this opportunity of settling that peace and friendship which the King my master has so long desired: for since I am employed in another command upon the sea, which at this time might be in conjunction with the enemies of the King your master, now that they have invaded your country, yet to shew you the sincerity by which I design to act, I should rather choose that His Imperial Majesty would prevent any accident that may happen, by sending such persons to Gibraltar, to treat with me as soon as possible, and put a finishing hand to a treaty so long depending, and which has already been adjusted on both sides. Provided this can be done, and the articles of peace confirmed, I shall then very readily in person throw myself at His Imperial Majesty's feet, to present a letter which I have now by me, from the King my master, and shall think myself happy to put myself under your protection for my safety to Mequinez. I commit Your Excellency to the protection of God, and am

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

CHARLES STEWART.

The Emperor sent in the Experiment man of war, which upon her return brought over Cardenash (who had been twice ambassador in England) to compliment Mr. Stewart on his arrival, and also a letter from the basha, signifying the great inclination he had to renew the treaty with the English nation, for which purpose Cardenash was to confer with the ambassador, in order to have it finished as soon as possible. But the ambassador judged it more convenient to treat in the bay of Tetuan, because the Emperor had sent from his court one Moses Ben Hattar, a Jewish merchant, who had been formerly employed in the former treaties, and was a person more artful and interested than any other in the country, and chiefly to be considered, in regard he had it more in his power to make the negociation successful, or defeat it as he had done that of others. Upon which consideration the ambassador sailed with his squadron to Tetuan Bay, November the 22d, and there with the said Moses Ben Hattar (who took upon him to be jointly empowered with the basha) agreed to the articles of peace, which were signed and exchanged the 17th of January, 1720-1721. After which the ambassador was very much importuned to proceed immediately to Mequinez; but as it was necessary that His Majesty should first approve of the conditions, and the ratification come to him from England, before he landed in Barbary, he found means to delay the time till he had accomplished his desire.

On Wednesday the 3d of May we embarked at Gibraltar, Ben Hattar going on board the ambassador's ship, he having after the signing of the treaty come over with him, and continued there, that he might accompany him at his landing in Barbary. We arrived in the bay of Tetuan, Saturday the 6th, and landed about nine of the clock in the morning, which being sooner than the basha expected, he was not come to the water-side to receive the ambassador, but we found a sufficient number of tents pitched for our convenience, and among them a fine large one that the Emperor had sent from Mequinez, which the ambassador made choice of to cut in on his journey. Our first entertainment was in this tent, where they brought plenty of calculus, fowls, and a sheep roasted whole upon a great wooden spit, as thick as a man's leg, which they set before the table, spit and all. Between three and four of the clock, the basha came down from Tetuan, attended by about two hundred horse and three hundred foot, who entered the camp firing and cavalcading, and threw themselves into the form of an army, where the basha gave us the diversion of seeing him and his people exercise for above an hour, which they performed with great activity, the basha and his brothers often heading parties of horse, who all together clapping their hands to their horses sides, levelling their pieces and fired at one another, as if they were attacking an enemy: after that, they took their spears, and singled each other out to tilt, very dexterously putting by the thrust of the spear (though it was made at their backs) while their horses were running full speed. During the time of the cavalcade, the foot kept a continual fire, but irregular, every man charging his piece and firing into the ground as fast as he could. Their drums made a very solemn and warlike sound, which are not beaten after our manner, but with an heavy stick on the top, and a small one underneath, keeping time to a pipe, something like a fife, but not so loud and shrill. The cavalcade being over, and Cardenash bringing word that the Emperor was coming, the ambassador went to meet him. The basha very courteously conducted the ambassador to Barbary, and invited him to his tent, where he promised him he would do all that lay in his power to make the country agreeable to them, he liked the English better than any other Christian nation; and some more pleasant things passing between them, they parted. The basha lay in the camp that night.



Sunday the 7th, the ambassador went to visit the basha, who received him with his kind expressions towards the English, and his desire to see us, and to find out every thing agreeable to him. After that, as we were sitting in the basha's app, we had an instance of Ben Hattar's unlimited power, who, being employed one Ben Saphat, as his agent or factor, to come to Tetuan, and bring thither himself, that he had wronged him considerably in his business, and dealt unfairly in his commission; wherefore as Ben Saphat was now come down to meet him, before he could get within hearing, Ben Hattar ordered him to be strangled, upon which the Jews and some blacks belonging to the basha immediately ran to him, pulled him off his mule, and in an instant stripped off his clothes, and whipt a rope about his neck, which they began to draw, and in that manner drawing him nearer to us, pale and grasping, he cried out to the ambassador to help him. The surprise of the thing kept every body silent, and in suspense, waiting to be the event; but after Ben Hattar had reviled and threatened him, he was carried to prison, where (as we afterwards heard) he was daily tormented, as well for the fault he had committed, as to make him discover all his secrets, which Ben Hattar seized on for his own use.

About eleven of the clock, the basha causing a row of fine horses to be brought up together, (which made a very noble and gay appearance, many of the saddles being covered all over with plate,) desired the ambassador to take which he pleased; then every one of us providing for ourselves according to our fancy, we were attended: the Moors, for the most part of the way to Tetuan, (which is about fifteen miles) continued singing and cavalcading, after which manner we entered the town, surrounded of people shouting and hallooing; the women being dressed in white, and veils and muslin up, so that no part could be seen but their eyes, were crowded in the shops of the houses as thick as they could stand; the basha drew up his people in a large square place before his house, where he and his brothers (being exceeding well mounted) shewed us again how dexterous they were with their spears, tilting a considerable time, and sometimes darting their lances into the air before them, and catching them again as their horses ran full speed; then the ambassador was conducted to the house appointed for him, which was one of the best in Tetuan, and a stable of horses was provided for the use of him and his retinue.

The 8th the ambassador went to see the basha at his house, who received him in an outward room, or hall, built long and narrow, as most of the houses in the country are; the reason of which (I have been told) is because of the scarcity of land in the country; there were two chairs placed opposite to each other, and the ambassador and basha sat down, and talked together for about an hour and an half. During which time eight or ten of the principal Moors of the town stood behind the basha. The conference being over, we were shewn the basha's gardens, and in them we saw much were a great many fine horses. Nothing occurring upon the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the following days are not mentioned, which method I shall observe throughout the rest of the journey.

The 12th, three of the basha's brothers came to visit the ambassador, and with them were alcaides or governors, one of Tangier, and the other of Tetuan.

The 14th, the basha, and another of his brothers, alcaide of Tetuan, who is governor of Tetuan) came to see the ambassador: the basha remained with him all day, and stood all the afternoon, looking over some of the fortifications of the town. The governor came towards the evening, and brought with him some of his officers, and other relations, whom the ambassador treated with coffee and tobacco.

The ~~garden~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~bas~~ ~~ha's~~ (about three miles out of town) that he had ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~valley~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~pleasant~~ ~~valley~~, almost surrounded with hills and mountains, ~~the~~ ~~valley~~ ~~is~~ ~~very~~ ~~pleasant~~ ~~and~~ ~~every~~ ~~way~~ ~~gives~~ ~~a~~ ~~most~~ ~~delightful~~ ~~prospect~~; there ~~is~~ ~~a~~ ~~great~~ ~~garden~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~middle~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~valley~~, which by great labour was conveyed from ~~the~~ ~~mountains~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~valley~~. We ~~sat~~ ~~under~~ ~~a~~ ~~locust~~ ~~tree~~ ~~that~~ ~~afforded~~ ~~a~~ ~~pretty~~ ~~good~~ ~~shade~~. Tetuan came just after dinner, and walking with us, was so complaisant ~~and~~ ~~gave~~ ~~us~~ ~~the~~ ~~best~~ ~~fruits~~. There were fine oranges, lemons, and small ~~fruits~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~very~~ ~~good~~ ~~flavour~~. The walks are separated with cane-work, and the ~~garden~~ ~~is~~ ~~very~~ ~~well~~ ~~contrived~~, in which there being a basin supplied ~~with~~ ~~water~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~old~~ ~~stream~~, the ambassador filled it with punch, and with much ~~other~~ ~~liquor~~ ~~the~~ ~~governor~~ ~~to~~ ~~drink~~ ~~two~~ ~~or~~ ~~three~~ ~~glasses~~. Great quantities of carnations ~~are~~ ~~planted~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~cane-work~~, and at the windows, make the arbour very delightful. The governor had his music with him, which consisted of four persons ~~who~~ ~~played~~ ~~upon~~ ~~small~~ ~~instruments~~ ~~after~~ ~~the~~ ~~manner~~ ~~of~~ ~~violins~~; one had a ~~piece~~ ~~of~~ ~~leather~~ ~~stretched~~ ~~tight~~ ~~over~~ ~~a~~ ~~little~~ ~~broad~~ ~~hoop~~, with pieces of loose tin on ~~the~~ ~~leather~~ ~~which~~ ~~he~~ ~~beats~~ ~~with~~ ~~one~~ ~~hand~~, and drummed on it with the other; another ~~kept~~ ~~the~~ ~~time~~ ~~by~~ ~~striking~~ ~~the~~ ~~palm~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~hands~~ ~~together~~, very loud and well ~~heard~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~abounds~~ ~~with~~ ~~fine~~ ~~oranges~~, ~~lemons~~, ~~citrons~~, ~~olives~~, ~~grapes~~, ~~pomegranates~~, and ~~apricots~~.

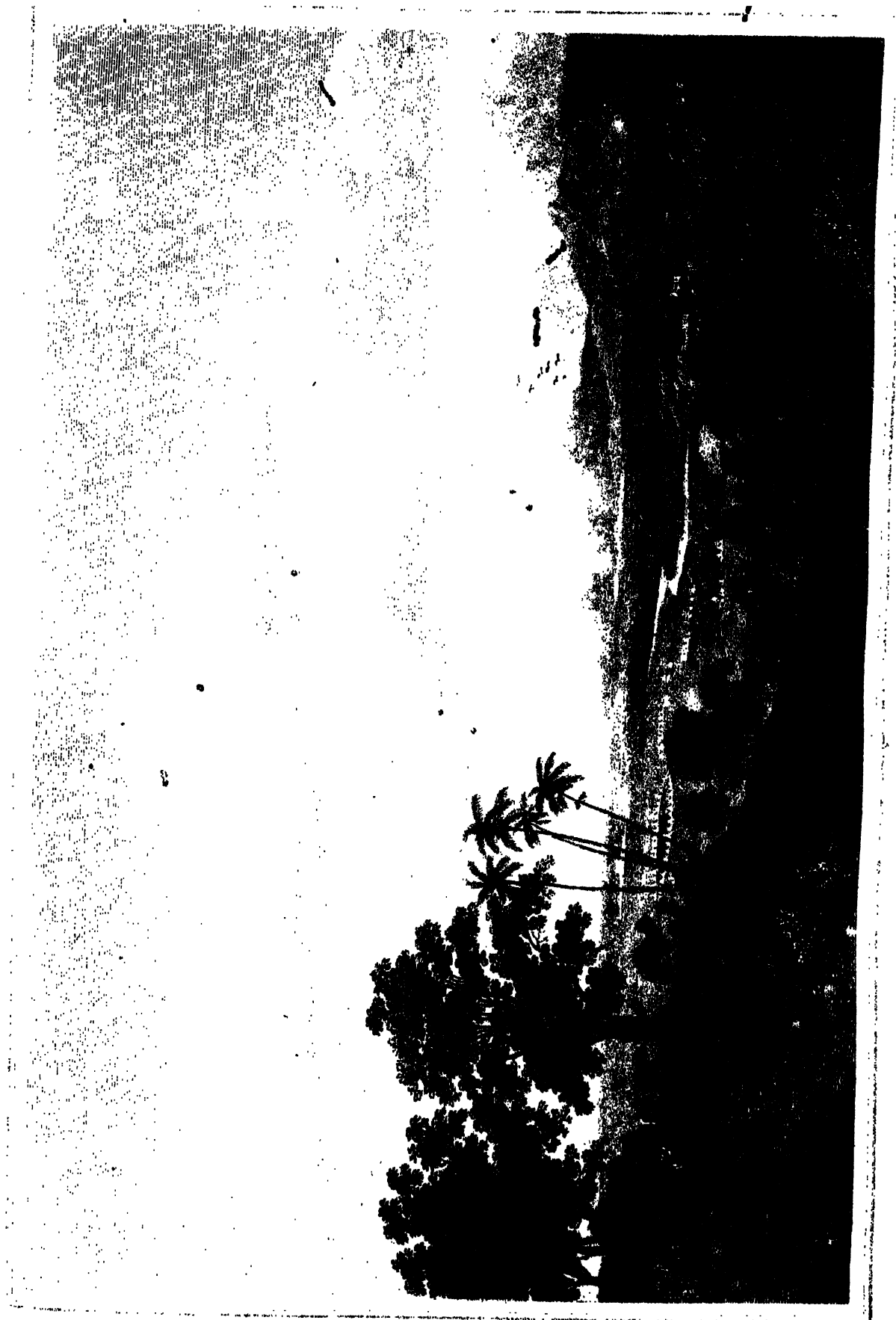
The ~~garden~~ ~~of~~ ~~Cardenash's~~ ~~garden~~, in a walk shaded with exceeding large orange-trees, after dinner Cardenash made the Moors play at several games to divert the ambassador, ~~some~~ ~~of~~ ~~which~~ ~~they~~ ~~drubbed~~ ~~one~~ ~~another~~ ~~heartily~~.

The ~~governor~~ ~~dined~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~governor~~ ~~of~~ ~~Tetuan~~ ~~at~~ ~~his~~ ~~house~~, who treated us plentifully, ~~there~~ ~~being~~ ~~three~~ ~~or~~ ~~four~~ ~~and~~ ~~twenty~~ ~~large~~ ~~dishes~~ ~~crowded~~ ~~upon~~ ~~the~~ ~~table~~ ~~at~~ ~~once~~, ~~which~~ ~~was~~ ~~high~~ ~~seasoned~~, dressed almost after the Spanish manner, and some of them ~~very~~ ~~delicious~~.

The ~~governor~~ ~~went~~ ~~to~~ ~~hunt~~ ~~the~~ ~~wild~~ ~~boar~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~bas~~ ~~ha~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~mountains~~ ~~between~~ ~~Tetuan~~ ~~and~~ ~~Mequinez~~. He killed six, and took three young ones alive; the basha broke his spear ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~process~~. The spears which the foot carry for this sport, differ from those of ~~the~~ ~~country~~, ~~not~~ ~~being~~ ~~above~~ ~~half~~ ~~as~~ ~~long~~, and made of a very heavy and tough wood, ~~about~~ ~~half~~ ~~a~~ ~~yard~~ ~~long~~, and very thick, that they should not break against ~~the~~ ~~boar~~. There went a great number of foot thus armed along with us ~~upon~~ ~~the~~ ~~hills~~ ~~round~~ ~~about~~, made such a hideous noise and shouting, that ~~the~~ ~~boars~~ ~~from~~ ~~the~~ ~~woods~~ ~~and~~ ~~thickets~~, and brought them in view for ~~the~~ ~~hunting~~. One of these ~~men~~ ~~should~~ ~~happen~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~near~~ ~~a~~ ~~boar~~ ~~alone~~, he must not ~~be~~ ~~afraid~~ ~~of~~ ~~any~~ ~~one~~ ~~of~~ ~~feet~~, but putting himself in as firm a posture as he can, ~~he~~ ~~charges~~ ~~the~~ ~~boar~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~point~~ ~~of~~ ~~his~~ ~~spear~~ ~~up~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~end~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~blade~~, ~~which~~ ~~is~~ ~~made~~ ~~of~~ ~~iron~~ ~~and~~ ~~is~~ ~~so~~ ~~thick~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~spear~~ ~~from~~ ~~running~~ ~~through~~, otherwise ~~the~~ ~~boar~~ ~~will~~ ~~run~~ ~~away~~ ~~and~~ ~~wound~~ ~~him~~ ~~with~~ ~~his~~ ~~tusks~~: if the ~~boar~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~enough~~ ~~to~~ ~~kill~~ ~~the~~ ~~boar~~, he quits him as well as he can; but for ~~the~~ ~~boar~~ ~~which~~ ~~he~~ ~~kills~~ ~~he~~ ~~puts~~ ~~the~~ ~~boar~~ ~~thus~~ ~~goaded~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~spear~~, until the ~~boar~~ ~~is~~ ~~dead~~ ~~who~~ ~~cut~~ ~~out~~ ~~the~~ ~~throat~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~boar~~ ~~with~~ ~~their~~ ~~broad~~ ~~blades~~, that the ~~boar~~ ~~may~~ ~~not~~ ~~run~~ ~~away~~.

The ~~governor~~ ~~was~~ ~~very~~ ~~pleased~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~success~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~journey~~ ~~being~~ ~~discovered~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~Christians~~ ~~and~~ ~~Jews~~ ~~were~~ ~~to~~ ~~set~~ ~~out~~ ~~directly~~ ~~for~~ ~~Mequinez~~ ~~the~~ ~~next~~ ~~day~~, and meet us at Alcazar.

The ~~governor~~ ~~of~~ ~~Mequinez~~ ~~the~~ ~~Moors~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~town~~ ~~supped~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~ambassador~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~governor~~ ~~of~~ ~~Mequinez~~ ~~drinking~~ ~~regularly~~ ~~as~~ ~~we~~ ~~do~~, but taking ~~notice~~ ~~that~~ ~~some~~ ~~of~~ ~~them~~ ~~could~~ ~~not~~ ~~go~~ ~~down~~ ~~stairs~~



stairs without help. The governor continued his usual good temper before the ambassador, but when he got out of doors, being more overcome by the heat, he drew his scimitar and laid about him among his own people, who were drinking owing to the great quantity he had drunk; for, when sober, he is of a violent and cruel disposition, of which we had several instances.

At this time an accident happened, which had like to have determined the proceedings of the ambassador, and put us all under some apprehensions; for nobody could be certain what might have been the consequence, in a country where there is no knowledge of the laws of nations, and treaties are of so little efficacy, as hardly to be understood. The occasion of this were two Sally privateers, who, notwithstanding they had the ambassador's passes, conformable to the articles of peace, yet having met with nothing but English ships at sea, and being grown very hungry by a long cruise, made bold with two of them, and sent them into Sally. Upon this, the ambassador absolutely refused to proceed on his journey, and complained of the little confidence there was to depend on any agreement, if actions of this nature were countenanced. The Moors themselves indeed seemed to be ashamed of it; and by Don Hector's management at court, and the ambassador's resolution to return without going to Mequinez, unless reparation was made, he had the satisfaction to have the ships released, and the captain of the privateer punished for bringing them in. We passed our time in this place very pleasantly, either riding out, fishing, shooting, or walking in the gardens, the people being very civil; for the *bahá* had forbidden them (upon pain of death) to affront us, as they commonly do Christians, by cutting and calling them names; and ordered, that in whatsoever garden we went, we should pass unmolested, and take what we pleased.

Here, as we were one day riding by the side of the river of Tetuan, we experimented the effect of the torpedo, or num-fish, some of them lying in the road. They were about the bigness of a large plaice, and shaped something like them, but thinner, and very round, so that the head could hardly be distinguished from the body; we touched them with capes, or sticks, on horseback, during which time a numbness was perceived to go up our arms, that continued a minute or two after we had taken our hands off the fish.

Tetuan is a very ancient city, was called by the Romans *Tetuanum*; it gives name to a large province, and is the seat of the *bahá*; it is situated at the opening of the Straights into the Mediterranean, upon the rising of a rocky hill, between two high mountains, about six miles from the sea, having a castle built higher up the hill, so that it has full command over the town. In the valley round the castle, which is navigable for small vessels, as far as Martingalea, about two miles from hence, where they load and unload their goods.

Along the coast are beacons on which they make fires, to give notice when any attempt is made to land.

The houses of Tetuan are very good, but the fronts, according to the custom, have hardly any windows to be seen, but little holes to look out by. The houses are built round the sides of the houses, where there is a square court-yard, with a fountain in the middle, and galleries, and painted wooden balustrades round the sides. The houses are built like some of our inns. In the middle of the court-yard there is a fountain, and the house belongs to a person of any condition. The roofs are flat, and the houses are generally four or five stories high, and are built of brick, and are painted white. The houses are built round the sides of the houses, where there is a square court-yard, with a fountain in the middle, and galleries, and painted wooden balustrades round the sides. The houses are built like some of our inns. In the middle of the court-yard there is a fountain, and the house belongs to a person of any condition. The roofs are flat, and the houses are generally four or five stories high, and are built of brick, and are painted white.

ticular men : they are flat at top, so that in many places they can walk a great way upon them ; but those belonging to Christian merchants have battlements, to keep them within the bounds of their own houses ; for the Moorish women live in the upper apartments, and often visit one another from the tops of their houses : they are white-washed on the outside, as well as within, which casts the reflection of the sun so bright, that it hurt our eyes to continue upon them in the day-time. They raise not their walls as most nations do, by laying brick or stone even upon one another, but their way is first to make a strong wooden case, into which they cast the mortar, and beating it down hard, take the case away when it is dry.

The town is populous and healthful, enjoying a very good air, but the people poor and next kin to slaves, no man possessing any thing but at the pleasure of the basha, who is absolute in his province, as any monarch whatsoever, commanding over the lives and fortunes of his people, giving or taking away houses, land, horses, or any thing just as he pleases ; for which reason, when a man has acquired wealth by trade or industry, he endeavours to conceal it and seem poor ; for if it should come to the knowledge of the basha, he would throw him into prison, and cause him to be bastinadoed and tortured, to make him discover all that he has in the world.

The inhabitants are of a swarthy complexion, intermixt with a race of well-looking men, somewhat fairer than the rest ; they generally are lusty, strong-limbed, and, I think, a little out-size the Europeans. They are very good horsemen, active, hardy, laborious, and needy, so that a messenger will go from Tetuan to Mequinez, (which is 150 miles) for a Barbary ducat, and perform his journey with great expedition : for they are wonderfully patient of labour, enduring the heat of summer, and cold rains of winter to admiration ; and when the ground is all covered with rain, and a storm over head besides, they will only look for a bush, or a great stone, sit down on their hams with their back towards it, and remain in that posture the whole night, or else wrap themselves up in their albornooce, and pass the night upon the grafs. Some of the most famous footmen of the country (it is said) will go sixty leagues in three days. They swim the rivers in the depth of winter, if the rapidity of the current doth not deter them : these men are generally thin, eat but very little, and for seven or eight days journey carry only a little meal, and a few raisins or figs in a small goat's skin.

They have no settled post in the country, nor any sort of carriage upon wheels ; their light goods are removed from place to place upon horses, if it be not very far ; but when they have great quantities, either of corn, wax, hides, tallow, &c., and go far, they use camels, of which there is great plenty. If an alcayde has business with the Emperor, he sends a gentleman on horseback ; but the ordinary way of sending letters is by the aforefaid footmen, who are very near as expeditious as the horse.

Their manner of dressing is not ungraceful, which is as follows : the men wear short shirts with very broad sleeves, that sometimes hang down, but are more frequently tucked up to their shoulders, to keep them cool ; they have linen drawers, which are tied about their waists next the skin, and reach to their knees : they go bare-legged, and upon their feet wear shoes, or rather slippers of red or yellow leather, made very light, without heels ; over their shirt they wear a cloth vest, or waistcoat, of any colour they please ; this vest is short, and made to fit close to their bodies ; it is fastened with small buttons and loops set very close together, and are often wrought with gold or silver thread : round their waist they wear a scarf of silk or stuff, as they can afford, in which they stick large knives, whose handles they covet to be of some costly metal, or ivory in-laid, and their sheaths tipped with silver : their outward garment is either an

alhague or an albornooce : the alhague is a piece of very fine white woollen stuff five or six yards long, and about one and an half broad ; this they wrap round them above and below their arms, and make a figure not unlike what is seen in the drapery of antique figures. The albornooce is either made of cloth or woollen stuff, a great deal thicker wrought than the alhague, and napped ; it is made something like a short cloak, but joined a little way before from the neck downwards, having two or three rows of short stripes worked in the stuff, and fringed at the ends for ornament, the bottom and sides are edged with a deep fringe ; behind at the neck there hangs a peaked cawle, with a tassel at the end, which they can cover their heads with, to keep off the weather. Upon their heads (which are always kept shaved) they wear a little red cap, rolling muslin about it to make a turban : when they go into the country, they wear a handsome cane hat to keep off the sun.

All the Moors are dressed after this manner, there being no difference but in the richness of their vests, or fineness of their alhagues ; only the poorest sort of all have another garment called a gelebia : it is made of a coarse and thick wrought woollen stuff, without sleeves, but holes to put their arms through : it reaches to their knees, and hangs loose about their bodies like a sack. The alcaides have a broad leathern belt embroidered with gold, to hang their scimitars in, which they wear over their shoulder.

The women, when they go abroad, are attired almost like the men, their outward garment being an alhague, with which they cover their heads, bringing it down over their foreheads close to their eyes, and underneath tie a piece of white cloth, to hide the lower part of their face. The alhagues cover all parts but their legs, which generally are naked, when they are at home, or visit from the tops of their houses ; only some of the better sort have their drawers so long, that they reach to their feet, hanging in great loose folds about their legs : their shoes are the same as the men's. Within doors they appear in their hair, having only a single binder about their foreheads : their hair is plaited in two large plaits, that hang down behind at full length : they wear a vest which is open from the bosom to the waist, to shew their smocks that are embroidered : they fasten large pieces of muslin to the sleeves of their vests, which hang down very low in the nature of ruffles : their drawers are longer than the men's, reaching generally to the calf of their legs : over their drawers they wear a short petticoat : they put bracelets upon their legs and arms, and large ear-rings in their ears.

They have very fine eyes, and some of them beautiful skins, which we sometimes had an opportunity of seeing ; for though a man may live a year in Tetuan, and not see the face of a Moorish woman in the streets, yet when we met them in the fields, or saw them on the house-tops, if none of the Moors were in sight, they would unveil, laugh, and give themselves a little loose, till the appearance of one obliged them to hide their faces again.

The custom of not letting their women be seen prevails to such a degree, that when a man wants a wife, either his mother, or some of his female relations must go a courting for him : when the bargain is made, which is done before the cadi or justice, the bride is to keep within for eight days, her friends coming to rejoice with her every day, and a talb or priest also visiting her, and discoursing on that holy state, they pin the basket with a religious hymn appointed for that purpose. The husband with his friends repeats the same ceremonies for five days before consummation, in a house which he has, or must take to bring his wife to. The last day the bride is put into a cage covered with a fine white linen cloth, and carried on men's shoulders to the house of

her intended husband; her friends, relations, and music going before. Her brother (if she has one) leads her into the house, where a room is appointed for her and the women; the man remains also in his room with his friends. When the evening approaches they are let loose by the company, and the bridegroom goes to his wife's apartment, where he finds her alone, sitting on a cushion of silk, velvet, or such fine things as they can borrow (if they have them not of their own): underneath there is a silk quilt. Before her stands a little table about a foot high, with two wax candles upon it. Upon her head she has a black silk scarf tied in a knot, the ends hanging on the ground behind her. Her shift is made with large sleeves like the men's, and long enough to hang behind her like a train. Her vest is of silk or velvet, buttoned close to her hands, and reaches to the middle of her leg, adorned with lace at the hands, and all over the breast: she has the same linen drawers described in the women's dress, and collars of pearl or fine stones, and (if she can get them) of lions', or eagles' claws tipped with silver: in her ears she has great rings of gold or silver, and the same about her wrists and ancles, sometimes set with stones: her slippers have thick soles made of cork, covered with gilt leather, and edged with the same, which is a mark of greatness among them, the Emperor and some few more wearing them. Her cheeks are painted with cochineal, which colours yellow at first, but being rubbed presently turns red, with this they make one great round spot on each cheek: their eye-brows are painted black, and continued quite round their temples like a pair of whiskers: they also make some small black spots in imitation of patches, near their nose and lips, a black snip on the end of their nose, and a black stroke the breadth of a straw, from their chin reaching down below the pit of their stomach, and how much lower I cannot tell, for there they begin to be covered: they paint their eye-lids and the sides of them with a black powder called *alcohol*, putting some of the same into their eyes with a little stick: the palms of their hands are all blacked, and from the top of their thumbs round the fleshy part is a black stroke, and one from the end of each finger to the palm: their nails are dyed yellow; they also have many fine scrawls of black on the top of their feet, and their toe nails are likewise dyed yellow.

Thus beautified, the bride sits behind the table mentioned before with two wax candles upon it, holding her hands up the height of her face, with the palms turned towards her, about a foot distance from each other, and as much from her face, upon which she is to look; and not on her husband, who is to seize her when he comes into the room, and lift her upon the usual bed place, which is about four feet high, and there he strips her, she not lending him the least assistance, nor is to speak for three days: he is to make what haste he can, that he may deliver her drawers to two black women, who keep the door, and are to carry them to the rest of the good women; and if such signs appear on them as are expected, the music plays; but if he doth not send out the drawers, the music must not play: and it behoves him to bestir himself about this matter; for, besides the hazard of his reputation, the company will meet every day until the drawers come. If the proper marks appear, the drawers are sent to all their relations in triumph (as is still practised in some parts of Spain), but if he finds her to be no maid, he strips her of her gaiety and turns her out of doors the next moment. The bridegroom is obliged to stay at home for seven days, and the bride a whole year; who is kept ever after so close from the rest of mankind, that not even her father or brother can have the privilege of a visit unless her husband is present.

All the women paint after the manner before mentioned at their public meetings; they are extremely handsome, and bred up with the greatest care imaginable in relation to their modesty: the fattest and biggest are most admired, for which reason they cram
themselves

themselves against marriage with a food called zummith : it is a compound of flour, honey, and spices, made into little loaves for that purpose.

Adultery is punished with death, and if a Christian or a Jew is found to have to do with a Moorish woman, they must either turn to the Mahometan religion or be burnt.

Any man may divorce his wife (if she was not given him by the Emperor) when he pleases, giving what he agreed (before the *cadi* to lay out upon her, and keeping the children he has by her. The form is only delivering her a letter that he has done with her, and she may seek a new husband. Those who desire to indulge in having many wives, marry the handsome daughters of poor men, by which they avoid the inconveniency of drawing on themselves the ill will of powerful relations, in case of divorce, and get rid of them at a small expence.

Several Moors, whose wives or daughters were sick while we were there, came to our doctor for help ; but some were so infatuated, as to let them die rather than he should see them ; others consented, but not until they were at the point of death, and it was too late to do them any good ; only one man (not so much bewitched as the rest) carried the doctor home to his wife, and made much of him.

They, as well as all other Mahometans, are allowed to marry four wives, and to have as many women more as they can keep, all of them striving who shall best please their lord and master, that he should bestow his favour on them ; for they are kept in great subjection, and think themselves happy if they can please their husbands by waiting on them. They are not suffered to go to church, lest the devotion of the men should be interrupted by their presence, but have a set form of prayers and ceremonies to be performed at home.

When any of the Moors have a mind to entertain their neighbours, the women go to the top of the house, and continue there until the guests are gone : their general entertainment is with *cuscusu*, which I have in another place described. They make use neither of tables nor chairs, but sit cross-legged upon the ground, putting their dishes upon a large piece of greasy leather, which serves both for table and table-cloth ; their dishes are either of pewter or earthenware, made wide at top and narrow at bottom, almost like a high-crowned hat turned bottom upwards. While they eat a servant stands by with a great bowl of water in one hand, and a narrow long piece of blue linen in the other, to wipe their right hands, with which they pull the victuals to pieces, being for the most part stewed to rags. They never use the left hand in eating, for that waits wholly on their necessary occasions. They fill their bellies without speaking to one another, and after meals drink water, their religion forbidding them wine, and all other intoxicating liquors, except cyder ; nevertheless, most of them will get drunk with strong liquor of any kind, if they can come at it. Their chief desert is butter-milk, of which they are such lovers, that when they would speak of the extraordinary sweetness of any thing, they compare it to butter-milk : a great black pitcher of it is generally brought in with a wooden ladle, which is presented to the most considerable person, and from him passes round the company several times.

They have no way of gathering cream as in other places, but make their butter of all the milk as it comes from the cow, by putting it into a skin, and shaking it till it becomes butter : it is always sour, I suppose for want of cleansing the skin ; and when melted to sauce, for want of substance, turns thin. Those that have great quantities, keep it in holes made in the ground plastered within : the less are kept in earthen jars buried. They do not dislike it when four or five years old, having very unnatural

tastes

tastes in that. They also wrap up the cawls, suet and fat of cows, sheep, and goats, in great rolls, which in winter is sold to the poor instead of butter.

Their cheefe is nothing but curds put into that form, and sour in five or six hours after it is made; but they keep it until it is old, and eat it though dry and ill tasted. They do not esteem cow's milk so much as that of goats or camels, especially the latter, which they think nourishing and incentive: it is much thinner than cow's milk.

Their bread is extraordinary good and cheap, especially that of the flour of Fez, renowned for its whiteness too. It is baked in cakes near a foot in diameter, and an inch and an half thick: it is to be had every day hot, (for so they like it) and the baker pays himself in kind according to the quantity: sometimes it comes to an half, or a quarter of a loaf for baking, and these pieces are sold in the market; but poor people eat bread made of corn, which is called the third crop: it is a mixture of several coarse black grains, that resemble feeds more than corn, and is very black and bad, but cheap: with this their fowls are fed.

They cut the throats of all creatures they eat, having first turned the heads of them towards the east and by south, (as Mecca lies from them,) and called on the name of God: they use a world of water to wash away the blood, and cutting the meat into quarters, soak it in a fountain for two hours; and when it is to be dressed cut it into small pieces and wash it again, using abundance of garlic, onions, and all manner of spices.

When the women visit one another, they leave their slippers at the door of the room, to give notice that a stranger is there; during which time the men refrain from going in to their wives or daughters, they being very punctual in observing the customs relating to the women.

The Moors very often wash their heads, hands, and feet, being obliged to it by their religion, every time before their set prayers, (which are five a day) if they have been upon any necessary occasion, or have accidentally met with any ordinary pollution; but if they have had the misfortune to touch a swine, or committed any act of extraordinary defilement, or conversed with women, they are enjoined to wash every part of their bodies, lest they should be polluted when they go to their devotion; and therefore, to be out of danger of common pollution, they always pray without their drawers.

They are forbid playing at any hazardous games for money; and those that break this law are punishable by bastinado, fine, or imprisonment. They sometimes divert themselves at draughts, chess, or ombre; but are not much addicted to gaming, nor care for study or reading; but it may very justly be said, that eating, drinking, sleeping, women, horses, and prayers, almost wholly engross their time.

They have a great hatred for the name of a Christian; and I have been told by a gentleman, (who heard them dispute whether a Christian or Jew should be most esteemed,) that in their discourse they urged against the Christians, their eating of pork, and meat strangled in blood, and their not washing as the Jews do; and what a sort of regard they have for the Jews, will be afterwards shewn. It has been observed in squabbles among them, or when a poor man falls out with his ass, that the first name is carren, (i. e.) cuckold, then he calls him son of a Jew; but when they have a mind to spit their utmost malice, they say you son of a Christian; and it is the most reproachful word among them; never mentioning it without the addition of G—d confound him; or, G—d burn his father or mother; which imprecations are taught the children as soon as they can speak; and that they may be sure to grow up in hatred against them, they celebrate a feast every year about St. John's day, in memory of some victory
gained

gained over the Christians ; at which time the gravest people will be passing through the streets with wooden horses, swords, lances, and drums, with which they equip the children that can scarce go, and meet in troops in the street, and engaging, say, thus we destroy the Christians. They also firmly believe, that those who are killed fighting against them go straight to heaven, and they deserve no less than an infinite reward for destroying those enemies of their law.

The shops in this city are very small, and have no doors to them ; but the master having opened the shutters, jumps in and sits cross-legged, upon a place raised about the height of a counter : the goods are disposed in drawers round about him, which he can reach, for the most part, without moving out of his place, his customers standing in the street while they are served.

In their houses, they are always sitting on mats, or lying ; and if they go out, and it is not on horseback, they never go farther than to make a visit, unless their business requires it, but daily spend five or six hours sitting on their mats before their doors, thinking it most ridiculous to walk up and down a room : against which they argue, saying, Why should a man move from one end of the room to the other, without apparent cause ? can he not as well stay in the place he is in, as go to the other end purely in order to come back again ?

They seem not (as we do) to observe the day for business, and the night for sleep, but sleep and wake often in the four-and-twenty hours, going to church by night as well as day, for which purpose their talbs call from the top of the mosques, (or places of worship) having no bells, every three hours throughout the city. In going to church they observe no gravity, nor mind their dress, but as soon as the talb begins to bellow from the steeple, the carpenter throws down his ax, the shoe-maker his awl, the taylor his shears, and away they all run like so many fellows at foot-ball. When they come into the church, they repeat the first chapter of the Alcoran standing ; after which they look up, and lift up their hands as much above their heads as they can ; and as their hands are leisurely coming down again, drop on their knees with their faces towards the Kebla, (as they call it) or east and by south ; then touching the ground with their foreheads twice ; sit a little while on their heels muttering a few words, and rise up again : this they repeat two or three times ; after which, looking on each shoulder, (I suppose to their guardian angels) they say *Selemo Alikom*, (i. e.) Peace be with you ; and have done. When there are many at prayers together, you would think they were so many galley slaves a rowing, by the motion they make on their knees.

Their churches are all matted at the bottom, and about four feet high round the pillars, having running water in them ; but such as are built in high places, where they can not have a fountain, have wells. Their way of building them seems irregular, because they generally stand surrounded with houses, and you cannot go into them on any terms but those of taking their religion. What I have been able to observe passing by is, that they are square, low roofed, supported with many arched pillars, and divided equally into alleys, about four yards broad. Against one of the pillars, as near the centre of the church as may be, is a pulpit, in which they preach every Friday ; but such as are not learned in the law, only stay to say their ordinary prayers and return. That which they call the head of the church, is a sort of cupola fronting to the eastward, in honour of the place of their prophet's birth. Into this, on their festival days, the cadi or head priest enters, (who, as I have before observed, is also a justice) and turning his face eastward, prays, all the people kneeling behind him in the body of the church ; then he turns himself to the people, being still in the same posture, and

and gives them a blessing, so all is ended ; if there is no *cadi* some *talb* does this. I have not heard of any form of consecration they have ; but if a swine happens to enter into any of their churches, (as it once fell out at Tetuan) they are unsanctified, and must be pulled down. The steeple stands indifferently in any part of the church. And in great towns there are many public chapels and religious houses without any : besides, they often pray in the fields, at the monuments of their saints, with a string of beads in their hands, which they count over, saying, at every one they touch, *Stag fer Allah* (i. e.) God preserve me ! Friday is their chief holy-day ; and they have a prophecy, that they shall be conquered on that day by the Christians ; for which reason, when the *talbs* call from the top of the mosques, the gates of all the walled towns are shut, and the same is observed in the Emperor's palace at Mequinez.

The habit of the priests is the same with the laity ; but they are known by their beards, which are dyed red, and the leather on the top of their shoes, being cut in the shape of a flower-de-luce.

Upon the death of any person of note, women are hired to lament and make sad moan, beating their heads and faces. If it be a man, all his wives get into the middle of the house, put ashes on their heads, jump about in a ring, and scream like so many cats, all the time tearing their cheeks with their nails. Some, when they lament over the dead, ask them whether they had wanted any thing in this world ? Whether they had not had *cuscusu* enough ? But if the wife dies, the husband receives his friends' visits of condolence at his door ; and if he be of the middle rank, it is no shame for him, even on the day of her death, to go abroad and provide for her funeral. They wash the corpse and wrap it in a new shroud, and carry it on a bier, followed by a great number of people, who walk very fast, calling upon God and Mahomet. They always bury their dead out of town, making the grave large at bottom that the corpse may have room enough ; and never put two persons in a grave, because they should not mistake their bones at the day of judgment.

They are very fond of fine tombs, which are generally cupolas built in their lifetime, with an entrance as wide as the building : they are of several forms, some are low pyramids, others square, and the body put in the middle. But there is no rule, for Alcade Ally Ben Abdallah's is a great square of 30 feet at least ; and in order to his being a saint, it is built on holy ground, over the tomb of a saint, where it is death for a Jew to go.

The ordinary way of burying, is by digging about three feet into the ground, into which they put the body wrapt in the shroud, (for they use no coffins) and pave it over with flat stones, with a triangular stone standing in the ground at the head and feet. They have a fancy that the dead can suffer, which was found out by a Portuguese gentleman straggling one day ignorantly among the tombs ; a Moor came to him, and after using abundance of words forced him before the *cadi*. The gentleman complained of the violence, and said he knew no harm he had done : but the grave judge replied, Yes, it was harm, for the poor dead suffered by being trod on by Christian feet. But in consideration of his ignorance, they released him. And the Emperor once had occasion to bring one of his wives through a burying-place, which forced the people to remove the bones of their dead friends, and caused them to grumble and say, neither the dead nor the living could be at quiet for him.

They have a strange notion of ideots, whom they reverence as saints, and the elect of God ; so that all their eminent fools are led about, the people kissing their garments, and giving them every thing but money, which they are not to take ; and after their death, some great man hears of their fame, and makes it an act of devotion to beautify

beautify their tombs ; or, if they had none, to build one over their grave, wherein they are laid, and worshipped among the rest of their saints. It is difficult either to give a general rule what a saint in this part of the world is, or how he becomes so ; but any thing extraordinary makes one : some are saints by descent, others for some particular abilities (as one in this town for curing sore eyes) ; many for being fools or mad-men, and some for being great rogues ; as one that was about the Emperor's person, and had committed some villany. The Emperor was going to kill him, but declared he could not, for which he was immediately sanctified, and continued in great favour about him. Several of the Emperor's horses have been saints ; nay, some are at this day ; one particularly for saving his life ; and if a man should kill one of his children, and lay hold of this horse, he is safe : this horse has saved the lives of some of the captives, and is fed with cuscufu and camel's milk : after the Emperor has drunk, and his horse after him, some of his favourites are suffered to drink out of the same bowl.

All things are lawful for the saints, because it is supposed they have the divine impulse annexed to all their actions, whether they steal, murder, or ravish : there was a naked one at Sally some years ago, seized a young wench in the streets, who not well understanding sanctification, began to be turbulent ; but some of the holy tribe being nigh, soon tript up her heels, and covered them with their alhagues. There is another saint at Alcañar that is a great huntsman, and the governors beg, borrow, and steal dogs to present him with. But these saints, like those of Europe, are sometimes detected. One of them had acquired great reputation for sanctity, from a trick a Jew learnt him, which was to dip his alhague in spirits of wine ; and when he went into church, he used to set it on fire by the lamp : this got him great reputation, and he was sent for to court, grew great, and lived to do the poor Jews an ill office ; but I think they were even with him, for they told the secret to the present Emperor, who put his holiness to the trial of more substantial fire, which consumed his sacred person.

Another saint also was undone by a Jew : this saint pretended to go to Mecca every Friday : the Jew that knew the cheat, shewed him a fine string of beads, and afterwards shewed them to the Emperor, who was to ask the saint to bring him a string of beads from Mecca. The saint returned to the Jew, got the beads, and went to the Emperor, and pretended he had brought them from Mecca ; but the Emperor sent him a longer journey.

They tell the following story of an alcaide : A Christian making a voyage to sea, trusted a saint with a purse of gold, and at his return went to demand it ; the saint denied that he had any such thing, and the man made his complaint to the justice, who told him, that if he had been a Moor he must be satisfied with his denying it, but being a Christian, all the justice he could have was, that he should swear in the great church, he had none of his money ; the poor man said, that being a Christian he could not enter into the church with him, and desired he should swear in the alcaide's porch. The alcaide was a man of wit, and thought by this the poor man looked on him for justice ; the saint came first and sat down in the porch ; when the alcaide heard of it, he invited him in, treated him familiarly, and amusing him with a discourse of several things, got his beads into his hand, stole out of the room, and sent them to his wife, as a token that she should send such a purse with so much money, which accordingly came : this being a sufficient conviction, the alcaide robbed him of all he had, and turned his holiness into the hills a grazing.

If a city happens to be founded near the tomb of a saint, there is a space round about it that has the privilege of being a sanctuary. But the Emperor has not scrupled to violate these sanctuaries, as he did once at Fez, for a negro who had committed no

great crime, and took sanctuary in the house of a great saint. He sent the alcaide of his whole army of negroes to demand him ; but the saint told him plainly he should not violate the privilege of his house ; so the alcaide returned to the Emperor, who killed him, notwithstanding the esteem he bore him ; for he was a brave man, and a good soldier after the manner of the country. He ordered him to be put upon an ass, and flung before the door of the saint, and bid him see what he had done in making him kill a man he so much esteemed. The saint was afraid, sent for the considerable people of the town, and it was agreed to deliver the man whom the Emperor killed.

They are mightily addicted to fables and superstition, relating many wonderful things of their saints ; and, among the rest of their extravagancies, believe some people have a malignancy in their eyes, by which they hurt all things they look on, especially little children and fine horses : for which reason the Emperor kept a little son of his, who was fair and handsome, from being exposed for many years. This the Spaniards call *Mal de Ojo*, and the Portuguese, *Quebranto* ; for those two nations are of the same opinion. A former alcaide of Tangier was one day a fishing, and not succeeding in his diversion to his wish, he seized a poor innocent man, who stood looking on, and accused him of *Mal de Ojo*, put him in prison, and swore he should not come out till he had paid him thirty or forty ducats. It is well known that the old Romans had the same superstition, and it now prevails in the Levant.

They have another extravagant fancy, which is, that God will grant their requests by being importuned ; and in the time of great rains, the children will be all day running through the streets, calling for fair weather, and in drought for rain ; this they do with an hideous noise, sometimes for eight days together : if God does not give the children rain, the saints and learned men go into the fields and call for rain ; if that does not do, then they all go together bare-footed and meanly clothed to the tombs of their saints, and there they ask rain ; the Emperor sometimes performs this piece of devotion himself. But if all these fail, they turn all the Jews out of town, and bid them not return without rain ; for they say, though God would not give them rain for their prayers, he will give the Jews rain, to be rid of their importunity, their stinking breath and feet. This was done sometime ago at Tangier.

Here are a great many schools, where the children learn to read, write, cypher, and get the Alcoran by heart ; which when they have gone through, their relations borrow a fine horse and furniture, and carry them about the town in procession, with the book in their hands, the rest of their companions following, and all sorts of music of the country going before.

Such as apply themselves to the study of their law are admitted to hear public reading and preaching in the churches by the talbs ; and when approved by them, are admitted into the number. I could never learn they had any ceremony of initiation, at least more than by the majority of voices, and that he who was the most knowing, should be cady or head of the church. And the chief mufti, or head of the church, is he that is chose cady in the most important city. But the Emperor, who is of the blood of the prophet, and a saint besides, has made the cady of Taffilet, the country where he was born, (which he pretends has a great privilege in that respect) cady general of his kingdoms, though he is called cady of Mequinez.

The Moors salute one another when they meet by joining their hands with a quick motion, and separating them immediately, kissing each their own hand, if equals ; if not, the inferior kisses the superior's hand, and oftentimes his head too. They use the common terms of, How do you do ? Where have you been ? I am glad to see you.

you. If it be an alcaide, they kiss his foot, if on horseback; if on foot, his hand, cloaths, or the first thing they meet with; if sitting, his knees.

The current coin of this country are gold ducats, blankills, and fluces; all other pieces of gold and silver going but for as much as they weigh; these ducats are thin round pieces of gold, stamped with the Emperor's name, and pass with them for fourteen ounces, an imaginary sum which amounts to about nine shillings and six-pence of our money. The blankill is a little round piece of silver, stamped also with the Emperor's name, worth about two-pence, four of the n making one of their ounces: the fluce is a copper coin, twenty-four of which go to a blankill, so that their lowest piece of money is equal to the third part of a farthing; and yet things are so reasonable here, that two or three of them will purchase a loaf of bread, or fruit; and you may buy a good fowl for a blankill; every thing else is proportionably cheap, the country about Tetuan yielding plenty of corn, cattle, poultry, wild fowl, and great variety of fine fruits. I have called one of their coins a gold ducat, to distinguish it from the ordinary ducat, which with them is ten ounces, or six shillings and eight-pence of our money.

Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, the present basha, is between forty and fifty years of age, a strong built man, inclining to be fat, active and dexterous in the management of his spear; his countenance is grave and majestic, having a Roman nose, good eyes, and a well-turned face; his skin a little swarthy, and altogether makes a very manly appearance; he is reckoned to be very proud, but was sufficiently humbled at Mequinez, as you will hear.

He commands from towards Oran in the Mediterranean (where the Emperor of Morocco, and the Algerine's dominions are divided) to Marmora upon the ocean, which is under the command of the governor of Salé, and from the Mediterranean southerly, as far as the river Cebu; a government counted as large as the kingdom of Portugal; the chief cities of which are Tetuan, Tangier, Arzilla, Larach, and Alcazar.

Tuesday the 13th of June we began our journey to Mequinez, leaving Tetuan about five of the clock in the afternoon, and a little after six encamped in a pleasant plain, by the side of a small river called Bospherah, six miles from Tetuan. Here Ben Hattar lay encamped, having left the town before, to settle his things in order for travelling.

The 14th we decamped about four in the afternoon, and pitched our tents again three miles off, at a place called Darzerboh, from a Moorish saint that is buried there. These two short journeys were taken to form the disposition of our camp, and see if any thing more was wanting before we got far from Tetuan.

The 15th, at three in the afternoon, we left Darzerboh, travelling through a mountainous country, the road leading us over the tops of such rocky hills, that it was difficult to get along: we came to our tents between six and seven, which were pitched eighteen miles from our former camp.

The 16th we set out at six in the morning, the trumpet sounding to horse, which for the future was to be the signal for rising, after which it was expected every body should be ready in half an hour; we now began to have very hot travelling, as may be imagined from the climate, and season of the year, which daily increased, as well by reason of arriving more inland, as the approaching midsummer: we came to our camp at nine, about twelve miles off, close to a little rivulet called Alcharob.

The 17th we set out again at six in the morning, and about ten encamped at the river Hamgarwell, fifteen miles from our former incampment. In the way came to

us one Sidi Hamet, an old man, related to one of the Emperor's women; he is governor of the Dwarics in these parts, i. e. the flying villages of the Arabs, of which we had this day past by several: the inhabitants of them seem to live miserably, having but very indifferent lodgings, their houses consisting of nothing but sticks, with a rush or cloth covering in imitation of a tent, moving from place to place for the convenience of pasture, and water. These towns are generally built in the shape of a ring, by placing one row of houses close together, and going round with them until they meet, leaving a large vacant space in the inside; in the middle of which there stands a house by itself, which we supposed belonged to their sheik or chief, whom they have the liberty of choosing out of their own tribes; the Emperor gathering the tribute from them by a person whom he sends from court, and makes an alcajde for that purpose. These Arabs are for the most part very tawny, live nastily with their cattle and poultry, and their young children run about naked; they have abundance of fine black cattle, which I take to be the chief of their subsistence.

Notwithstanding the unsettled way of life, and seeming poverty of these people, a good revenue is drawn from them, there being reckoned to dwell, only in the plains of Fez, three hundred thousand of them, paying garam, that is the tenth part of all they have, to which they are liable as soon as they come to be fifteen years of age: this is the tax commanded by their law; but the alcajdes are so far from being satisfied with it, that they omit no manner of injustice and rapine, to fleece the people of all they can.

In Morocco there are not above one hundred thousand of them, but in Suz they are very numerous, and formerly refused to pay tribute, which cost this Emperor a great deal of time entirely to subdue them. When they have a mind to remove to another place, they load their camels, bulls, and cows, on whom they put pack-saddles, setting their wives and children on them, in large wicker baskets, covered with cloth to keep off the sun; after which manner they roam about till they have found a place to their mind.

At night we had great quantities of cuscusu, and other provisions, brought in by these people, and the mountaineers. This cuscusu is the daily food of the Moors, and I believe wholesome and nourishing by its composition, which is thus: they put fine flour into a large flat pan, and sprinkling it with water, take a great deal of pains to roll it up into small balls, which they separate and put into another thing, as they become of the size they would have, which generally is the same with our duck shot; when they have made a sufficient quantity of this, they put it into a sort of cullender, which serves for a cover of a pot, where there is meat and fowls stewing, so that it receives the heat and steam thereof; when it is enough, they pour strong broth into it, and putting the stewed meat and fowls at top, so serve it up. They certainly imagined we had good stomachs, for they sent us a monstrous wooden dish so full of cuscusu that seven or eight strong Moors had but just strength enough to set it upon the table. We attacked it as vigorously as we could, but made such an indifferent progress, that it was hardly to be perceived we had eaten; afterwards we had the pleasure to see it emptied in a few minutes by the muleteers and other attendants of the camp; who by a dexterous shake of their hands, turning it into round balls, swallowed them down as big as those made for horses. In all parts of the basha's dominions where he travels, the people bring in plenty of what they have, which costs him nothing.

The 18th we decamped between five and six in the morning, and passed the river Elmahassen, famous for the battle fought between Don Sebastian King of Portugal and the Moors. As this story had given matter to Sir Richard Steele, to furnish the world with a paper of the heroical virtue of Muley Moluc, then King of Morocco, it

gave me the curiosity to enquire whether they had any historical account thereof; but found only a traditional story, which most of them agreed in, differing much from Sir Richard Steele, who gives the praise of heroic virtue to the Moorish King; whereas the story of the country attributes it to a slave; for Muley Meluc was a prince very much beloved by his people, but infirm, and at the time he left Morocco, to defend his country against Don Sebastian, was so ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, and when he came to Alcazar, (about six miles from the place where the battle was fought) he there died; upon which a slave of his called Mirwan, (whose name the Moors to this day mention with great regard, because of the gallantry and service of the action,) wisely considering the consequence of keeping secret the death of a prince so well beloved by his people, at a time when the two armies every day expected to join battle, contrived it so as to give out orders for the King as if he had been alive, making believe he was better than he used to be, till the battle was over; when the said slave (thinking he merited a better reward than what he met with) with the successor joy, both of the victory and empire; but the ungrateful prince caused him to be immediately put to death, saying, he had robbed him of the glory of the action. The Portuguese who were dispersed in the battle, could not believe for a long time that their King was slain, but ran up and down the country, crying out, *Onde esta ei Rey*; i. e. Where is the King? The Moors often hearing the word *rey*, which in Arabic signifies good sense, told them that if they had any *rey* they had never come thither.

It is well known that many of the ordinary people in Portugal will not persuade themselves that Don Sebastian is yet dead: and there is now to be read on a monument in the great church of Bellem, near Lisbon, the following inscription:

Hoc jacet in tumulo, si fama est vera, Sebaſtes.

When we came within two miles of Alcazar, we were met by Alcaide Affuze, governor of Tangier; he came towards us with a spear carried upright by a slave at his horse's head, by which ceremony the Alcaides of Barbary are distinguished; and when they encamp, it is stuck before the door of their tents. He is a handsome young man, and very like the basha in the face; over his alhague he wore a scarlet albornooce, fringed with a deep green fringe, and made a good appearance. After he had welcomed the ambassador, his attendants cavalcaded till we came up to the basha, who was coming to receive the ambassador; then the basha's horse and those of the town joining with the alcaide's, made a large cavalcade, giving us the pleasure of seeing a great many lusty graceful Moors, finely mounted, tilt at one another with great activity; after which manner we went on, the drums beating, strange sort of music playing, and great crowds of people hallooing, and pressing so close upon us, that they could not be kept off (though beat by our guards) till we came to the tents, which were pitched close to the walls of Alcazar, about sixteen miles from our last encampment.

Upon the left of the road from Tetuan, almost as far as Alcazar, there runs a ridge of exceeding high and bulky mountains, called by the Moors, the mountains of Habib; the inhabitants of them cannot be reduced to the same degree of subjection with the rest of the country, yet, upon civil treatment, will bring the basha a contribution; but when endeavoured to be forced, revenge themselves by infesting the roads, robbing and destroying the travellers; retiring when they see occasion into their woody mountains, where the basha finds it too difficult to do any good upon them, so that he rather chooses peaceably to take what they of their own accords will send, than enrage them by compulsion.

• Alcaffar was ~~once~~ a city of good note, and the seat of the governor of this part of the kingdom: it was built by Jacob Almanzor, King of Fez, about the year 1180, and designed for a magazine and place of rendezvous, for the great preparations he was making to enter Granada, and make good the footing his father Joseph Almanzor had got sometime before. They say his father first invaded Spain with three hundred thousand men, most of whom he was obliged in a short time to bring back again into Africa, to quiet a rebellion that had broke out in Morocco; after which this prince again entered Spain, having in his army, according to tradition, two hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand foot.

This city is now very much fallen to decay, so that of fifteen mosques, there are only two in which they perform service; the reason of which decay (in all likelihood) is the bad situation thereof, standing so low, that it is excessively hot in summer and almost drowned in winter. Superstition also has been its enemy, for it was cursed by one of their saints, who was cunning enough to foretell, that it should be burnt in summer and drowned in winter; and to give the people an opinion of the validity of the said curse, their priests (not thinking the burning heat of the sun sufficient, which probably was all their saint meant) secretly, once a year, set fire to some house, and quench it for their pains, which was done whilst we were there; as for the drowning part, the river does that, being so swelled with the rains in winter, that it generally overflows into the town.

Here are a great number of storks, who live very familiarly with the people, walking about the town, and possessing the tops of the houses and mosques without molestation, being esteemed a sacred bird; so that they, as well as other nations, account it a sin to disturb them; but these birds not being free enough to go in and shelter themselves from the heat of the sun used to drop down dead every day.

At present the basha of Tetuan appoints the governor of this town, and it is the last (of any note) of his dominions towards Mequinez.

Monday the 26th about four o'clock in the afternoon we left Alcaffar, our number being very much increased by joining the basha and his sixteen brothers, besides nephews, the whole family being ordered to court. We came to our camp about six o'clock, ten miles from Alcaffar.

The 27th we decamped at six in the morning, and about eleven came to our tents, which were pitched by the side of a little brook called Behorah, having travelled about sixteen miles.

The 28th we set out at three in the afternoon, and a little after six came to the river Cebu, about twelve miles off, where we encamped: at this river end the dominions of the basha of Tetuan; it is one of the largest in the kingdom of Fez, taking its rise beyond the city of Fez, and falling into the sea at Marmora, it runs in a very deep bed, and had but little water in it; but in winter, they say, it is very full and rapid. The water of it is reckoned extremely wholesome and soft, and therefore the Moors greedily drink great plenty of it.

The 29th, about half an hour after two in the morning, we left the river Cebu, travelling by moon-light over the plain of Marmora, which is about twenty miles. This plain is very remarkable for its exceeding smoothness, stretching itself about eighty miles inland from the sea at Marmora, as even as a bowling-green. At eight we encamped near Sidi Cassim, a small town situated at the foot of a ridge of mountains that inclose this plain to the southward. The town takes its name from a saint, who has a monument in it, to which the Moors with great superstition resort to say their prayers: and a great many more saints are buried in the road to Mequinez, having

having little monuments over them, which the Moors will seldom pass, without praying at.

The basha coming into the camp just as the ambassador's tent was pitched, the latter invited him in; their conversation was concerning the great tract of ground we had passed, with so few towns: the ambassador saying, it was pity so much good ground should lie waste, which being cultivated, would enrich the Emperor and fill his granaries; the basha told him, that there was no want of corn in the Emperor's dominions, he having many magazines which have been full a long time; that the Moors preserve it without damage for an hundred years together, by putting it into pits, called methmur, plaistered within, and over the mouth, when they are full; that the large plain of Marmora and many other parts of the country were sown by the Emperor's negroes to supply his magazines.

The 30th we lay still in our camp at Sidi Cassem, the basha staying for some of his governors, to bring in their contributions for the present to the Emperor; but we were obliged to keep our distance from this holy town, for superstition runs so high in favour of the saint, its god-father, that it would be a great profanation, for any but Mahometan feet, to tread near it; of which being told, we rather chose to let our curiosities be unsatisfied, than run the risk of their superstitious insults.

July the 1st, we departed from Sidi Cassem about half an hour after five in the morning, ascending a rocky mountain, which at top is so ragged that it was with great difficulty we got over; and the descent so steep and stony, that a little wet would make it unpassable for horses. Between seven and eight we had a sight of Mequinez from the top of a hill. About ten we encamped in a plain called Muley Idris, from a saint who has a monument hard by. This Muley Idris was the founder of the city of Fez, and first Arabian Prince who reigned in Barbary: he was made a saint for compelling a great number of Jews to turn Mahometans. His tomb is to this day a sure sanctuary for those who fly from the wrath of the prince, or would avoid justice; and is of so great veneration, that the travellers, to Mequinez go considerably out of their way to pray at it, and the Emperor himself often pays his devotion there.

Here is a city that takes its name from the said saint, which stands close under the high mountain Zarhon, which they say runs as far as the great mountain Atlas. Almost a league from this city, upon a gentle rising hill, remain some ruins of a very ancient and noble building, which the Moors call *Cassar Pharaon*, i. e. Pharaoh's castle, who, they told us, was a Christian, but could not give any further account thereof. A draught of which, with the inscriptions of several stones found in the ruins, I have taken for the consideration of the curious.

This day was so exceeding hot and sultry, that all manner of metal was heated to such a degree by the air which came into our tents, that we could hardly touch it.

The country we had hitherto passed is very pleasant and fertile; the plains in many places abounding in corn and cattle, and the hills and mountains yielding plenty of olives; though a great part lies waste and uncultivated; not so much for want of a sufficient number of inhabitants, as by reason of the oppressions from the government, which makes them choose to live at some distance from the high roads, and seldom cultivate more land than they necessarily want for their own sustenance.

These ruins stand about one hundred and forty miles south of Tetuan, and sixteen north-east of Mequinez. One building seems to be part of a triumphal arch, there being several broken stones that bear inscriptions, lying in the rubbish underneath, which were fixed higher than any part now standing. It is fifty-six feet long, and
fifteen

fifteen thick, both sides exactly alike, built with very hard stone, about a yard in length, and half a yard thick.

The arch is twenty feet wide, and about twenty-six high.

The inscriptions are upon large flat stones, which when entire were about five feet long and three broad, and the letters on them above six inches long.

A bust lay a little way off, very much defaced, and was the only thing to be found that represented life, except the shape of a foot seen under the lower part of a garment, in the nich on the other side of the arch.

About a hundred yards from the arch stands good part of the front of a large square building, which is a hundred and forty feet long and about sixty high; part of the four corners are yet standing, but very little remains except these of the front.

Round the hill may be seen the foundation of a wall, about two miles in circumference, which inclosed these buildings, on the inside of which lie scattered all over a great many stones, of the same size the arch is built with, but hardly one left upon another; but at the arch, which stood about half a mile from the other buildings, seemed to have been a gate-way, and was just high enough to admit a man to pass through on horseback.

The 2d we left Muley Idris at half an hour after five in the afternoon, and upon the road heard that Ben Hattar (who went to Mequinez two days before) had been very well received by the Emperor; the reason why I give an account of Ben Hattar's reception by the Emperor, is because no man goes before him, but with the utmost fear, and in doubt whether he shall return alive; so that when any considerable person has been in his presence, it is usual to tell immediately abroad what kind of reception he has met with; and the account of Ben Hattar's was brought to us a great many miles before we came to Mequinez, as a piece of good news. About nine we came to the basha's camp, which was pitched within two or three miles of Mequinez.

Monday the 3d we set forward at four of the clock in the morning; the moon being up, and a little before sun-rise entered the city, to avoid the prodigious crowd we should have met with, had the day been farther advanced, by which means we got to our house with very little interruption. The basha of Tetuan not having been at court for three years, this morning appeared before the Emperor, to whom he had been accused of being careless of his government, in letting the Spaniards drive him out of his camp before Ceuta, and was in great danger of his life; the Emperor severely threatening him, and telling him he was not fit to command; but after he had been sufficiently frightened, he bid him go into the palace to see a sister of his, who was one of the Emperor's women; which he did to send him out of the way, while he vented some part of his anger on his followers; for some body had given him a list of those about the basha who were most in his esteem. The first on this list happened to be one Larbe Shott, a man worthy of a better fate than what he met with, which shall be related in its proper place. The next was one of the basha's secretaries, whom the Emperor ordered to be tossed, which being a punishment different from any used in Europe, it will not be amiss to give some account of it.

The person whom the Emperor orders to be thus punished, is seized upon by three or four strong negroes, who taking hold of his hams throw him up with all their strength, and at the same time turning him round pitch him down head foremost; at which they are so dexterous by long use, that they can either break his neck the first toss, dislocate a shoulder, or let him fall with less hurt: they continue doing this as often as the Emperor has ordered, so that many times they are killed upon the spot, sometimes they come off with only being severely bruised; and the person that is tossed must

must not stir a limb, if he is able, while the Emperor is in sight, under penalty of being tossed again, but is forced to lie as if he was dead, which if he should really be, nobody dares bury the body till the Emperor has given orders for it.

The 5th, the Emperor sent one of his courtiers to tell the ambassador that he thought the house he was in (which belonged to the basha of Tetuan) was not good enough for him, and that he would have him go to a house of Ben Hatter, that he had lately built, and was one of the best in Mequinez, to which we removed directly.

The First Audience which his Excellency the Honourable Charles Stewart, Esq. had of the Emperor of Morocco.

ON Thursday the 6th of July, about seven of the clock in the morning, the Emperor sent an alcaide with a guard to conduct the ambassador to him : we passed through the streets in the following manner : first there went two serjeants on horseback, they were followed by our music, which played all the way ; then came the ambassador with his liverymen on each side, and after him the gentlemen of his retinue, who were followed by several servants on horseback ; last of all came the English captive masters of ships on foot. The alcaide who commanded the guard would not suffer the Moors (who were not in the Emperor's service) to come near us, so that when any of them endeavoured after it, he used to point at them, to show the guards where they were, who laid on unmercifully, sometimes knocking them down.

Being arrived at the outward gate of the palace, we dismounted, and passing through three or four large court-yards, sat down under some piazzas for about half an hour. Then word being brought that the Emperor was come out, we were led into a spacious place, where at a distance we saw him, with an umiella over his head, his guards behind him drawn up in the shape of an half-moon, holding the butt end of their pieces with their right hands, and keeping them close to their bodies, with the muzzles directly upwards. His courtiers on each side, barefooted, and in the habit of slaves, who never stand exactly before him, but making a lane, watch the motion of his horse, that they may immediately fall into the same posture.

We marched towards the Emperor, our music playing, till we came within about fourscore yards of him, when it was surprizing to see the old monarch alight from his horse, and prostrate himself upon the earth to pray ; in which posture he continued some minutes without motion, with his face so close to the ground, that the dust remained upon his nose when we came up to him ; then mounting his horse again, he took a lance in his hand ; and Ben Hattar leading the ambassador up, we fell into one rank, and bowing as we approached the Emperor, he nodded his head, said *Bono*, several times, and bid the ambassador be covered, which he did, and at the same time delivered His Majesty's letter tied up in a silk handkerchief, into the Emperor's hand, (for it is a rule never to deliver with bare hands a letter to the Emperor) telling him that he was come from the King of Great Britain his master, to settle peace, friendship, and a good understanding between the two crowns, and that he had brought him a present, which he hoped he would accept. The Emperor replied, he should have every thing he came for, because he loved the English ; and that such of the Moors whom the ambassador had brought over with him as were able, should pay their ransom, and those who were not, the basha of Tetuan should pay for ; but recollecting himself, he said the English made no slaves, nor sold any ; upon which the ambassador told him, he hoped he would have the same regard for the King his master's subjects, and admit them to return home into their own country, a charity becoming so potent a monarch,

monarch, and a convincing proof of the great regard he had for the English nation; not that the nation stood in need of the men, for the English employed every year above an hundred thousand on the seas; but that the King his master was desirous, out of his goodness to his people, that so many of his subjects might return again to see their wives and families. It was very difficult to get the Emperor to have patience to hear what the ambassador had to say, being fond of speaking much himself, and interrupting the linguist so often, that it is hard for any body to get a fair interpretation made to him.

The ambassador now delivering the articles of peace to the Emperor, told him they were signed by the King his master, and desired he would be pleased to sign a counterpart to be carried to England; to which the Emperor said, that his word was as effectual as his writing, but however he would do that to satisfy him; and giving the articles to his admiral, Al Hadge Abdelcader Peres (afterwards sent ambassador to England), told the ambassador, that he made him a present of nine Christians for a breakfast, and he might choose which he pleased.

Then the Emperor speaking to the basha of Tetuan, the latter prostrated himself upon the earth, and kissed the ground at his horse's feet, and arising went up to the Emperor and kissed his foot; which they all do very often when he talks to them, and go backwards into their places again.

The Emperor is about eighty-seven years old, and very active for such an age. He is a middle-sized man, and has the remains of a good face, with nothing of a negro's features, though his mother was a black: he has a high nose, which is pretty long from the eyebrows downwards, and thin. He has lost all his teeth, and breathes short as if his lungs were bad, coughs and spits pretty often, which never falls to the ground, men being always ready with handkerchiefs to receive it. His beard is thin and very white: his eyes seem to have been sparkling, but their vigour decayed through age, and his cheeks are very much sunk in. He was mounted upon a black horse, not so remarkable for his beauty, as being taught to please him. His negroes continually fan and beat the flies from his horse with cloths, and the umbrella is constantly kept twirling over his head, the man that carries it taking great care to move as his horse does, that no sun may come upon the Emperor. His dress was not much different from what his bashas wear, when out of his presence, consisting of a fine alhague: his turban was made with rolls of muslin, that came very low upon his forehead. The end of his scimiter hung out, it was covered with gold, and handsomely set with large emeralds. His saddle was covered with scarlet cloth embroidered with gold, with one pistol in a cloth case, on the left side.

Parting from the Emperor, which we did by going backwards a good way, and Ben Hattar (by his order) conducting us to see the palace, we were led into a large oblong-square building, with piazzas all round, being the Queen of the Xeriph's apartment. The arches were wrought with plaster fret-work, in flowers after the Arabian manner, and supported by neat stone pillars; the square exceeding large and spacious; the bottom and sides (for about five feet high) chequered with small tiles of divers colours, about two inches square; of which small chequer-work there is a prodigious quantity in the palace. All the apartments, walks, magazines, passages, and underneath the arches being chequered, making the prospect of the buildings, which are all of a great length, extremely magnificent, beautiful and neat. From thence we were led into a magazine near a quarter of a mile long, and not above thirty feet broad; in it there hung up great quantities of arms in cases, and three rows of rails, which were covered with saddles, almost from one end to the other: and in such another magazine they

shewed

shewed us the gates of Larach, which this Emperor took from the Spaniards, a great deal of iron-work, some espadas, and other Christian swords, brought from thence.

Then we were carried into another large and spacious building, with piazzas all round like the former. In this live two of the Emperor's wives, who are distinguished by being called the Queens of the Cobah 'lhodrah, (which is the name of that part of the palace they live in) and are in great esteem with him.

From thence passing through some neat long walks and passages of chequer-work, we came to another building, with a large garden in the middle, planted round with tall cypress trees: the garden is sunk about sixty or seventy feet lower than the foundation of the building, over which, from one side to the other, goes a terrace-walk, called by the Moors the Strangee, which is about half a mile long, and fifteen or sixteen feet broad; the top of it all the way thick-shaded with vines, and other greens, supported with strong and well-made wooden work. In this walk there was a chariot that goes with springs, and a small calash, in which they told us the Emperor is sometimes drawn by women and eunuchs.

Several other squares and long buildings we passed through, now and then seeing the Christians upon the top of high walls, working and beating down the mortar with heavy pieces of wood, (something like what our paviors used to beat down the stones) which they raise all together, and keep time in their stroke; and after we had been about three hours seeing the palace, we were led again to the Emperor, who was on horseback at the entrance of a cobah, in which were stores of arms, lances, and other things, kept in order by twenty-eight English boys.

The Emperor, at the approach of the ambassador, cried out as before, *Bona, bona*, and asked him how he liked his palace? the ambassador told him it was one of the noblest upon the face of the earth; the Emperor said, Thank God. Then some of the English boys falling prostrate, and giving him the usual salutation, *Allah ibarik phi amrik Sidi*, i. e. God bless thy power! The Emperor asked of what nation they were, who, being told English, he bid them go home with the ambassador, and see him to bed: upon which the ambassador returned the Emperor thanks, took his leave, and went to his house.

At night one of the queens sent some victuals dressed in the palace, and fruit, with a compliment to the ambassador, desiring to know how he did, and wishing him a good night: the victuals were high seasoned, and stewed with roots and spices.

The 7th we were sent for again to see the palace, where arriving about nine of the clock, we were first led to some large rooms, full of men and boys at work; they were making saddles, stocks for guns, scabbards for scimiters, and other things; upon sight of the ambassador, they all fell a-working together, which made an agreeable sound, and shewed that industry was in great perfection in this Emperor's palace. From thence we went through divers large and neat buildings, now and then passing gates guarded by eunuchs, who beat away all but those who were to conduct us. We passed by a garden sunk very deep, having a great deal of clover in it, for the horses of the palace. The building on the side, and at one end, was supported with neat piazzas; the rails to look over into the garden were finely wrought, with steps to go up to them, which were chequered, as were the walks between them and the arches, and underneath the arches.

Having passed this building, we came to the most inward and beautiful part of the palace, which also has a garden in the middle, planted round with cypress and other trees: all the pillars of this building (which is of a vast length) are of marble, and the

arches and doors of the apartments very finely worked. These, they say, were ancient Roman pillars, transported thither from Sally.

Here one of the Queens sent us a collation of dates, grapes, melons, almonds and raisins, figs, and sweetmeats of their making; with an apology to the ambassador, because there was nothing better. it being Ramdam, in which time no victuals are dressed by the Moors, until night. The fruit was very welcome, for walking had made us dry, so we sat down under the piazzas, and were attended by the maids of the palace, whose jetty skins received the embellishment of shining bracelets and silver trinkets, which they wore in great plenty upon their legs and arms, with gold chains about their necks, monstrous large ear-rings, and other African ornaments: we were then in sight of the Emperor's women, who were so placed, that we knew nothing of it until afterwards.

The feast being ended, we parted from our black attendants, and were carried to another regular and neat building, with piazzas all round; the space between was all chequered, in the middle of which run a row of marble basons at certain distances, with little channels cut in stone, conveying water from one to the other; this is a magazine and treasury. Underneath the arches, there opened folding doors, into large, square, and very lofty rooms or halls, in some of which were great numbers of firelocks, regularly hung up; others had stores of lances of all sorts and sizes; among the rest a Guinea lance, (taken from an Indian prince, and shewn for a curiosity) having four spears at the head of it, the staff Brasil wood.

In these magazines may be seen bills, battle-axes, and warlike instruments of all sorts; a great many blunderbusses of different sizes, with brass barrels, helmets in boxes, and wrapped up in paper; and other variety of weapons, many of which seem not to have been made by the Moors, but rather to have been the arms of those Christians who lost their lives with Don Sebastian, or taken from those towns which formerly were in the hands of the Portuguese and Spaniards, but conquered by this Emperor.

Then passing by some rooms locked up, (they having in them gold, silver, jewels, and other riches, under the care of Bombar John Siggear, a black eunuch, the Emperor's treasurer) we came to the last, in which were a great number of scimiters, handsomely disposed, and in very good order, with several Christian swords among them; and after we had seen a much greater store of arms than any of us imagined this prince had, we were led into the inside of an apartment, where one of the Queens formerly lived. There were several frames for beds put close together, in which it is said the Emperor has sometimes laid: they would hold about twenty people. We saw also the baths, and some beautiful cobahs belonging to that apartment.

From thence we were carried through several other buildings, consisting for the most part of oblong-squares, with piazzas, under which the doors open into the lodgings, which generally are ground rooms: the doors of each building are all of one form and size, they are finely inlaid, and some of them gilt, and kept shut, so that we could not see into the apartments. In one of these squares was a fountain, with channels of marble, that made a labyrinth, very neat and pretty. We also passed by the place, where they told us Mahomet's writings, and the holy registers of their law are deposited; then we went into some stately cobahs, whose shells were finely painted of a sky colour, with golden stars, representing the heavens, and a golden sun in the middle, of curious workmanship. Some of these cobahs the Emperor makes use of to put in the presents he has received from Christian princes, among which were seven or eight coaches; others are magazines for arms, and his choicest goods: in one of them

them were hung up the fine glass sconces, that His Majesty King George had sent by the ambassador.

As we were going away, they shewed us a massy building with high walls, without any ornament, in which the Emperor designs to lay his bones. In the inside (they say) there is a chain that is let down from the middle of the roof, by which he intends his coffin shall hang.

Going to take the prospect of this palace, we passed over a large field, on each side of the path-way of which there were great numbers of large rats, which burrowed in the earth like rabbits, and ran about so thick that the ground was almost covered with them, letting us come within the distance of seven or eight yards before they would go into their holes; and having passed as far, they appeared above ground again, so that both before and behind us, we saw multitudes of them. At the end of this field there is a pomegranate garden, planted in a valley, over which the Emperor has built a strong bridge, reaching from the top of one hill to the other, for the more commodious passing over. At the end of the valley, the bridge is joined by a causeway with a wall on each side, for about two or three miles, it being the way he goes to his stables.

This palace is about four miles in circumference, and stands upon even ground, in form almost square, and no hill near to overlook it. It is built of a rich mortar, without either brick or stone, except for pillars and arches, and the mortar so well wrought, that the walls are like one entire piece of terrace. The whole building is exceeding massy, and the walls in every part very thick: the outward one is about a mile long, and twenty-five feet thick.

The inside of the best part of the palace consists of divers oblong squares a great deal bigger than Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, having piazzas all round, as before described. Some of the squares are chequered throughout the whole space, others have gardens in the middle, that are sunk very deep, and planted round with tall cypress trees, the tops of which appearing above the rails, make a beautiful prospect of palace and garden intermixed.

There are likewise dispersed throughout the palace, several buildings which they call *cobahs*: they are built square with plain walls on the outside, except the front, which consists of piazzas of five or six arches: the inside is one very large and lofty room or hall, chequered at bottom, and the sides, almost the height of a man; the top or dome curiously painted and richly gilt; the roof is covered with green tiles and rises like a pyramid.

It is reported that thirty thousand men, and ten thousand mules, were employed every day in the building of this palace; which is not at all improbable, seeing that it is built of hardly any thing else but lime, and every wall worked with excessive labour.

The nature of the building is convenient for the hot climate, being mostly ground rooms, by reason of which, and the great thickness of the walls, the lodgings are very cool and refreshing, when the weather is excessively hot.

I have observed in another place that the Emperor never parts with any money, either to defray the expences of war, or building, and has caused this large and magnificent palace to be erected, without expending a blankill towards it; but instead of money he gives the alcaide of his buildings a government; which at present is all that country lying between Mequinez and Tremezen, a large tract of ground, and a very fruitful soil; but considering the continual employment, and unlimited ex-

pences which his office obliges him to, it is thought he cannot get any thing for himself, more than what suffices for his maintenance.

The Emperor is wonderfully addicted to building, yet it is a question whether he is more addicted to that or pulling down; for they say if all his buildings were now standing, by a moderate computation, they would reach to Fez, twelve leagues off; and those who have been near him since the beginning of his reign, have observed him eternally building and pulling down, shutting up doors and breaking out new ones in the walls. But he tells them this is done to occupy his people; for, says he, if I have a bag full of rats, unless I keep that bag stirring they will eat their way through; but he does not design to give them time, for I saw a piece of ground (as near as I can guess four times as large as Lincolns-Inn-Fields) laid out for a new building. He has also dug many strange caverns in the earth of all sizes, some for corn, others for powder, arms, brimstone, and money, of which latter it is suspected he leaves no witnesses when finished.

This prince has reigned about fifty-three years, obtaining the throne in the year 1672, upon the death of his brother Muley Archid, who having drank to excess, and riding furiously in a grove of orange-trees, struck his head against a branch, and broke his skull.

His grandeur and fortune is owing to his courage and vivacity, together with the help he met with from the Jews, particularly Memaran their governor, who supplied him with money to carry on the war against his opposers; for his nephew Muley Hamet, then basha of Morocco, had caused himself to be proclaimed King; and Muley Aram, his brother, set up also in Taffilet, the country from whence the family came. But Muley Ishmael, the present Emperor, being at that time alcaide of Mequinez, raised what forces he could, and went with all expedition against his nephew, conquered him, took the city of Morocco, and reduced all that kingdom to his obedience, in the year 1676.

After the death of Muley Hamet, the cruelty of this Emperor began to appear; the first scene of which was acted by the side of a river, to which he came with his army but could not pass, where he ordered all the prisoners to be killed, and woven into a bridge with rushes for his army to pass over upon.

In 1673 he made himself master of Taffilet, and three years after that took Marmora from the Spaniards, where he found 88 pieces of brass cannon, fifteen of iron, ammunition of all sorts, more than he had in his whole dominions before; and a great prize of pearls and jewels belonging to merchants who (then were in the town) fell into his hands. He also took Larach from the Spaniards in 1689, clearing all the sea coast of his territory, but Massagan, Pennon de Velez, and Ceuta, the latter of which (though always blockaded with 10,000 men, and so strictly pressed, that the basha cannot stir from before it without leave from the Emperor,) has defied all attempts for thirty-four years together. In 1701 he fought a battle with the Dey of Algiers, but coming off with the worst, a peace was concluded, which has continued ever since.

At the beginning of his reign, the roads were so infested with robbers, that it was dangerous to stir out of the towns without being well guarded; but he has so well cleared them, that now it is no where safer travelling.

He maintains his large empire (which consists of several kingdoms joined together) in peace and quietness, although of so late an acquisition to the family, that his grandfather had no manner of title to it, but by strange fortune increased his power so as to seize on it by force of arms. In his empire is contained all that country called

by the Romans Mauritania Tingitana, with other provinces to the southward, as far as Cape Blanco, where it is bounded by the Negro country, as it is northerly by the Mediterranean sea. It has on the east the kingdom of Algiers, and part of the country of Bildulgerid, and on the west the main ocean; including the kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, Taffilet, Darba, Suz, Tremezan, and Segelmess, over which he rules with so severe a hand, and has struck such a dread into all men by his terrible executions, that none of the remnants of the royal blood of the before-mentioned kingdoms, or any of his *baschas*, have dared to take up arms against him. All the disturbance he ever met with at home (since his establishment after the conquest of his nephew) was the rebellion of his son Muley Mahomet, who, causing himself to be proclaimed King of Morocco, plagued him for some time; but sending his son Muley Zidan against him, Muley Mahomet was overthrown, and the Emperor having got him into his clutches, ordered his right hand and left foot to be cut off, after which the prince soon died, not suffering the blood to be stopped, but tearing off the plaisters. Muley Zidan was then declared heir to the crown, but giving himself over to cruelty and drunkenness, he was strangled by his own wives, in the beginning of the year 1708.

His manner of governing is by *alcaydes*, who have no commission, but receive their authority only by his saying, Go govern such a country; be my general or admiral. At court he has five standing officers: they are, the grand mufti for affairs of religion; the chief eunuch to take care of the seraglio; a treasurer for his revenue; the superintendant of his buildings; and the *bascha* of Mequinez, who is the first minister or supreme *alcayde*, of which there are three sorts; the first and chief are those who, in the nature of viceroys, are sent to govern the provinces; to whom, for their greater honour, is sometimes given the title of *baschas*. They have an unlimited power, and it matters not how much they tyrannize, if upon their return to court they bring riches enough to satisfy the Emperor.

Another sort are the generals of his armies, and commanders over small parties of horse or foot.

The third sort are governors of cities or towns, and are either made by the Emperor himself, as are the *alcaydes* of Morocco, Fez, Sally, and other great cities, or by the governors of the provinces, over small towns and cities; a fourth sort may be added, which are titular only, and therefore called *alcaydes* of their heads.

The governors of the provinces are ordered to court every two or three years, to render an account of their government; that is, to bring the Emperor all that they have by an arbitrary and tyrannical power plundered the people of, by which means he gets little less than their whole wealth, which never circulates more, but is thrown into his treasury, and remains there an unprofitable and useless hoard, he never parting with it again upon any account whatsoever, for neither his armies, fleet, or buildings cost him any thing. The manner how he builds without money, I have before related; and when he has occasion to raise forces, the *alcaydes* of the provinces are obliged to find and maintain them, each providing for a number in proportion to the extent of his government. The ships also that are in his service are fitted out and maintained by the *alcayde* of the port to which they belong; nevertheless he has half the prizes, and takes all the slaves, remitting part of his moiety of the prize goods, in consideration for the slaves, who did not belong to his share.

When the *alcaydes* return from their governments, it is with the greatest fear imaginable, as I have before hinted; for if the Emperor thinks they do not bring him the whole profits thereof, but keep something for themselves, they are in danger of being
put

put to some cruel death. Before they go into his presence, they pull off their shoes, put on a particular habit they have to denote a slave, and when they approach him fall down and kiss the ground at his horse's feet. If he speaks to them, they bend forward and hold their heads a little on one side, in token of offering their life: which great degree of subjection proceeds partly from fear, and partly from superstition; for they believe him to be the true branch of the Xeriphian family, who draw their descent from the prophet Mahomet, and therefore think he is particularly favoured by heaven, and can do nothing amiss, but imagine all who die by his hand go to paradise; in which opinion he has confirmed them by a long continuance of tyrannical power, by artifice, and by hypocrisy, never doing any thing of consequence without first falling down upon the ground, with his face close to the earth for a considerable time, making believe that he then receives inspiration and directions from God or Mahomet, (for which purpose he has a great number of praying places contrived in different parts, not unlike niches, laid horizontally in the ground) and that he performs the will of God in every thing he does.

He likewise explains the law to them himself, which they follow according to the opinion of their doctor, Melish, who taught that there is but one God, and Mahomet was his chief prophet; that Jesus Christ was a great prophet, born of a virgin, whose name was Mary; that he was very holy, and wrought miracles, but did not die as we believe, for when Judas betrayed him, God caused one of his disciples to appear in his likeness, who was crucified in his stead. That there is a heaven and a hell, and the eternal blessings will consist in a sight of the Sovereign Being, of his angels, and Mahomet, in the enjoyment of beautiful virgins, whose virginity will daily be renewed, indulging their appetites with all sorts of delicious food, which they shall have at a wish, bathing in rivers of milk and rose-water; and that their lodgings will be in glorious palaces, built with diamonds, pearls, and precious stones. That hell will consist in the extremities of heat and cold; and the damned will be created and destroyed every day.

The Moors observe a lent of one moon, called Ramdam, abstaining from all manner of food, till the appearance of the stars; neither are they allowed to smoke, wash their mouths, take snuff, smell perfumes, or converse with their women.

Those who are obliged to travel may drink a little water; and such as are sick may borrow a few days of their prophet, but they must and do repay punctually when they recover strength. In the towns they run about the streets, and wake all those people they think are asleep, that they may eat, and so be the better able to support themselves in the day: they rise three or four times in the night, and sleep again. Such as are libertine, and used to drink wine, abstain from it in this time.

At Tetuan every evening when the fast of that day is ended, a trumpet is sounded from the castle to give notice of it, before which time it is pleasant to see the posture of the Moors; one holding a pipe ready filled, while he impatiently expects the sound of the trumpet; another with a dish of cuscusu before him, ready to run his hand in; some got close to the fountains, to be the first that shall drink. On the eve of their lent, they make great rejoicing, shouting, and repeating the name of God, and watch for the appearance of the moon, at which they fire their muskets, then fall to saying their prayers, the Emperor himself sometimes at their head, who, to persuade the people of his great regard for religion, keeps this fast four months every year; but they are obliged to observe it only during that moon.

The Emperor certainly punishes all breakers of their law with great severity; and carries his hypocrisy so far, that this is the most religious age that ever was in Barbary,

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by the King's example, whose commands are esteemed sacred, for the least breach of which he has often inflicted the severest death ; so that what from the dread of punishment, and the opinion the people are brought up in, no prince is better obeyed.

He is an early riser, whether from his natural disposition, or the horror of the many murders, exactions, and cruelties he has committed on his poor subjects and slaves, I cannot determine ; but those who have been near him when abroad in camps, (for in his palace he is waited on by women, young wenches, boys, and eunuchs, who dare not tell tales,) report that his sleeps are very much disturbed, and full of horror ; when starting on a sudden, he has been heard to call upon those he had murdered ; and sometimes awake, he asks for them whom he has killed but the day before ; and if any of the standers-by answer, He is dead, he presently replies, Who killed him ? To which they must answer, They do not know, but suppose God killed him, unless they have a mind to follow.

I have heard he used once to call often for Hameda, a great favourite of his, when he was walking alone, and nobody could be supposed to hear him ; this Hameda was the greatest favourite he ever had ; he was the son of the guardian of the slaves, and came a boy into the Emperor's army, when he was besieging his cousin Muley Hamet in Terudant, and doing some action before him, he took notice of him and gave him a horse ; the man still continued to do good things, and being a merry buffoon fellow, the Emperor grew into great familiarity with him, insomuch that he could take the liberty to go into his gardens when he was with his women, which no man ever did before or since. He had the title of basha by way of pre-eminence above all other bashas. The Emperor used passionately to tell him, that he could never be heartily angry with him, and that it was impossible he should be provoked to kill him ; and it was thought he did not design to do it, when he gave him so many blows with the butt-end of his lance, that he died of them the next day. The Emperor afterwards shewed a great deal of sorrow at it, confessed he repented of what he had done, sent him and his physicians a bag of money, and desired him to live.

As soon as his first prayer is over, which is before the morning star disappears, he goes to his works, which are of a vast extent within the walls of his palace ; there the poor people (whether Christians, negro slaves, boys who attend him, alcaides, or overseers of the works,) all taste of his anger in their turns, beating, killing, or giving good words, according to the humour he is in. This is one of his top pleasures ; in some of these places, and never within his palace, he gives audience to ambassadors, converses sometimes sitting on the corner of a wall, walks often, and sometimes works.

About eight or nine of the clock his trembling court assemble, which consists of his great officers, and alcaides, blacks, whites, tawnies, and his favourite Jews, M-maron and Ben Hattar, all barefooted ; and there is bowing and whispering to this and the other eunuch, to know if the Emperor has been abroad, (for if he keeps within doors there is no seeing him unless sent for), if he is returned in a good humour, which is well known by his very looks and motions ; and sometimes by the colour of the habit he wears, yellow being observed to be his killing colour ; from all which they calculate whether they may hope to live twenty-four hours longer.

If he comes out, the necks, as I have said, are all held out, their eyes fixed on the ground, and after this manner the crouching creatures pay their homage. If he speaks, some swear by their God, what he says is true ; others at every pause he makes, cry out, God lengthen thy days, my lord ; God bless thy life ; which once occasioned an accidental jest, for he was saying, May I be called the greatest of liars if I have not

always conceived a great esteem for the English, and making a little stop at the word liars, his officious court cried, Yes, by G—d, it is true, my lord.

If he comes not out, he sometimes sends for some of them ; at other times he has the door opened, and orders them all to pass muster, and they go one by one cringing by his door. If he only goes a little way out of the gate of his palace, they follow him on foot through the dirt ; and he is a great man and esteemed a great favourite, who advances as far as his stirrup ; and if he has occasion to send a message, though never so trivial, the best of them are ready to run, without respect to age, rank, or favour, (even his favourite Hamedá used to make his court this way) and return bespattered up to their eyes, at least all over their white drawers, and other garments which are white : nay, I have heard that Hamet Ben Haddu Attar (who was ambassador in England in King Charles the Second's time) was once surprised without his shoes, walking barefoot in a great deal of dirt by his horse ; and without regard to his age, or the pretence he had to his favour, was sent to the furthest part of the town in that condition.

Those days that he does not come abroad, the courtiers remain in an alley of his palace all dinner-time, when he sends them a great vessel of cuscusu, which they fall upon without ceremony, and having filled their bellies, return to their private affairs ; but if he goes any distance from the town, those who have the privilege to go with him, call for their horses, which are held by their servants at some distance, none ever presuming to go unless bidden. Sometimes when he goes out of town, which is not above once in two or three months, he will be attended by fifteen or twenty thousand blacks on horseback, with whom he now and then diverts himself at the lance.

In the year 1690, before he was master of Sahra, there came a woman from that people to him, who, hearing of her coming, went to meet her on horseback, at the head of twenty thousand men. She told him the people of Sahra were desirous to put themselves under his protection, but that he must fight her at lance-play, if he had a mind to have her, at once the pledge of their fidelity, and the prize of his victory. She set him hard at first, but afterwards suffered herself to be overpowered, was put among the rest of his women, and troops were sent to protect the frontiers of Sahra.

While he is abroad, there are carried after him a stool, a kettle of water, and a skin, (which is his table-cloth) this belongs to his eating ; and if he is out at dinner-time, his dinner is carried after him upon the head of a negro, in a great wooden or copper vessel, which he does not take from his head until the Emperor asks for it : the manner of his eating does not differ from the ordinary Moors. His other travelling utensils are two or three guns, a sword or two, and two lances, because one broke once as he was murdering ; both the swords and lances must be carried with their points upwards ; these are all carried by lusty fellows ; his boys carry short Brasil sticks, knotted cords for whipping, a change of cloaths to shift when bloody, and a hatchet, two of which he took in a Portuguese ship, and the first time they were brought to him, killed a negro without any provocation, to try if they were good.

Although the natives of his dominions are whites, yet they are not so much esteemed by him as the blacks and the copper-coloured, to whom he commits the guard of his person, and is so fond of their breed, that he takes care to mix them himself, by often ordering great numbers of people before him, whom he marries without any more ceremony, than pointing to the man and woman, and saying, *Hadi yi boud Hadi*, i. e. That take that, upon which the loving pair join together, and march off as firmly noosed as if they had been married by a Pope. He always yokes his best complexioned subjects to a black help-mate ; and the fair lady must take up with a negro.

Thus

Thus he takes care to lay the foundation of his tawny nurseries, to supply his palace as he wants, into which they are admitted very young, are taught to worship and obey this successor of their Prophet, and being nursed in blood from their infancy, become the executioners and ministers of his wrath, whose terrible commands they put in execution with as much zeal and fury as if they had received them immediately from heaven. Their manner is, as soon as the word comes out of his mouth, to seize on the wretch ordered for execution like so many lions, whom, if he is not to be executed on the spot, they almost tear to pieces before he gets to the place of execution; and by the fury of their looks, and their violent and savage manner of using him, make a scene very much resembling the picture of so many devils tormenting the damned. They are so ready to murder and destroy, even while young, that the alcaides tremble at the very sight of them, and the Emperor seems to take a great deal of pleasure, and place much of his safety in them, for they surround him almost wherever he is; they are of all ranks and degrees, some are the sons of his chief alcaides, others picked up by chance, or taken from a large negro town joining to Mequinez, which the Emperor has filled with families of blacks and tawnies for his use. If they are well-looking and strong, they need no other quality; some who have relations that are able, are fed, clothed, and lodged by them; others who have not, are lodged in the out-skirts of the palace, in great rooms, where they pig an hundred or two together. They wear only a short and small coat without sleeves, which does not reach to their knees; their heads are shaved and always exposed to the sun, for he affects to breed them hard. Most, and sometimes all, of them are employed in his buildings, where they take off their cloaths, and laying them all in a heap, every one takes a basket, and removes earth, stones or wood; when they have done, he orders them to go to his Jew and receive so much soup; the next day they appear gay and under arms.

He beats them in the cruellest manner imaginable, to try if they are hard; sometimes you shall see forty or fifty of them all sprawling in their blood, none of them daring to rise till he leaves the place where they are lying, and if they are discountenanced and out of heart at this usage, they are of a baltard breed, and must turn out of his service. I never heard that he killed but three of them, one for sodomy, and two for hiding a piece of bread in the hole of a wall, which it is supposed they could not eat, for they are great reverencers of bread, and take up, as all Mahometans do, the least crumb wherever they find it, and kiss it. When they want cloaths, the Emperor thinks of somebody that has too much money, either Moor or Jew, and bids them go to him, and receive each a coat or shirt.

They are generally about eight hundred in all, and live with him in a sort of subordination to one another: several have the names of alcaides, as the chief of them who wait on the Emperor's person; others are made overseers of some task or work the Emperor has ordered them to finish; some he makes perpetual alcaides over a certain number of his companions, and such a one is to answer for the rest, as to their diligence, cleanly and good deportment in all particulars: and it is wonderful to see the insolence, state and gravity of these young rogues, and how they ape the old Emperor in their way of government; for though they can only inflict blows, yet they use the haughty phrases of command, and talk of cutting throats, strangling, dragging, &c.

The first mark of their preferment, after they grow too big to serve the Emperor in this nature, is giving them a horse, (a horseman being in the highest esteem imaginable amongst them, and the foot the contrary, insomuch that those who command thousands

of them, are not esteemed equal to the commanders of fifty horse,) then the Emperor either recommends them to some of his *basas* or great *alcaydes* employed against the Christians, or the *Berebbers* that inhabit the mountains, or keeps them near him, and then they are ready to be intrusted with all important messages, as to carry the Emperor's letter of thanks to any officer who serves him well, or to call him cuckold, spit in his face, give him a box on the ear, strangle, or cut off his head.

When they have waited a considerable time, if no command or government becomes vacant, he sends them to gather the tribute of some country, with the title of an *alcayde*; and if he remains by him without any employment (after performing this service) he is called *alcayde* of his head, which is a sort of an *alcayde* titular or reforme, as I have noted above; but perhaps the Emperor suspects that he has put something more in his pocket than ordinary, then he bids him build some houses of such or such dimensions; and that he may seem something more reasonable than the Egyptian talk-masters, he bids him take his lime and stone: the poor man begins with a good heart, and when he has spent all, despair forces him to go to the Emperor, and tell him he is not worth one farthing more, lest he should find his work standing still, and bury him alive in one of the walls. The Emperor picks a quarrel with him, cuts him with his sword, wounds him with his lance, or takes off his cloaths, all but his drawers, gives him five hundred blows on the buttocks, puts him in prison, or loads him with two great chains, and sends him to labour at the house he was building, and orders somebody else to finish it. Now you must know the Emperor never beats a man soundly, but the man is in the high way of preferment, and it is ten to one but His Majesty passing by him in chains a few days after, and finding him in a sad pickle, he calls him his dear friend, uncle or brother, and enquires how he came into that condition, as if he knew nothing of the matter, sends for a suit of his own cloaths, (which is a great compliment) makes him as fine as a prince, and sends him to govern some of his great towns; for by this means he is sure he has not left him worth a groat, and will make a careful computation of what he may get in his government, until it be his turn to be squeezed again.

They tell a story of a Spaniard, who was esteemed a good marksman, and bribed to shoot the Emperor; he so missed his aim, that the two balls he had charged his gun with, flew into the pommel of the Emperor's saddle. The man was immediately seized, and when it was expected he would be put to a cruel death, the Emperor first reproached him with his base design, asking him what he had done to deserve being used so, whether he was no more beloved, and people were tired with him; then calmly sent him to the works among the rest of the Christians. The Spaniard fearing he should not come off so, and thinking it a means (if there was any) to get his liberty again, turned Moor, but continued in his Christian habit. Some years after, the Emperor going among the workmen where he was, asked him why he did not pull off his hat? he answered, he was a Moor; and the Emperor being informed who he was, ordered him to be freed immediately, asked him a thousand pardons, for keeping him at work so long, dressed him from head to foot, and made him a governor of some country.

A little more or less, this is the treatment of his *grandees*, to day hugged, kissed, and preferred, to-morrow stript, robbed, and beaten. Many of the people about him bear the marks of his sword, lance, or short sticks; and the face and arms of the negro, who carried his umbrella when Captain Norbury was there, were scarred all over with cuts that the Emperor had given him, it is supposed, for letting the sun come upon him; for he is extremely nice in his tyranny, and when he has done with his

lance,

lance, he darts it suddenly into the air, and it must be caught before it comes to the ground, or he will kill the man appointed for that purpose.

If he chances to kill any body when he has not determined their death (as it frequently happens) he civilly begs their pardon, and says, he did not design to kill that poor man, and lays the fault on God, saying, his time was come, the powers above would have it so.

If he designs the death of a Christian, whom he cares not to pardon, he shuts the gates of his palace, that Maestre Juan should not come; for it is very singular that this Maestre Juan (a Christian slave of Catalonia) has by his good work, temper, and sincerity wrought so much upon the Emperor, that he once swore he would never see him but he would give him something, and that he should never ask him any thing but he would grant it; and the being desirous to keep his word, makes him fear this Juan should come to beg such a man's life; nay, sometimes having seen him first, he cries out, he must give him something, for he had seen him.

They say the Emperor has a great memory, and is very politick, though many of his actions seem rather to proceed from an uncertain, and whimsical temper; for sometimes he will do justice, as if he had it in great regard; at other times punish and destroy his people for no reason at all, dreading no consequence, nor fearing to exasperate them, but appears as unconcerned as if he really believed (as he has insinuated) that he does every thing by the appointment of God, and therefore has nothing to fear from man.

When he is angry with the Moors, then the Christian slaves are in favour, to whom he will sometimes talk, calling them *Bon Christiano*, and wishing God would give them their liberty, just as if it was not in his power: but his wrath is terrible, which the Christians have sometimes felt; for one day passing by a high wall, on which they were at work, and being affronted that they did not keep time in their stroke, as he expects they should, he made his guards go up and throw them all off the wall, breaking their legs and arms, and knocking them on the head in a miserable manner: another time he ordered them to bury a man alive, and beat him down along with the mortar in the wall.

Nor is he less cruel to the Moors, whom he will frequently command to be burnt, crucified, sawed in two, or dragged at a mule's tail through the streets, until they are torn all to pieces. The most favourable death is to die by his hand, for then they only lose their heads, or are run through the body, for which purpose he always has his lances ready (as I have before mentioned), and is very dextrous at using them, seldom letting his hand go out, for want of practice; though of late, they say, he has abated much of his cruelty.

The 15th, the fast of Ramdam being over, the Emperor went to pray in a field a little way out of town, which he does three times a year. There attended him a vast number of horse and foot, who waited at an awful distance, with great silence, while he prayed under a canopy set up in the field: as soon as he had done, and was mounted again, the drums beat, and the horse began to cavalcade. The ambassador was upon the town-wall, close by which the Emperor and all his attendants returned; this part of the wall joining to the Spanish convent, the prior had built a handsome scaffold for us. About ten of the clock they began to pass by, great numbers of foot firing, and horse cavalcading, some with lances, and others with firelocks, which presenting at one another's heads as they galloped along, they sometimes set their turbans on fire, and burnt their faces in a desperate manner; the smoke (occasioned by their often firing) a little clearing up, we saw eight or nine blacks in a row, carrying large colours, with great
gilt

gilt balls on the top of their staves; they were enclosed by the Emperor's soldiers, who jumped about and fired in the ground before them: after they were passed, came Muley Mahomet Lariba, one of the Emperor's sons; he is alcade of the stables, or master of the horse; there attended him a guard of horse and foot, at the head of which he rode with a lance in his hand, the place where the blade joins to the wood covered with gold. Then came a calash with six black women holding by the sides, which was covered all over, so that we could not see who was in it: after that was carried a large red standard with an half-moon in the middle, surrounded with soldiers, about which they fired, and shouted very much. Then came the Emperor with a fuzee in his hand, his umbrella kept all the way twirling over his head, and the negroes continually fanning, and beating the flies from his horse. As he came almost over-against us, he presented his piece at a Moor who was got very near him, but did not fire, the guards seizing on the fellow, and hawling him away, perhaps to be executed for his presumption. Just before the Emperor marched a foot-guard, clothed all in leopard and tyger skins, and a guard of young blacks with lances, and fire arms intermixed. Round about him rode a great many of his sons, and behind them troops of horse in armour, some gilt all over, others only their helmets, which were of several shapes. After them went a great number of foot, with spears, battle axes, bills, and warlike instruments of all sorts. This body of foot being passed, there came twenty of the Emperor's led horses, with saddles of beaten gold, set with emeralds and other stones, some of which were very large. This show gave us the sight of a vast number of very fine and well-managed horses, in shape far exceeding those Europe; and these twenty of the Emperor's were extremely beautiful, and stately. After them came Muley Abdallah, another of his sons, with a guard of horse and foot; he cavalcaded before us with lances and firelocks, as did most of the Emperor's sons, and other horse, but those near his person. While Muley Abdallah was cavalcading, the Basha of Mequinez, Abdelmelech Ammaree, passed by; he is the greatest basha and chief minister, succeeding Basha Gauzi deceased. Great numbers of horse were still cavalcading, but every body of consequence having passed, the ambassador went into the convent, where we dined with the prior, who, I believe, did his best, but his cooks being Spaniards, the victuals were sadly dressed for our taste, and his wine very bad. This convent was built by the King of Spain, for the relief of slaves; it has five hundred pistoles a year settled on it, and is capable of receiving above one hundred sick persons; there are four monks and a physician, whom the Emperor protects upon account of yearly presents made to him, and because they take care of his sick slaves, without putting him to any charge.

The 19th the Emperor's cruelty put an end to the life of Larbe Shott, mentioned before to be one of the basha's followers, whom the Emperor imprisoned upon our coming to Mequinez. This man was of one of the best families in Barbary, being descended from the old Andalusian Moors, and deserved the esteem both of his own countrymen, and of us, with whom he had lived until the time of his imprisonment; for he had been a considerable time in Gibraltar, as a pledge from the basha to an English merchant, for the payment of money due for goods, he had supplied the basha with. Part of the crime laid to his charge, was for going out of his country, and living in Christendom a considerable time, without the Emperor's knowledge, and having defiled himself with Christian women, and often been in liquor; he was also accused of being an unbeliever, and one of those who had invited the Spaniards to invade Barbary.

These things being insinuated to the Emperor, after the usual manner of that court (where every body has it their power to do harm, but few to do good) brought this poor

man to his end ; for early this morning he was carried before the Emperor, who (not allowing him any other trial, but giving way to his accusers, who said he was an unbeliever and not fit to live,) commanded him to be sawed in two ; upon which he was immediately carried to the place of execution, which is at one of the gates of the town, and there tied between two boards and sawed in two, beginning at his head and going downwards until his body fell asunder, which must have remained to have been eaten by the dogs, if the Emperor had not pardoned him ; an extravagant custom, to pardon a man after he is dead ; but unless he does so, nobody dares bury the body.

It was reported the next day after, that the Emperor dreamt Shott had appeared to him, and asked him what he had done to deserve such usage ; telling him, there would be a time when God would judge between them both ; which gave the Emperor so much concern, that he sent to the place of his execution for some of the dust his blood was spilt on, with which he rubbed himself all over as an atonement for his crime.

About this time some people who were enemies to the peace, (particularly the Spaniards, and other Christian slaves who were there) not being desirous that so many English should be carried away, whose places they must supply, and have a double portion of work ; and also grieved to see the King of Great Britain so careful in endeavouring to release his subjects out of slavery, whilst they lay neglected, and without hopes of redemption : these considerations made them earnestly endeavour to disappoint the ambassador's hopes ; and they had prevailed so far in getting the Emperor persuaded against it, that he sent a message to the ambassador, telling him, That he believed his master's affairs would require him in his own country, so he was at liberty to return when he pleased ; and that when he came to Tetuan, he might talk with his basha about the redemption of the captives.

But the ambassador perceiving the Emperor was about to put him off, consulted how to get the better of this difficulty ; and Ben Hattar the Jew advised him to write to one of the Queens, in a fictitious manner ; and as nothing can better show how precarious all negotiations must be, where it is necessary to make use of artifices, and methods of deceiving, rather than inform of the truth, I have inserted the ambassador's letter to the Queen.

Powerful Lady, Mother of Muley Abdallah,

THE most important knowledge of the authority lodged in Your Majesty, I learnt while I was in Lisbon, where endeavouring (as is the custom of all who are to go into foreign countries) to know the persons of greatest power, who can best forward their negotiations, and make relation of them to the King : I met with an old Christian, who had been Your Majesty's slave two years, and received his liberty by your clemency ; and talking with him about my embassy, he informed me, that Your Majesty was the chief person in this court who could do me service ; for, by your means, my business would come to the ears of His Imperial Majesty ; and for my better memory, he told me the name of Your Majesty's mother, the Lady Halima, by whose hands he advised me to convey the letter I should write to Your Majesty ; which I have accordingly done, asking pardon for my boldness, in following the advice of the said captive, desiring Your Majesty to consider the requests I make, and not doubting your approbation thereof, whose protection I promise myself, so that the full meaning may come to the ears of His Imperial Majesty, for there cannot be wanting in this royal palace a person who can read it.

Upon

Upon which dependance I represent to Your Majesty, that I came to this court with sincere friendship, and loyal meaning, to kiss the hands of His Imperial Majesty, whose honour I had, and in confidence of which, when I arrived at Gibraltar with my Sovereign's orders, I wrote to His Imperial Majesty, acquainting him with my intention, and the orders of my master the King of Great Britain, desiring him to appoint one of his servants, to treat for a lasting peace, and redemption of my captive brethren; and also to give leave for me and my retinue to come to this court.

Which letter His Imperial Majesty received, and did me the honour to answer, giving me leave to take the said journey with all security, as well for my person as those who should accompany me; and ordered Bascha Hamet Ben Ally to treat with me for a peace, and redemption of the English captives, as was the custom of the deceased Alcayde Ally his father, to be appointed in such cases: which answer pleased me well, and upon sight of it I went to the bay of Tetuan, where I conferred with the said bascha, about a peace and redemption of my brethren, in consideration of a quantity of powder, locks, brimstone, cloth, and all the Moors whom we had prisoners: and having treated upon the considerations aforesaid, he asked me to give him time to send a copy of the conditions to His Imperial Majesty, to see if he was contented therewith, for if he was not, he could not conclude any thing, His Imperial Majesty being absolute master therein; which request I told him was very reasonable.

In the mean time I continued at anchor with my ships in the said port of Tetuan, until an answer came from His Imperial Majesty, who ordered that the aforesaid agreement should be signed, and sent me a letter (which I have by me) to the same effect, upon which we signed the articles to each other: and at the same time I sent a ship to London, giving an account to my master the King of Great Britain, of the treaty; with a copy of His Imperial Majesty's letter, and a letter of the said bascha, representing the good inclinations of His Imperial Majesty towards us; and also I desired that the ranfome might be got ready, with all possible expedition to fulfil the agreement.

With all which the King my master was very well pleased, and instantly ordered the ranfome to be got ready, and sent me a writing sealed with his royal seal, and signed with his hand, confirming all that I had done; sending me also a letter to deliver into the royal hands of His Imperial Majesty, ratifying and confirming the treaty, which I delivered the day that I had the glory to have His Imperial Majesty receive my embassy. Also the King my master ordered me to stay a little at Gibraltar (if it was convenient) until the said ranfome arrived, that I might take it along with me; but if I should go to this court before it came, I should carry with me all the captive Moors, and the present: but the bascha being hastened to court, I was obliged to set forward without the ranfome, taking with me the present, and the captive Moors: and when I arrived at the city of Alcazar, I received news that a ship was come to Gibraltar, with the greatest part of the ranfome, only some of the locks were wanting; because they are not made in England but as they are used, unless when there is occasion to send them to Barbary, for which purpose they are now making with all expedition.

After that His Imperial Majesty had received me with much honour and regard, he gave me nine Christians, with liberty to choose them as I pleased; giving me also leave to go into his magnificent palace, whose equal was never seen in the world; and told me, That he would dispatch me to my content, and grant all that I asked, being come into his sovereign presence: at which I rejoiced, having the honour to be a mediator between two such powerful crowns, as His Imperial Majesty's among Moorish nations the mightiest, and the King my master's among the Christians.

To day, being Thursday, I received a message from His Imperial Majesty by a Renegado, telling me, That he was sensible I might have business to do elsewhere, in the service of my sovereign, for which reason he desired not to detain me, but I was at liberty to depart after Lent; that the nine Christians which His Imperial Majesty had given me, I might choose them as I pleased, without paying any ranfome for them; and about the rest of the captives, I should agree with Bascha Hamet when I returned to Tetuan: that the articles agreed upon concerning the sea, His Imperial Majesty was well contented with; and if any thing more was required therein, he would be ready to give me entire satisfaction.

Considering well this message which His Imperial Majesty sent, I remained in doubt whether they were his true words, or not well understood by the Renegado; nevertheless I answered the said Renegado, That concerning treating with the bascha at Tetuan about peace and redemption of the captives, I thought nothing more remained to do, because upon our treating there before, we had each of us signed the articles of peace, and I had a letter of His Imperial Majesty's in my hands, agreeing to what was done; so that nothing further was wanting therein, but that His Imperial Majesty would give orders for the Christians, and would pay the ranfome agreed upon; but if there was any thing else, about which he would have me confer with the said bascha, I thought it was not necessary; for since I had the honour to be in his royal court, I would rather explain myself to His Imperial Majesty without any mediator; and if there was any thing in which I could serve him, I would do it with a great deal of pleasure.

Wherefore I beg Your Majesty to explain all the abovesaid contents to His Imperial Majesty, because in discourse I have not time to do it myself; and if His Imperial Majesty will consent to what has been settled, I shall go with great pleasure and honour, to the grief of the enemies of this crown, and of that of my sovereign; but if it should be otherwise, my departure will give joy to the enemies of our countries, and (what I am concerned at) be a means of enmity, when I endeavoured to propagate friendship. Upon which considerations, I hope Your Majesty will be pleased to represent these things to the Emperor, and use your interest, that I may be dispatched in what I have requested, for which I shall for ever remain in all obedience,

Your Majesty's
most humble and
most obedient servant,
CHARLES STEWART.

Mcquinez, July the 20th, 1721.

To this letter the Queen sent the following answer, wrote on the back-side.

To the Ambaffador who wrote me this Letter.

I RECEIVED your letter, and what you say to me therein have read, and understand your words part by part: I have spoke to my master (whom God preserve) of what you say, without failing to explain to him all in its full meaning: with which His Majesty was well pleased, seeing that never came Christian, of more judgment and goodness, to this court, than Your Excellency, who in all you say show much understanding and mildness.

Concerning what you tell me of the nine Christians, that my master (whom God preserve) gave you, there is no doubt but it was a present which he made you for a breakfast: and concerning the rest that Your Excellency says, you may be assured

His Majesty will conform to your inclinations, in every thing that shall be proposed. I know well it is true, that His Majesty was not acquainted with the particulars of the agreement, and quantity of powder, brimstone, and the rest of the things : because my master thought Your Excellency only came hither to confer with him, and then to return to Gibraltar to consult with your people, before any thing should be concluded : that was the thoughts of my master.

And concerning the Christians your brethren, who are here slaves, His Majesty knew not how many there were, because some of them had turned Moors, and others were dead. But now since Your Excellency has declared your design to me, there is no occasion to apply to Basia Hamets, or any body else ; for I will speak to my master (whom God preserve), to the end that he may renew the agreement entirely, and do every thing you desire, for in His Majesty there is much goodness and generosity. This is my answer.

The mother of Muley Abdallah,
UMELEZ ETTABBA.

The Second Audience.

JULY the 23d, the ambassador having broke through the measures that had been taken not to disappoint him, by writing the aforesaid letter to the Queen ; the Emperor ordered all the English captives to be drawn up together in his palace, and at the same time sent for the ambassador. We went with the music playing as before, and found the Emperor sitting under some piazzas, but upon our approach he mounted his horse, and saluted the ambassador with Bono, Bono, and told him, that at first he did not apprehend that he had full power to conclude a peace, but thought he only came to make preparation for another ambassador ; but now finding he had sufficient authority, said, he should have all his countrymen ; and at the same time waving his hand to the captives, he bade them go home along with the ambassador into their own country ; upon which they all fell prostrate, crying out, God bless thy power, and were going out of the presence, when the Emperor causing them to stay, further said, that he loved the ambassador and all the English, because he knew they loved him and his house, and that there should not be an Englishman a slave in his empire, for he would set them all at liberty in what part soever they were ; then waving his hand again to the captives, they went away ; and the ambassador returning the Emperor thanks for the honour he had done him, told him, that he should always regard his interest, when he was gone out of his dominions ; to which the Emperor said, that he should then see how well he deserved the present he had made him that morning ; that he would not have him stay an hour in Mequinez, and wishing him safe into his own country, the ambassador took his leave, the Emperor saying (several times) God bless you, and turning his horse, galloped away with a lance in his hand, his guards running close behind him.

Our captives, who were in the palace before we came, told us, that the Emperor had been in a great passion with some of his alcaydes, wounding one of them with his lance, drawing his scimitar to strike another, and had caused one of them to be tossed.

The 24th we went to see the Emperor's stables, which are about a league from the town. They consist of two very large oblong-square buildings, with handsome arches all round, under which the horses stand without any partition, there being an arch for every horse ; they stand twelve foot asunder, after which manner these stables are reckoned to hold about a thousand horses. Through the middle of the square runs a

small canal, over which, at certain distances, are built little houses, where they keep the provender and furniture for the horses; the Emperor also has ten thousand more, kept together about three leagues from Mequinez, to be ready on any occasion.

The horses of this country are very fine, and the Moors take a great deal of pride in them, and order them after a very different manner from us; they back them generally at two years old, and shear their manes and tails till they come to six, thinking that makes them strong. At grass they tie sometimes the two fore-feet together, at other times a fore-foot and a hinder one. In their stables they have two iron pins drove into the ground, one before, and the other behind them, at the distance of about three feet from their legs, which are fastened together with ropes, like our traves with which we teach horses to pace, but being short, they draw their legs together under their bellies, and two ropes come from their hind and fore-feet, which are so tied to these pins, that they cannot stir above one foot backwards or forwards. Their collar is also made fast to the pin before them, which has a ring for that purpose; under them is a hole covered with pieces of timber to receive their water; and a little on one side, a bed of sand or saw-dust, for them to lie upon; they have no mangers, but eat their straw or grafs off the ground.

All their horses eat grafs in April and May; and, if it be a good year, great part of March; at other times they eat straw instead of hay; their barley is given them in a woollen bag put over their heads. They are never drest, nor their manes or tails combed, but when dirty are carried to the next running water and washed, and if they design to have them look fine, they use a little soap. Some will take it amiss that you touch a horse with the palm of your hand to stroke him, and say there is a venom in that part, which is hurtful to horses. They never crop their tails or ears, nor geld them, for they like no maimed creatures but eunuchs for other reasons.

They have one sort which they call noble horses, who bow their heads about at the approach of a man. Their love is so great for horses, that not only they are one of the three things for which the Moors have a proverb, as most esteemed, viz. a horse, a woman, and a book, but they keep even the genealogies of them for two or three hundred years, and are nice in distinguishing the true from the mixt generations. They have a bafe way of shoeing them, cutting off the fore-part of the hoof, and forming the shoe into a triangular shape with the two points almost meeting at the heel, which points are made very thin, and after the shoe is fastened with three nails on each side, are beaten as flat to the hoof as possible. But some time ago the Emperor issued out an order, that upon pain of death all horses should be shoed with round shoes, a certain Turk having persuaded him that was the best way.

They are not subject to distempers, and the Moors know not what you mean by a farsey or glander, nor have I ever seen a spavine or mullender. As for the Berrebbers in the mountains, they never shoe their horses. Their feet are certainly firmer than ours, for a horse went from Tetuan to the camp, and came back the next day without a shoe, which is fifty miles; and notwithstanding he was forced to cross a mountain full of rocks going and coming, not being able to pass the low way for a river, it was not perceived he had the least crack in his hoof, or made any complaint of his feet. Their horses live to a great age, and are very fresh at fourteen or fifteen, the reason of which seems to be their going so gently on the road, where they seldom are put out of a foot pace, but when they exercise the lance, they make them bestir themselves to some purpose.

Near the stables there is a large piece of ground walled about, in which we saw a great number of ostriches.

From hence we went to see Muley Abdallah at his country house, who received the ambassador with a great deal of good humour ; he has a handsome lively countenance, and is very well attended, though not so powerful as some of his brothers. He shewed us a fine large lion, which was so tame as to suffer a man to go into his den and play with him ; he also made two mastiff dogs fight to divert us. In the mean time, one of his guards did me the favour to pick my pocket, though I was very near the prince ; at which sport the Moors are no bunglers, as all the ambassador's retinue can testify.

This day our captives set out for Tetuan, joyfully leaving the place of their captivity to partake of the blessings of freedom.

The 25th the ambassador went to visit Muley Ally, a prince in great favour ; he received him very grandly, sitting upon a silk carpet wrought with gold in large flowers as big as a man's hand ; he had two black boys fanning him, very neatly dressed, one of them had a vest of black and white flowered velvet, the other's was of yellow silk speckled with black. The prince's garment was of as rich a cloth of gold as could be seen. They brought us chairs, and we sat down for some time, the ambassador talking to the prince by one of our captives, who rested himself on his hands and knees at the threshold of the door, and when he spoke to the prince, prostrated himself almost close to the ground ; so great a respect is paid to the sons of this Emperor. Then we were led up stairs, and entertained with wine and music until dinner, which consisted of above twenty large dishes dressed several ways.

We happened to visit this prince in a bad time, he being so ill that he could not stir out of his room, which deprived us of the sight of his women ; for, contrary to the custom of the Moors, he often shows his women to those whom he entertains and is merry with ; however he sent up to the ambassador, to know if he could serve him in any thing, who returning him thanks, said he would oblige him very much if he would use his interest that he might carry a horse out of the country ; the prince sent word that he would give him one, and take care that it should be got safe on board. Then the ambassador made him a present of a handsome gold watch, with a chain and seal ; and this prince had a room well stored with clocks, watches, and fine large China jars, in which he takes delight, his father giving him most of those that are presented to him. In his stables were a great many of the most beautiful horses I saw in Barbary.

While we were at Mequinez, an account came from Sally, that some of their rovers had taken a Portuguese ship that had three Englishmen on board ; of which the Emperor being informed, he ordered them to be immediately set at liberty, notwithstanding they were taken under other colours.

Mequinez stands about twelve leagues westward of Fez, and was of small note before the Emperor chose to build his palace there ; though according to Leo Africanus, it was about two hundred years ago a place of considerable trade and riches, but since almost ruined by the civil wars, and different sorts of government that obtained in the country. It is situated in a delightful plain, having a very serene and clear air, which made the Emperor rather make it his place of residence than Fez, and now is in a more flourishing condition than ever, being the metropolis of a large empire, to which the bashas and alcaides resort with the tributes and presents every two or three years, according to the Emperor's pleasure. In the middle of the city live the Jews, having a place to themselves, the gates of which are locked at night, which privilege they also have in most of the cities of this Emperor's dominions. They have an alcaide to guard their gates, and protect them against the common people, who otherwise

otherwise would plunder them ; for they live in great subjection, it being death for them to curse, or lift up a hand against the meanest Moor, so that the boys kick them about at their pleasure, against which they have no other remedy but to run away. They are obliged to pull off their shoes whenever they pass by a mosque, and to wear black cloaths and caps, nor are they allowed the use of horses ; for Ben Hattar himself (though he had power over life and death) was always forced to ride a mule. The present alcaide of the Jewdary is one Carr, who turned Moor about twenty-seven years ago.

Closet to Mequinez on the north-west side, only divided by a road, stands a large negro town, that takes up as much ground as the city, but the houses are not so high nor well built ; its inhabitants are all blacks or tawnies, out of whom the Emperor recruits the soldiers for his court.

The palace stands on the south of the city, and was built entirely by this Emperor ; for they shewed us a house near it, in which he lived while he was alcaide of Mequinez, it is looked after by several hundred black eunuchs, the lustiest persons I ever saw, cleanly dressed ; their knives and scimitars are covered with wrought silver ; the chief of them is called Bombar John Tattar by the Christians, which is a corruption of his true name that sounds something like it. He is in great esteem with the Emperor, and has vast authority in the palace, both over the women and children, so that I have seen one of the princes (from whom a bisha must fly if he is angry) come up to this eunuch, salute him first, and kiss the hem of his garment ; after him goes a slave, with a neat scourge, and a particular sort of a stick for bastonading, as the signs of his authority. Our captives told me that he has a seraglio of his own, which he maintains purely out of ostentation.

In this palace live the Emperor's four wives, who are, the Queen of the Xeriphs, the Queen of the Old Palace, and two Queens of the Cobah 'Ihodrah, and they say two thousand women more. The disciplining of so large a family has been one of his greatest cares ; and the cruelties he has shown to his women have been no less to make him be dreaded within doors, than what he practises without, to make his subjects fear him. It used to be common for his women to intrigue, and run into such fits of jealousy as to fall out and fight with one another, which generally occasioned complaints to the Emperor, and seldom or never ended but in the destruction of all, as well them who complained, as those who were complained of. His black eunuchs are his executioners, and sometimes dispatch thirty in a day, by what they call geefing, which is twisting a small cord about their necks with a stick, going from one to another, which severity has brought him to be so much feared, that he has a sort of adoration paid him. And I was credibly informed by a poor unhappy English woman, (who had been taken two years before we came to Mequinez, was forced to turn Moor, and had lived in the palace) that the very excrements and spittle, which come from the Emperor, were preserved in little boxes by his women, as believing any thing that came from him would keep them from all distempers.

The women who are so happy as to receive his caresses, partake of his sanctity ; for no sooner do they come from him, but they are carried in procession about the palace, and happy is she who can touch their garment, which she rubs herself with, in hopes to be the next who shall be so fortunate as to fall to the Emperor's share. He seldom bestows his favours to a woman more than once, unless she proves with child, for then she becomes in greater esteem, and stands fair to partake of his bed again.

The Emperor (by his four wives, and many thousands of women, whom he has had in his seraglio, during the time of his long reign) has got a numerous issue. They say he has seven hundred sons able to mount horse; the number of his daughters is not known, because they never appear; for as they grow marriageable, he sends to Taffilet, for some of the family of the Xeriphs, to whom he marries them himself in his palace, and dispatches them away with their husbands to that province. His sons who live at court have the greatest authority imaginable among the people, killing and destroying without resistance, so that all men fly from them if they are angry. They generally have a guard of blacks to attend them, who put their commands in execution (without the least hesitation) let them be what they will, sometimes murdering one another at the command of their prince. He lets them live in the palace with their mothers, until they are of such an age that he is apprehensive they may be too busy among the women; then they are disposed of as the interest of their mothers prevails, either remaining about the court, or being sent to Taffilet, where the Emperor gives them a plantation of dates, on which they live. Those who have the misfortune to lose their mothers, or are out of favour, come to want, and are as much neglected as if they had not been born, never returning to court again.

But to some of his eldest and best beloved, he has given the government of large provinces, nevertheless limits them in the command of troops, over whom he places alcajdes; for since the rebellion of his son Muley Mahomet, he cares not to trust any great body of forces in the hands of his sons; three of which are most remarkable, being looked upon as competitors for the empire; they are Muley Hamet Deheby, Muley Xeriph, and Muley Abdelmelech.

Muley Hamet Deheby is the eldest, and declared successor by his father, to which end he has already built himself a palace, and stocked it with women and eunuchs, at Tedla, the chief city of a province so called, about seventy miles south of Mequinez, which he has chosen for his seat; it being a custom of the Emperors of Morocco, never to reign in the same city where their predecessor did. At present he minds little else but the beautifying of his palace, thinking his interest, which chiefly is among the blacks, and his father's will, to be sufficient for him. He is a great lover of drink, and very lavish and expensive in his cups, but parsimonious when sober; he has gathered a considerable quantity of treasure, and residing nearest to Mequinez, it is thought will gain the empire.

One day this prince met a Jew, and swore he would kill him if he did not drink all the brandy in his flask, which the man did to save his life; and if the Emperor had passed that way, he would have killed the poor Jew for being drunk.

Another time he forced a Spaniard and an Englishman to wrestle, and swore he would kill him that was thrown, which fell to the lot of the Spaniard.

He once entered the house of one of the governors of Morocco, and ravished his wives and his son: another time he made a grave oration to a monkey, reproving him (according to a tradition they have) for not being a good Moor, and particularly for spilling cuscufu, for which his species had been changed; after which he cut off his head with his sword.

When he was little he took a prejudice to the black pots, with which the captives used to return from their work, and in which they had dressed their dinner; (for it is a disrespect to pass before a person of distinction, with any thing that is black, without putting it on the ground and making him a reverence,) and these pots he used to break; which made the Spaniards give him the name of Quebra Olla, or the Pot-breaker.

Muley

Muley Xeriph is a sober prince, and the most humane of any of them; he commands in the province of Darha, where he is often employed in skirmishing with the blacks, upon the frontiers of his father's dominions. He was begot on a Christian renegade, and is most favoured by the whites, but at present not very powerful.

Muley Abdelmelech resides at Tarudant, and commands that part of Suz contiguous to Santa Cruz; he is reckoned the best foldier, but cruel in his temper, and brutal in his actions, and is only esteemed by his army. But notwithstanding the design of the old monarch to have his eldest son succeed him, the other two have declared, that after their father's death, it is their purpose to try their arms, and not suffer their lives to be tamely taken away, if their brother shall think it convenient; so that this empire is like to be miserably torn in pieces by these three brothers, until the fortune of one shall prevail.

Thursday the 27th, a little before sun-set, we took our leave of Mequinez, and travelling the same road that we came, halted about a week at Alcaſſar, from whence we set out the 8th of August, and arrived at Tetuan the 12th. Some of our captives died here, and upon the road; and one was drowned in the river at Alcaſſar. The basha went from Alcaſſar to Tangier, where he staid a few days, then coming to Tetuan, he was very dilatory in appointing a day for our captives to go aboard; until receiving a letter from one of the Queens, wherein she highly threatened him for detaining them, and the powder for part of their ransom being arrived from Gibraltar. The ambassador had the good success to emb two hundred and ninety-six English, being what were left alive (and had not turned Moors) of those who had been taken in about seven years war.

At our coming to Mequinez, there were reckoned to be above one thousand one hundred Christians, about three hundred of which were English, not including nineteen who had turned Moors; four hundred Spaniards, one hundred sixty-five Portuguese, one hundred fifty-two French, sixty-nine Dutch, twenty-five Genoese, and three Greeks of the Morea; some of all these different nations had turned Moors, thereby for ever losing hopes of redemption.

Nor are the expectations of the rest much better, it being very unlikely that there ever will be peace between the Moors and any of the fore-mentioned nations; though there are now and then treaties of redemption for them, particularly for the French and Spaniards, the former of which have consuls in the chief ports, notwithstanding the state of war they are in; and the latter very often a couple of friars residing at Tetuan, besides those I have mentioned belonging to the convent at Mequinez.

The commanders of ships we brought away are as follows:

Robert Keene,	Thomas Morrey,	John Stocker,
Thomas Heafe,	William Constable,	Antony Porro,
Andrew Telfier,	Gamaliel Vincent,	Daniel Swinford,
Robert Boddicum,	John Green,	Alexander Steward,
Thomas Bryer,	John Paule,	Daniel Healy,
Adam Rigdom,	Henry Boyd,	Thomas Ayres,
John Harper,	Thomas Taylor,	James Kirk, and
Abraham Howard,	John Killingen,	John Richards.
Richard Sampson,		

Our captives told us a pleasant story of the Emperor, concerning a difference which happened between Memaran and Ben Hattar; for Memaran being formerly chief favourite, had the sole command of the Jews; but seeing Ben Hattar boldly push

push himself forward, and fearing a rival in the Emperor's favour, he endeavoured to destroy him, and offered the Emperor so many quintals * of silver for his head: upon which he sent for Ben Hattar, and telling him that a sum of money was bid for his head, he resolutely answered, that he would give twice as much for the person's who offered it: then the Emperor bringing them together, took the money from both; told them, they were a couple of fools, and bid them be friends: which made Ben Hattar desire Mem'aran's daughter in marriage, who being granted to him, they now between them govern the Jews of his dominions with absolute authority.

And this inhuman custom of giving money for the destruction of another, and also buying a man to have him entirely at his disposal, is practised all over this empire, both among the Moors and Jews; whereby the enjoyment of life or fortune is not only precarious, but a man is liable, in an instant, to fall into the extremest degree of misery, at the pleasure of any one who (prompted either by covetousness or malice) will be at the expence of buying another, and run the risk of being reimbursed out of the effects of the person he buys; in which case they go to the basha, alcaide, or governor of a province, and bargain with him (for so much money) to have the person they have a mind to; upon receipt of which, the basha will deliver the wretch into the hands of the buyer, to do what he pleases with him; so that the bought man is frequently tortured in the cruelest manner, to make him discover what money he has. For an instance of which barbarous custom, I have inserted part of a letter from Mr. Hatfield, an English merchant residing at Tetuan.

YESTERDAY Mr. Noble and I were passing by the prison, where we saw a man hanged by the heels, with irons upon his legs, pinchers upon his nose, his flesh cut with scissars, and two men perpetually drubbing him, and demanding money. When the fellow was not able to speak, they renewed their blows; and this was a bought man that they gave five hundred ducats for, and expect by these tortures to force out of him five hundred ducats more: his tortures were so severe, that Noble, when he saw him, cried out, O Lord, the blessed fruits of arbitrary government! Because you had not seen such a thing, I judged this description might not be unacceptable.

The Basha of Tetuan, for three weeks together, had been in the greatest consternation imaginable, every day coming into the Emperor's presence, and in fear of being put to some cruel death, so that he fell ill, and what between sickness and fright was brought to a very low condition. At length the Emperor gave him leave to go to his government, but not without a fine; for, besides the present he brought with him, (which consisted of gold, silver, costly goods that he had bought, some hundreds of young horses, mules, and other things, the produce of his province,) the Emperor demanded three hundred quintals of silver more, and sent an alcaide along with him to bring it to court. The basha found it exceedingly difficult to raise enough to pay the fine; so that after he had gathered all he could from his people, he was obliged to raffle his own seraglio to make up the sum, where, calling his women together, and having a cloth spread, they threw in what they had of value, and stripped themselves even to their ear-rings; during which time in came one of his young sons, who, seeing what they were doing, of his own accord pulled out his ear-ring, saying, There, father, take mine too; which so moved the basha, that the tears came into his eyes. At last the sum was completed, and he being sent for again to court, the Emperor received him into favour, and when he sent him back to his bashaship gave him twenty-four

* A quintal is one hundred weight.

blacks of his own guard, the locks and ornaments of whose arms were made of gold.

Alcayde Ally Ben Abdallah, this basha's father and predecessor in the province of Tetuan, was at first no more than a poor carrier; but fortune bringing him to be taken notice of by the Emperor, he became in great favour and esteem with him, being looked upon as one of his most faithful servants, so that when he gave him the command of the province, he swore that he would never put him or any of his children to death. When the alcayde died, the Emperor turned his kindness to his family, making his brother Abdelkerim governor of Rife, his eldest son basha of the province, his second alcayde of the city of Tetuan, another alcayde of Larach, and another of Tangier, which governments they all enjoy now, except Abdelkerim, whose exactions were so severe that the people rose against him, and obliged him to fly for refuge to Tetuan, where he staid not long, but taking disgust went to Mequinez, and endeavoured to supplant the basha his nephew, but was defeated by his agent there. Then, according to the custom of the country, somebody bought him of the Emperor for six quintals of silver, upon which, all his effects were sold, his friends plundered, and he thrown into prison; but some time after, being released, he obtained to be made governor of the trenches in the camp before Ceuta, where he now remains, but in no great favour with the basha.

It is the opinion of several reasonable people in Barbary, that there is a secret design (after the death of the Emperor) to set up a certain person in the south, a very good man, and a descendant of their former kings, whose name they are exceeding cautious of mentioning, lest it should come to the ears of the Emperor, or any of his murdering race, who, they are in hopes, will by his means be excluded from the supreme power.

It is indeed a thousand pities that the government of this country should be such as discourages industry and improvement, for it is a delicious climate, the soil generous and fertile, abounding in all things both for use and pleasure, even beyond imagination, nature in a great measure supplying their idleness and want of industry. They follow the customs of the Spaniards in tilling the ground, which produces great quantities of wheat, barley, pease, beans, hemp, and flax; oats they have none; and they reap three times between May and September. If the government would but countenance industry, or at least allow every one the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of his labour, the land would be capable of producing an hundred times the consume of the country; for I have heard judicious people say, that the hundredth part is not tilled, and the Emperor is supposed to have corn enough under ground to supply the whole country for five years: but on the contrary, if a poor man should get a pair of oxen and plough, he would not only be liable to be robbed of them by the next little mercenary governor, but forced to sell his corn to pay an arbitrary tribute: for which reason the land has no proprietor above two or three leagues round a town; and if you chance to spy two or three small cottages, you may be sure they belong to some alcayde, and the poor people that live in them to till the ground are his servants, and, like the cattle, receive no other recompence for their labour, but the wretched provender they eat. This is one reason why the Arabs continue their ancient custom of wandering from place to place, for it is supposed they live freer under their sheick than if they should settle and become the property of some alcayde to plunder when he pleases.

The chief commodities exported from thence are tin, copper, wax, hides, wool, cordovans, honey, dates, raisins, olives, almonds; they also have indigo, gum-arabic, gum-sandric, elephants' teeth, ostrich feathers, and fine mats. Wine is forbid by

their religion, so they cannot be the makers of it, but some of the Christians and Jews take that employment in their stead, and make a sufficient quantity for themselves and those Moors who dare be the breakers of their law. The grapes are extremely good, and the wine equal to the sherry that is made in Spain, and without doubt was it tolerated, there might be an improvement, which would render the quantity and goodness thereof not inferior to that of any country whatsoever. The exportation of corn is also against their law, for which reasons, together with the oppressions from the government, large tracts of ground lie waste, which, cultivated and improved, might send forth great quantities of corn, wine, and oil at a cheap rate.

Fez is the centre of trade in this empire, and it is from thence the caravans go to Mecca and Medina. These caravans are governed by a person who farms most of the wax of the Emperor, and for that reason is called the *stankero*: his business is very great, so that he employs his brothers, or rather admits them into a sort of a partnership with him. To their care the caravans are entrusted, and depart every six months commanded by one of them. In their way they are always joined by the merchants of Algiers and Tunis, who put themselves under the protection of the *stankero's* brother, who is called king of the caravan. Two of them are generally upon the road at the same time, and as one sets out from Fez, the other returns from Mecca. The commodities carried into the East are, woollen manufactures, such as alhagues, and other garments, abundance of cordovans, indigo, cochineal, and ostrich feathers, for which they bring in return silks, muslins, and drugs.

The English have a fair opportunity of spoiling this trade to Mecca, by transporting the silks from Turkey to Barbary by sea, and save the vast expence of land carriage; and it is not to be doubted but the Emperor's covetousness would make him fall into the account of it, from the double advantage of ten per cent. custom, which the importing these goods by the Europeans would bring into his pocket, and the hindering so many people from going to Mecca, who oftentimes choose rather to live under the government of the Turks, than return to the insupportable tyranny of their own country.

The Emperor some time ago fell into the account of the prejudice this trade is to his country, and seeks for all pretences imaginable to obviate it, which is pretty difficult, it being cloaked under the holy pretence of pilgrimage to the sacred monument of their prophet. Some years ago there was an order to open all the roads that passed, under pretence of searching for jewels, which made those concerned in the trade engage to deliver all their jewels, and pay ten ducats per load to save their being searched; but there did not go the fourth part of what were used to go before.

They also send caravans to Guinea. The places they trade to there bear several names, as Tombaton, Niger, or the Black River, which they say, has a passage in the Southern Sea; another they call Nile, but none of them can give any reasonable account thereof. It is certain, that great *caffilas*, or, (as we call them) caravans of camels, depart yearly from Fez, some report twenty thousand in a *caffila*; and it will not seem unreasonable, if the great difficulty of the passage be considered through the burning deserts where there is neither meat nor water to support them; for when they have passed the river Draw, which is the extent of the Emperor's dominions, they come into a desert that does not afford one drop of water for twenty days, till they arrive at a small fortification, in which there is a Moorish *alcayde*, and about an hundred men; so that for every two camels one carries water; and besides there is a spare

spare one for every load, notwithstanding a camel will live sometimes eight or nine days without drinking, and five or six without eating.

In some of those deserts that are habitable, the people live wholly on their camels; their tents and cloaths are made of their hair, so are their beds: the most considerable have shoes made of their skins, which consist only of a sole, and some small stripes of leather crossed on the foot, the chief of which is twisted about the great toe, and fastened at the heel. Their meat and drink is also from them, for they dry their flesh in the sun, then grind it as small as powder, mix it with the camel's milk, and drink it.

They trade into Guinea with salt, cowreys, wrought silk, about five hundred pieces of British cloth, and the woollen manufactures of Barbary. The salt, I have been informed, is the chief commodity which they keep to rub their lips with, being apt to corrupt and rot for want of it; and they covet to be rich in having great quantities by them. Cowreys are little shells brought from the East Indies, and pass for money of the most value, as bitter almonds do for the least. Silk and woollen of Barbary they wear, and tie a small stripe of British cloth about their heads, and have no other consumption for it, though five hundred pieces go thither yearly. From thence they return richly laden with gold dust, ostrich feathers, elephants' teeth, and negroes, who are the Emperor's property. This journey is performed in six or seven months.

The method of trading in some of those parts is very extraordinary; for they do not see the persons they trade with; but passing over a little river, leave their salt (at the accustomed place) in a pot or jar, and retire; then the people take the salt, and put into the same pot as much gold as they judge it worth, which if the Moors approve of, they take it away, otherwise, they set the pot on edge, and retire again, and afterwards find either more gold or their salt returned.

But the Emperor and his alcaides confound all trade in the country, by robbing such as have any reputation for riches; for which reason the Moors take it for a token that you design them harm, if you say they are rich; and it is believed that there are abundance of Arabians who have conatated estates, (for this country fifty or sixty years ago was extraordinary rich) and yet appear so miserable, that they have nothing but an alhague to cover them, which serves for shirt, drawers, coat, cloak, bed, and every thing. But those who lived in towns were presently ruined. I have heard that the people of Tetuan were very considerable traders, and some of them left off business when the Emperor came to the throne, thinking by that means to go off with what they had got, and be quiet; but on the contrary, being once taxed for people of substance, the same continued till the fortunes they had got were exhausted, and nothing coming in, they are at present reduced to extreme want; and several of them have been shewn without a bit of bread; for all those who are in any condition, are such as continued to trade, because they had at that time no other means of subsistence.

Still no day passes without some ravage or other committed on the miserable people, and chiefly at Fez, because the inhabitants once refused to be the Emperor's slaves, and are in some better condition than the rest of the country; for in the year 1698 the Emperor appointed all the records of the country to be searched, that discovery might be made of such as were descended from slaves or renegadoes. In this search were committed a great many cruelties; and many thousands of poor people, either for private or public piques, or being of a dusker complexion than ordinary, if they could not produce long scrawls of their genealogies, notwithstanding their having lived free for ages, and enjoyed comfortable fortunes, were declared slaves, their estates and persons seized for the use of the Emperor; and some were forced by torture to desire

their friends to call them their slaves ; and if they happened to be poor, after the pretended patron had received a ducat, or sometimes less from the Emperor's officers, he was forced to be at the expence of two or three more, to send them handsomely cloathed to the Emperor.

This inhumanity was suffered all over the country till they came to Fez, the greatest, richest, and most populous city, who shut their gates, sent the officers back, and declared, they all submitted, if the Emperor demanded their lives or estates, but for their liberties, that were much dearer to them than either, they resolved not to part with them. So he ordered them to pay one hundred quintals of plate, and gave over his search, but since bears them a mortal hatred.

There was a regilter made of the unfortunate people found, or forced to be slaves, signed by all his cadies, who are the judges of all causes both ecclesiastical and civil, so that they and their children are become slaves by a form of law.

In 1699 the governor of Fez sent to a merchant to give him a hundred ducats for the tribute ; he having before got off for a great deal less, went to excuse himself ; upon which he sent for four or five negroes, and ordered them to torment that man till he gave them a thousand ; which he paid, after being stripped and left all day in the sun, hung up by the thumbs, and some other artful cruelties ; and the condition of all the country is such, that any pretence whatsoever will serve the alcaides to rob and plunder their people.

In the beginning of 1708 the Emperor was upon the same project again, but met with as much resolution as the Fezians had shewn before ; and it has manifestly appeared, that his drift was to enslave all his dominions.

The naval force of this Emperor (notwithstanding so many Christians are taken) is very inconsiderable, there not being a good port belonging to the whole country, neither are they capable of building and fitting out many ships. Their fleet consists of brigantines, tartans, barks, and some few ships taken from the Christians, which they stuff full of men, all their hope being to overpower their enemies with their numbers ; by which means the small merchantmen, not being able to make resistance, fall into miserable captivity.

Marmora and Sally, so much noted for their rovers, are the best ports in the country ; but by reason of a bar that lies all along the coast, ships of the smallest draught are forced to unload, and take out their guns, before they can get into the harbour. At Sally there are some docks to build ships, but hardly ever used, for want of skill and materials.

To return to Fez ; the inhabitants were formerly rich and flourishing, but partaking of the same fate with the rest of the country, are become little otherwise than slaves to their barbarous governors, at whose disposal they are to be racked and tortured, till they have given up all their wealth ; and when the possession of it draws on them such misery, it is no wonder they neglect the means to attain it, and suffer their trade and commerce to fall to decay ; by reason of which their glory is abated, their public buildings are fallen to the ground, and they who now behold the city, find it nothing in comparison of what it was.

In the year 1622, the great Golius, afterwards professor of the Eastern languages at Leyden, having made himself master of the Arabic language by books, travelled with a Dutch ambassador into Barbary, and there, as my author says, obtained high favour from Muley Zidan then King of Morocco, and raised the greatest admiration in him, for having drawn a memorial in the purest Arabic, without being able to speak it. He had the opportunity to examine the curiosities of the city of Fez, and took a

plan of the royal palace there; the original of which (as it was drawn by himself, with some explanations in Arabic) is now in the hands of Mr. Corbiere.

It would be convenient for those who are not acquainted with Barbary, and design to reside there any time, to be informed after what manner it is best for them to carry themselves, and cautioned against some of the tricks commonly practised there: concerning which, Monsieur Mouvette, who was a slave in the country several years, printed some directions about fourteen years ago; and believing they may be of service, I have inserted them here, in his own words.

The first thing they are to do the very day, or the day after their arrival, is to go and visit the governor of the town, and make him some handsome present, according to the custom, and afterwards to pay him frequent visits to gain his friendship; for the Moors are very vain, and ambitious of honour, especially when they are in so considerable a post as that of a governor. They must complain to him whensoever they have the least difference either with Moors or Jews, because that turns to his profit, by levying some fine; and to the end that these base people may not despise nor offer them any wrong: for when the people perceive that the merchants have some interest with the governor, and that he espouses their quarrels, no man dares presume to offend them. When summoned by the governor to appear before him, or by any other, they must not fail to be there at the time appointed.

They must take care to gain friends amongst the governor's kindred, and most familiar acquaintance, who may serve them upon several occasions, and particularly in obtaining any favour of him. They must be sure not to give any reviling language, or offensive answers, to Moors, before witnesses, much less to lift up a hand to strike them, or to spit in their faces, or even in their presence when they are in a passion; for it is much better to complain to the governor than to do themselves right, those men being very jealous of their authority: nevertheless, they must not rely too much on the countenance a governor may seem to shew them, because they are all dogs that bite at the same time that they fawn; covetous fellows, who promise more than they design to perform, and grow rich by parting with nothing; regardless of their word or promise; eager at receiving, and sure to do no good.

They must never go from one town to another, without the governor's leave, which if they did, he would become their implacable enemy.

They must never trust either Moors or Jews with their goods, under three or four sufficient sureties, because they are very apt to break; and when that is done they have nothing left to pay, having no real estates, besides their houses, and some gardens of very small value: nor must they take up any goods upon credit, or keep any book accounts with them, because they always set down a third or fourth more than they deliver, according to the maxim in vogue amongst them, that they will never be rich, unless they have something of others amongst their own. What the Jews calls other men, are the Christians, Turks, Moors, and Pagans, whom they may cheat or rob with a safe conscience when they have an opportunity, provided they give some part of the gain to raise the fortune of such of their own as are fallen to decay, and to keep their poor from begging: in this particular, their charity is wonderful, for when a man has lost all he had, they will set him up again three times, that he may live of himself, and if fortune still frowns on him, he is maintained amongst the other poor; but the wicked ways they find to support them will convince any man how cautious he ought to be in his dealings with them.

When the Jews design to get in what they have entered on their books, they take care to pre-engage the judge, who is generally the governor of the town, making him a present,

present, or else promising him half the value of the cheat, if the cause goes on their side. And it happened in my time, that several merchants at Tetuan and Sally were beggared by trusting to their honesty, and relying on their books. The Moors are something honest than the Jews; but the safest way is to believe them as sharp and deceitful as the others.

The governors, to gain their Prince's favour, often present him with pieces of fine linen and woollen cloth, which they take up of the merchants; and they being frequently recalled, or put to death, and having no real estates, care must be taken to trust them with as little as may be, shewing them the worst when they want any such commodities, that they may take the less, they being generally wretched fellows, who have nothing to subsist on any longer than their favour lasts.

The merchants are particularly to avoid growing too familiar with the slaves, both because it is obstructive to their liberty, as causing them to be looked upon as merchants, and richer than they really are; and in regard that if any one happens to make his escape, the merchants are suspected to have advised them to it, and corrupted some Moor to be assisting; and consequently they will make them pay three times the price they cost. At the same time, to the end the slaves may not complain that they despise them, on account of their misfortune, they are to be charitable to and relieve them in sickness and their other wants.

ARTICLES of Peace and Commerce between the Most High and Most Renowned Prince George, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., and the High and Glorious, Mighty and Right Noble Prince Albu-mazer Muley Ishmael, Ben Muley Xeriph, Ben Muley Ally, King and Emperor of the Kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, Taffilet, Suz, and all the Algarbe and its Territories in Africa, &c., concluded, agreed, and adjusted by the Honourable Charles Stewart Esquire, on the Behalf of His Britannic Majesty, and by His Excellency Bascha Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, and His Imperial Majesty's Treasurer, Mr. Moses Ben Hattar, a Jew, on the Behalf of the said King of Fez and Morocco.

I. IT is agreed and concluded, That from this day forward there shall be, between His Majesty of Great Britain and the King of Fez and Morocco, their heirs and successors, a general, sincere, and true peace, which shall be observed inviolably, and endure for ever, as well by land as by sea and fresh waters, and also between the lands, countries, kingdoms, dominions, and territories belonging unto or under the obedience of either of them, and that their subjects, people, or inhabitants respectively, of what condition, degree, or quality soever, from henceforth reciprocally shall shew one another all friendship; and that at the death of either of Their Majesties, the successor shall send an ambassador to the other to signify to him his accession to the crown.

II. It is further accorded, That any of the ships or other vessels belonging to the said King of Great Britain, or to any of His Majesty's subjects, may safely come to the ports, or to any place of the said Emperor's dominions, there freely to buy or sell; and the goods they sell not, they shall at any time freely carry on board, without paying any duties for the same, if they are not contraband goods; and in case any ship or vessel shall have more goods on board than is designed for the port, (which the master shall be obliged to declare on his arrival) the master of the said ship shall not be compelled to land the said goods, but they shall freely depart from thence whensoever they please, without any stop or hinderance whatsoever; and it is hereby declared,

that the ships or vessels of their respective Majesties, or their subjects, that shall arrive in any of the ports or harbours of the dominions of either of the Kings aforesaid, compelled by enemies, disaster of the seas, or any accident, shall be exempted from paying anchorage, giving powder, money, or any thing else as port charge, or any other duties either upon their entrance or departure from the said ports, without any let or molestation.

III. It is agreed, That all ships and vessels whatsoever belonging to the subjects of the said King of Great Britain, as also all ships and vessels whatsoever belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, or to his subjects, shall freely navigate and pass the seas without any search, hinderance, or molestation from each other; and that all persons or passengers of what country or nation soever, as also all monies, goods, merchandizes or moveables to what people or nation soever belonging, to either party, shall be wholly free, and shall not be stopped, taken away, embezzled, or plundered, nor receive any harm or damage whatsoever from either party. And it is further agreed, that no commander or other person belonging to any ship or vessel of the King of Morocco, or his subjects, shall take out of any ship or vessel of the King of Great Britain's subjects, any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them any where to be examined, or upon any other pretence whatsoever, and shall offer no violence whatsoever to any person or persons, of what quality or nation soever, being on board any ship or vessel belonging to His Majesty's subjects.

IV. It is agreed, for the better observing and executing the antecedent articles according to the true intent and meaning thereof, That the men of war or ships of Corso belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, or to any of his subjects, meeting with any ships or vessels whatsoever belonging to the King of Great Britain's subjects (not being in any of the seas appertaining to His said Majesty of Great Britain's dominions), may send on board one single boat with two fitters, and no more, which fitters only shall have the liberty to enter into such ships or vessels aforesaid; and that by producing a pass signed by the said King of Great Britain, or by the Lord-High-Admiral of England, Scotland, or Ireland, in the form hereafter expressed, the said boat shall immediately depart, and such ship or vessel shall freely proceed on her voyage; and when any of the ships of war or corso of the King of Great Britain, or his subjects, shall meet with any ship or vessel of the King of Fez and Morocco, or his subjects, if the commander of any such ships or vessels shall produce a pass signed by the governor of the place whereto they belong, with a certificate from the English consul, and in case of his decease, or absence, from the major part of the English merchants residing in the said place, in such cases the said ship or vessel shall proceed freely on her voyage without impediment or molestation.

V. It is agreed, That if any of the ships of war of the said King of Great Britain shall come to any port or place of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, with any prize or prize goods, they may freely sell and dispose of them without any molestation, or new imposition whatsoever; and in case any Squadron of His Majesty of Great Britain's ships of war, or any single ship, or merchant ship or vessel, shall want provisions or refreshment, it is hereby further agreed, That they may freely buy the same in such quantities or qualities as they shall have occasion for, at the market prices, and ship off the same without paying any duties or acknowledgement whatsoever.

VI. It is agreed, That if any ship or vessel belonging to the King of Great Britain, or his subjects should by stress of weather, or any other accident, be driven on shore, bulged or wrecked, in any part of the King of Fez and Morocco's dominions, such ships or vessels, persons or goods, shall, without embezzlement or diminution, be duly restored.

restored to the consul, or to any other person whom the right owner shall appoint, and the men shall be at full liberty, and be permitted to go when they please, without any let whatsoever.

VII. It is agreed, That in all whatsoever towns and places, maritime or others, belonging to the King of Fez and Morocco, wheresoever the said King of Great Britain shall think fit to appoint and establish a consul, that such consul or consuls shall be treated with the respect due to his or their characters; and he and all other His Majesty of Great Britain's subjects respectively, shall enjoy the free liberty of the exercise of their religion, without any molestation or reproach, in word or deed, and that they shall have a decent place appointed for the burial of their dead, to which no violence shall be offered. That the said consul and factors shall have the choice of their own truckman and broker, and liberty to go and travel from place to place by sea or land. They shall likewise have liberty to go on board any ship or vessel whatsoever, to trade, or likewise in port or road, without any let, confinement, or limitation. Their effects and estates shall be secure to them without danger of confiscation, seizure, or embargo, on any pretence whatsoever; and the said consul or consuls, and all whatsoever subjects of His Majesty of Great Britain, trading in the territories of the King of Fez and Morocco, shall have free liberty to depart the country at all times, and as often as they shall see cause, without any impediment or detention to them, their persons, or estates. And it is further agreed, That if any of the King of Great Britain's subjects, residing or trafficking in any part of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, shall happen to die, in such case the governor of the place where such person shall so decease, shall be obliged to see all his monies and effects forthwith delivered into the hands of His Majesty of Great Britain's consul there; and in case there be no consul upon the place, then to some English merchant, who is to secure them for the use of the heirs of the deceased; and this is to be understood, in case the person deceased has not had a partner left, or factor surviving, or has not before his death recommended his said goods, debts, &c., to any Christian merchant of what nation soever, in which case the governor is not to intermeddle, further than interposing his authority for the causing due compliance to be made of the said person deceased, his will, and the recovery of what shall be owing him, or any otherwise in the hands of any person whatsoever. And it is hereby further declared, that none of the King of Great Britain's subjects shall, on any pretence whatsoever, be compelled, or give any manner of satisfaction, for any other debts than such as they themselves, each of them respectively, shall contract, or be obliged to by their own act; and that the subjects of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, whether Moors or Jews, residing in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, shall entirely enjoy the same privileges that are granted to the English residing in Barbary.

VIII. It is agreed. That no alcaide, governor, officer, or subject of the King of Fez and Morocco, shall take possession violently of any goods or merchandizes of any of the King of Great Britain's subjects, in the said King of Fez and Morocco's dominions, without first adjusting and agreeing upon the price, and paying down the money; or as it shall be agreed between them, without any compulsion whatsoever; and the said subjects of the King of Great Britain shall not be forced to buy any goods or merchandizes against their will. And it is further agreed, That the commander or master of any English ship or vessel, shall not be obliged or compelled to trade, or take on board any goods or merchandize whatsoever, he or they declaring to the consul residing in the place, or otherwise, their unwillingness to undertake the same. And further, No ship shall be detained or embargoed on any pretence whatsoever;

soever; or any pilot or mariners taken out of any ship or vessel on any pretence whatsoever.

IX. It is agreed, That if any of the subjects of the King of Great Britain shall happen to strike, wound, or kill any Moor, in any place within the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, and the said offender shall be taken, he shall be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity than the subjects of the said King of Fez and Morocco, being guilty of the same offence, ought to be by the laws of that country. But if the offender shall make his escape, then neither the consul, nor any other person of the nation, shall be accountable or liable to give any satisfaction thereupon; and the like to be practised, if any Moor should happen to strike, wound, or kill any of His Majesty of Great Britain's subjects. And further, If any difference shall happen between persons, both of the King of Great Britain's subjects, such difference shall be adjusted and accommodated by the consul of the English nation; but in all controversies between the English and persons of any other nation, such controversies shall be determined by the alcaide or governor in chief of the place. And that the same liberty shall be granted to the subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, residing in the dominions of His Britannic Majesty, which is given to the English consul in Barbary, to name a person or persons to decide the differences that may happen between the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, a Moor for the Moors, and a Jew for the Jews.

X. It is agreed, That not only during this peace and friendship, but likewise if any breach or war happen to be hereafter, between the said King of Great Britain and between the said King of Fez and Morocco, the English consul, and all others the said King of Great Britain's subjects, inhabiting or trafficking in the dominions of the said King of Fez and Morocco, shall always, and at all times, both in peace and war, have full power and entire liberty to depart and go to their own, or any other country, upon what ship or vessel of what nation soever they shall think fit; to be allowed six months time to remove in case of war, and to carry with them all their effects, goods, families, children though born in the country, and servants, without any interruption, seizure, or hindrance whatsoever.

XI. And to the end this treaty of peace may not be thought violated by the crimes and offences of particular men, it is hereby further agreed, That if either of their majesty's subjects shall do any thing contrary to what is agreed in the foregoing articles, it shall not be reckoned to be a breach of the public peace; nor shall any hostility ensue thereupon; neither shall it in any case, of any controversy, be reputed a denial of justice, but where satisfaction shall be refused for the space of six months after complaint made.

XII. It is agreed, That the subjects of the King of Fez and Morocco shall be suffered to transport out of the dominions of the King of Great Britain, any sort of goods whatsoever, to the dominions of the said King of Fez and Morocco; and that they shall be obliged to pay no more duties or any other imposition whatsoever, than what other nations do, according to the custom of the country.

XIII. And as it has pleased Almighty God, that by His Majesty's arms, the island of Minorca, and city of Gibraltar, are now in His Majesty's possession, and are become part of His Britannic Majesty's dominions: it is therefore agreed, that every person sailing in ships or vessels, whether Spaniard, English, or otherwise, fishing in boats or vessels, living or residing there, shall be esteemed as his natural-born subjects, upon producing proper passes from the governors, or commanders in chief of those places.

XIV. It is agreed, That for the better preservation of this peace entirely, and inviolably, between the said King of Fez and Morocco, and the said King of Great Britain, and their kingdoms, dominions, subjects, and vassals respectively, proclamation shall be immediately made thereof, in all the sea-ports, and towns of both Their Majesties, and fixed upon the gates of each of the said towns. And likewise that notice be given thereof to the respective governors, ministers, officers, and captains by sea and land, to the end that due regard be had to this peace, and that none may offend through ignorance; and this shall be done after the ratifications be exchanged, as it is expressed in the following article.

Lastly. It is agreed, in case any ship or ships of war in enmity with the King of Great Britain, be in any of the ports of the King of Fez and Morocco, at the same time that any of the ships belonging to the King of Great Britain's subjects are there, that such cruizers shall not be permitted to offer any violence to the English ships, nor to sail after them in forty hours. And be it further agreed, That the peace shall commence from the day of the signing this treaty; after which none of the subjects of His Majesty of Great Britain shall be bought, sold, or made slaves, in any part of the dominions of the King of Fez and Morocco, on any pretence whatsoever. And the ratification hereof shall be exchanged within the space of six months, or sooner if possible; and if it so happen, that in the mean time any capture should be made on either party to his damage or harm, reparation shall be made thereof by the captor, according to the rate at which the ships or goods, or both, shall appear to have been sold; and whatsoever part thereof shall remain undisposed of, shall immediately be restored in specie, and the men set at liberty. That the peace shall be confirmed and ratified in Spanish; and shall be received and be of equal force, as if it was in the language of either nation.

A Copy of the Passes in English, which the English Merchant-Ships carry, word for word.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. and of all His Majesty's Plantations, &c.

SUFFER the ship of master burthen about Tons, mounted with guns, and navigated with men, His Majesty's subjects, built, bound for to pass with her company, passengers, goods, and merchandizes without any lett, hindrance, seizure, or molestation. The said ship appearing unto us, by good testimony, to belong to the subjects of His Majesty, and to no foreigners. Given under our hands and seal, at the office of Admiralty, the day of in the year of our Lord .

To all persons whom this may concern.

Signed and dated in the behalf of the Emperor of Morocco, in the camp of Ceuta, the 13th day of January, 1720, O. S.

By command of the most excellent Bashah Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah.

Signed, dated and sealed by His Britannic Majesty's plenipotentiary on board of His said Majesty's ship the Dover, in Tetuan Bay, the 17th of January, 1720. O. S.

CHARLES STEWART.

TRAVELS OR OBSERVATIONS,
RELATING TO
BARBARY.

By THOMAS SHAW, D.D. F.R.S.

Vicar of Bramley, Regius Professor of Greek, and Principal of Edmund Hall; in the
University of Oxford.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR.

THOMAS SHAW, D.D. was born at Kendal, in the county of Westmoreland, about 1692. He was educated at the grammar school there, and was admitted Batchelor at Queen's College, Oxford in 1711. He received the degree of Batchelor of Arts, July 5. 1716, and of Master of Arts, Jan. 16. 1719.

He afterwards took orders and was appointed Chaplain to the English Factory at Algiers. He remained there for several years, and travelled from thence into various parts of the East. While he was absent in 1727, he was chosen a fellow of his College, and after his return became Doctor of Divinity, in 1734. He was also in that year elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. He published the first edition of his Travels at Oxford, in 1738, in folio. He also presented the University with some natural curiosities, ancient coins and busts, which he had collected during his travels. Three of the last of these are engraved in the *Marmora Oxoniensia*. On the death of Dr. Felton, in 1740, he was nominated, by his College, Principal of Edmund Hall, which he raised by his munificence from a ruinous condition. He was also presented at the same time to the vicarage of Bramley, in Hampshire, and was Regius Professor of Greek till his death, which took place in 1751.

His travels have been universally esteemed, not only for their accuracy and fidelity, but on account of the illustrations they contain of Natural History, of the Classic authors, and especially of the Scriptures. They were translated into French, and printed in 4to. in 1743, with several notes and emendations communicated by the author. He published two supplements to them in 1746 and 1747, the latter addressed to Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, in Ireland. The contents of these were afterwards incorporated in the second edition, which, with great improvements and alterations, were prepared for the press by the author. Death put a stop to his labours, but the public have reaped the fruit of them. The present edition is printed verbatim from this second and improved one, published in 1757, but corrected in several

respects, particularly in the index to the passages of Scripture illustrated. Both editions, especially the latter, have become extremely scarce, and have sold at a high price.

The following epitaph on the author was composed by Dr. Brown, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and placed on his monument in Bramley church.

EPITAPHIUM AUCTORIS.

Peregrinationibus variis
 Per *Europam, Africam, Asiamque*
 Feliciter absolutis,
 Et Exuv'is mortalibus hic loci
 Tandem depositis,
 Cœlestem in Patriam remigravit
 THOMAS SHAW, S. T. P. et R. S. S.
Gabrielis Fil. Kendaliensis :
 * Qui
 Consulibus Anglicis apud *Algerenses*
 Primum erat a Sacris ;
 Mox *Coll. Reginae* inter Socios ascriptus ;
Aulæ dein *Sancti Edmundi* Principalis,
 Ac ejusdem musicus Instaurator ;
Linguae dumum *Græcæ* apud *Oxonienfes*
 Professor Regius.
 De Literis quantum meruit Auctor celebratus,
 Edita usque testabuntur Opera,
 Pyramidibus ipsiis, quas penitiùs inspexerat,
 Perenniora forsàn extitura.

Hic, Studiis etsi severioribus
 Indies occupatus,
 Horis tamen subsecivis emicuit
 Eruditus idem et facetus conviva.

Optima quanquam Mentis indole
 Et multiplici Scientia instructus ;
 Literatorum omnium, domi forisque,
 Suffragiis comprobatus ;
 Magnatum Procerumque popularium
 Familiari insignitus Notitiâ ;
 Nec summis in Ecclesiâ Dignitatibus impar ;
 Fato tamen iniquo evenit,
 Ut *Bramleyensis* obiret *Paraciæ*
Vicarius penè Sexagenarius
 XVIII. Cal. Sept. A. D. 1751.

Uxor JOANNA, Ed. Holden Arm. Consul'is
Algerensis olim Conjux, bis Vidua,
 M. P.

TO THE KING.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I BEG leave to approach Your Royal Person, with an humble present in my hand, after the fashion of those countries where I have long resided.

It is a volume of *Travels and Observations*, wherein are described the situation, polity, and customs of various nations; nations unacquainted with liberty, and whose government is the very reverse of Your Majesty's wise and gracious administration.

I had an opportunity of making these observations, whilst I had the honour of being Your Majesty's chaplain at Algiers. It was in this situation that I first collected materials for the following sheets; and so extensive is Your Majesty's influence, that it procured me safety and protection, even in countries remote and barbarous.

A work which owes its rise, its progress, and completion, to these assistances, seems in some degree entitled to Your Royal Favour, and is therefore, with all humility, presented to Your Sacred Majesty.

Whilst I was engaged in this undertaking, it was a pleasing encouragement to consider, that my well-intended labours were approved by Her late Majesty; and it did not a little inflame my endeavours, when She was pleased to promise me the honour of Her Royal Patronage.

But I must not presume to mention private and personal favours, when whole societies are indebted to that Illustrious Princess. Particularly, that ancient House of Learning, of which I have the happiness to be a member, stands distinguished by Her Royal Bounty, and owes its beauty and ornament to Her munificence.

If Heaven had spared that invaluable life, with what zeal should we have paid repeated acknowledgments to our Royal Benefactress! But now — we can only join with thousands in lamenting the public loss, and with gratitude transmit Her memory to our latest successors.

That province may long preserve Your Majesty, and continue the many blessings of Your reign to this church and nation, is the constant prayer of,

(May it please Your Majesty)

Your Majesty's most humble

And most devoted servant and subject,

THOMAS SHAW.

April 25, 1738.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

PREVIOUS to the prefatory discourse, it may be proper to observe wherein this second edition of the *Book of Travels and Observations* differs from the first. First of all then, it is printed with smaller types, and confined to a smaller volume, to be at once more portable and less expensive. In the next place, several lines and pages which might be looked upon as superfluous or unnecessary, are here omitted; such as the *excerpts*, as they were called, together with several of the larger notes and quotations from ancient authors, the references themselves being only here retained. Some paragraphs likewise have been omitted or abridged in the work itself, viz. several

of the geographical observations in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis; particularly where neither ancient nor modern history were more immediately concerned, and where the general scheme of these geographical inquiries would admit of it. And lest the greater proficients in botanical learning should regard the *phytographia*, or history of plants, as more copious than curious, the author has continued such of them only as are the most rare, or which have not been hitherto described. Yet such caution has been every where taken in these, and in a few other omissions and abridgments of less account, that little or nothing material or properly essential to the work itself should be wanting to this second edition.

Yet what has been thus omitted or abridged, has made room not only for the several additional discourses and dissertations that were contained in the supplement lately published to this book, but for a variety also of new remarks and observations, which were either overlooked in the author's journals and memoirs, or which have occurred to his memory upon the revival of them both. And as errors and mistakes were almost unavoidable in a work of this copious nature and subject, (several sheets whereof, through the great importunity and impatience of the subscribers, might have been too hastily printed off,) these, whether they regard the press, or some geographical or historical facts, or whether they relate to numbers or measures, or the reasonings thereupon, as they are, when taken all together, very few, and seldom of any consequence, so they have all along, according to their nature and import, and as far as they came to the author's knowledge, been either rectified, altered, or entirely left out. Besides, that order, method, and connection should be the better preserved throughout the whole, the particular paragraphs have been sometimes transposed, and the general chapters have been subdivided into sections; whilst the style itself, which might frequently appear too copious and redundant, like those foreign languages which were familiar to the author during his long absence from his native country, is here, more agreeable to the English diction at present, rendered more terse and concise.

The following pages therefore, with these additions, alterations, and improvements, are presented to the reader, as an essay towards restoring the ancient geography, and placing in a proper light the natural, and sometimes civil history of those countries, where the author has travelled. In pursuance of which design, these observations, of what kind soever, whether they regard geography, natural history, or other miscellaneous subjects, are not blended or mixed together as they chanced to fall in his way, but are ranged under distinct heads and divisions, without repeating, upon every occasion, the time, the place, or manner wherein they were made.

The repetition of every day's events and occurrences, besides being frequently tedious, and seldom of any importance, could not have been admitted in the following sheets, without augmenting them to twice their number. Whereas, the author's principal design and intent being in a literary way, and with as much brevity as the subject would admit of, not barely to amuse and divert, but to inform and instruct the curious reader, to whom alone these pages were addressed; he has therefore confined himself all along, to lay down such observations only as he judged were of greater moment and consequence; such likewise as were altogether new, or not sufficiently explained in other books of travels. And as the greatest part of these observations bear a near relation to several passages, customs, or expressions in the classic writers, and especially in the scriptures, the author has further endeavoured, by comparing those ancient accounts and descriptions with these his later discoveries, to make them receive from, and give to each other, mutual light and illustration.

However, as the method of travelling or surveying these countries, the diet and reception of the traveller, the hardships and dangers to which he is exposed, and other incidents of the like nature, may be looked upon by some readers as matters of too great curiosity to be entirely passed over and neglected, the author proposes to supply what may be wanting upon that subject, by placing here in one view such of the most remarkable circumstances and occurrences as made up the diary-part of his travels.

The reader therefore is, first of all, to be informed, that in the several maritime towns of Barbary and the Levant, where the British factories are established, the author was entertained with extraordinary marks of generosity and friendship, having the use not only of their houses, but of their horses also, their janissaries and servants. But in most of the inland towns and villages, particularly of Barbary, there is a house set apart for the reception of strangers, with a proper officer, called *maharak*, to attend us, where we are lodged and entertained for one night at the expence of the community. Yet even here we sometimes met with our difficulties and disappointments; as when these houses are already taken up, or when the *maharak* was not to be found, or when he was inclined to be surly and disobliging; great disputes, and *shamatan*, as they call brawls and discord, happening at such times. And as there were no inns or public houses to entertain us, and private families (contrary to the charitable custom recorded in Job. xxxi. 32. and Matt. xxv. 35.) would never admit us, we had now and then occasion enough to meditate upon the same distress with the Levite and his company, (Judges xix. 15.) when *there was no man that would take them into his house for lodging*; and of the propriety there was to place (1 Tim. v. 10. Heb. xiii. 2.) the lodging and entertaining of strangers among good works.

But when we travel in the open country, at a distance from these towns and villages, as in Arabia and the greatest part of Barbary, we are to take our chance, both with regard to our food and our lodgings, as will be hereafter more particular related. As to our food, we were sometimes provident enough to take care of it, especially in Arabia. But to have furnished ourselves with tents in travelling through those deserts, would have been both cumbersome and expensive; besides the suspicion it might have raised in the jealous Arabs, that the persons they belonged to, were of a more than ordinary rank and condition, and consequently would be too rich and tempting a booty to be suffered to escape. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were concerned not many years ago in an embassy to Abyssinia, by order of the French King, found this to be too true, at the expence of their lives.

As we shall have frequent occasion, particularly in the description of Barbary, to mention the Kabyles, the Arabs, and the Moors, it will be necessary to premise, that the Kabyles have generally the appellation of *Beni*, as the Arabs have that of *Welled*, prefixed to the name of their respective founders. Both words have the same signification, and denote the children or offspring of such a tribe: thus, *Beni Rashid* and *Welled Halsa*, equally signify the sons of Rashid and the sons of Halsa; or the *Rashides* or *Halsides*, as the ancient geographers and historians would have named them. We may observe further, that the Kabyles usually live upon the mountains, in little villages, called *dastrah*s, made up of mud-walled hovels (or *gurbies*, according to their own appellation); whereas the Arabs, being commonly the inhabitants of the plains, are therefore called Bedouens, living, as the Nomades and Scenitæ did of old, in tents; a collection whereof, pitched usually in a circle, with their doors opening towards Mecca, is called a *douwar*. But the Moors, who are the descendents of the ancient inhabitants, the Mauritanians, live all over Barbary, as the Turks likewise do, in cities, towns, and villages; habitations more permanent than those of the Arabs, as they are
more

more durable than those of the Kabyles. The language of the Moors is the same with that of the Arabs; the particular dialects being alike in them both, according to their nearer or more distant situation from Egypt, where their language is supposed to be spoken in the greatest propriety and perfection.

If therefore, in the course of our travels, we did not fall in with any of the *daskrabs* of the Kabyles, or with the *douzwars* of the Arabs, or with the towns or villages above mentioned, we had nothing to protect us from the inclemency either of the heat of the day, or the cold of the night, unless we accidentally fell in with a cave or grove of trees, the shelve of a rock, or with some ancient arches, that had formerly belonged to so many cisterns. At these times, which indeed seldom happened, our horses were the greatest sufferers; and as they were always our first care, we gathered for them stubble, grass, or boughs of trees, before we sat down and examined what fragments of some former meal were reserved for ourselves.

In travelling along the sea-coast of Syria, and from Suez to Mount Sinai, we were in little or no danger of being either robbed or insulted, provided we kept company with the caravan*, and did not stray from it; but a neglect of this kind, through too great an eagerness in looking after plants and other curiosities, may expose the traveller, as it once did myself, to the great danger of being assassinated. For whilst I was thus amusing myself, and had lost sight of the caravan, I was suddenly overtaken and stripped by three strolling Arabs; and had not the divine Providence interposed in raising compassion in one, whilst the other two were fighting for my clothes (mean and ragged as they were), I must inevitably have fallen a sacrifice to their rapine and cruelty. In the Holy Land, and upon the isthmus betwixt Egypt and the Red Sea, our conductors cannot be too numerous, whole clans of Arabs, from fifty to five hundred, sometimes looking out for a booty. This was the case of our caravan, in travelling (A. D. 1722.) from Ramah to Jerusalem; where, exclusive of three or four hundred *spabees*, four bands of Turkish infantry, with the *mosolom*, or general, at the head of them, were not able, or durst not at least, protect us from the repeated insults, ravages, and barbarities of the Arabs. There was scarce a pilgrim, and we were upwards of six thousand, who did not suffer, either by losing a part of his clothes, or his money: and when these failed, then the barbarians took their revenge, by unmercifully beating us with their pikes and javelins. It would be too tedious to relate the many instances of that day's rapine and cruelty, in which I myself had a principal share, being forcibly taken at Jeremial or Anathoth, as an hostage for the payment of their unreasonable demands, where I was very barbarously used and insulted all that night; and provided the aga of Jerusalem, with a great force, had not rescued me the next morning, I should not have seen so speedy an end of my sufferings.

But in Barbary, where the Arabian tribes are more under subjection, I rarely was guarded by more than three *spabees* and a servant; all of us well armed with guns, pistols, and scimitars; though even there we were sometimes obliged to augment our numbers, particularly when we travelled either among the independent tribes, or upon the frontiers of the neighbouring kingdoms, or where two contiguous clans were at

* *Vox Persica est caravan, id est, negotiator, vel collective negotiatores; sc. tota eorum cohors simul iter faciens, quæ Arabicè casila vocatur. Hinc mercatorum hospitium publica, quæ Arabibus audiunt can, Persis caravan serai nominantur, i. e. caravanæ hospitium. Nam serai est quævis domus ampla; unde in Constantinopoli, imperatoris palatium sœminarum Turcis dicitur, nomine Persico, serai, Europæis minus bene serail et seraglio. Vid. Perits. Itinera Mundi, ed. T. Hyde, p. 61. In these cans, kanes, or caravan serais, we can sometimes purchase straw and provender for our horses, mules, &c. though, generally speaking, they supply us barely with a dirty room to lodge in, being built in squares, with an area or quadrangle within for the reception of our horses, &c.*

riance. These, and such like *barammees*, as the free-booters are usually named in these countries, must be what the Europeans call wild Arabs; for there is no such name peculiar to any one particular clan or body of them, they being all the same, with the like inclinations (whenever a proper opportunity or temptation offers itself) of robbing, stripping, and murdering, not strangers only, but also one another. In proof of this, I need only mention the many heaps of stones that we meet with in several places in Barbary, in the Holy Land, and in Arabia, which have been gradually erected (as so many signs, Ezek. xxxix. 15.) over travellers thus barbarously murdered; the Arabs, according to a superstitious custom among them, contributing each of them a stone whenever they pass by them. We read of something like this, Josh. vii. 26. and viii. 29. and 2 Sam. xviii. 17. where great heaps of stones are said to be raised over Achan, over the King of Ai, and over Absalom.

However, to prevent as much as possible the falling into the hands of these *barammees*, the greatest safety for a traveller is to be disguised in the habit of the country, or to be dressed like one of his *spahcees*. For the Arabs are very jealous and inquisitive, suspecting all strangers to be spies, and sent to take a survey of those lands, which, at one time or other (as they have been taught to fear) are to be restored to the Christians.

In our journeys betwixt Kairo and Mount Sinai, the heavens were every night our covering; the sand, with a carpet spread over it, was our bed; and a charge of raiment, made up into a bundle, was our pillow. And in this situation we were every night wet to the skin, by the copious dew that dropt upon us, though without the least danger (such is the excellency of this climate) of catching cold. The continued heat of the day afterwards, made us often wish that these refrigerations could have been hourly repeated. Our camels (for horses or mules require too much water to be employed in these deserts), were made to kneel down (Gen. xxiv. 11.) in a circle round about us, with their faces looking from us, and their respective loads and saddles placed behind them. In this situation, as they are very watchful animals, and awake with the least noise, they served us instead of a guard.

As there was no chance of meeting, in these lonesome and dreary deserts of Arabia, with the least hospitality or entertainment, we were obliged to carry along with us every thing that was necessary for so long and tedious a journey. We took care in the first place to provide ourselves with a sufficient quantity of goats skins (the *αροί*, or *bottles*, so often mentioned in scripture), which we filled with water every four or five days, or oftener if we found it. We laid in a provision likewise of wine and brandy. Barley, with a few beans intermixed, or else the flour of one or other, or of both of them, made into balls with a little water, was the provender of our camels. We provided for ourselves wheat-flour, rice, biscuit, honey, oil, vinegar, olives, lentil, potted flesh, and such things as would keep sweet and wholesome during two months, the space commonly taken up in completing this journey. Nor should our wooden bason and copper pot be omitted; the latter whereof was the necessary utensil for cooking our provisions, the other for serving it up, or kneading therein our unleavened cakes. These two vessels made up the whole of our kitchen furniture. When we were therefore either to boil or to bake, the camels dung that we found left by some preceding caravan (for wood is very scarce) was our usual fuel; which, after being left a day or two in the sun, quickly catches fire, and burns like charcoal. No sooner was our food prepared, whether it was potted flesh, boiled with rice, a lentil soup (the *red pottage*, Gen. xxv. 30.) or unleavened cakes served up with oil or honey, than one of the Arabs (*not to eat his morsel alone*, Job xxxi. 17.), after having placed himself upon the highest spot of ground

in the neighbourhood, calls out thrice, with a loud voice, to all his brethren, *the sons of the faithful*, to come and partake of it, though none of them were in view, or perhaps within a hundred miles of us. This custom however they maintain to be a token at least of their great benevolence, as indeed it would have been of their hospitality, provided they could have had an opportunity to shew it.

But travelling in Barbary is of a quite different nature. Here we always endeavour to find out the *douwars* of the Arabs (not being fond of visiting the Kâbyles, who are a set of sturdy fellows not so easily managed), where we are entertained at free cost, as in the towns and villages above mentioned, and as we read of the *wayfaring man*, Jer. xiv. 8. for the space of one night. For in this country, the Arabs, and other inhabitants, are obliged, either by long custom, by the particular tenure of their lands, or from fear and compulsion, to give the *spahes* and their company the *mounab*, as they call it, which is such a sufficient quantity of provisions for ourselves, together with straw and barley for our mules and horses. Besides a bowl of milk and a basket of figs, raisins, or dates, which upon our arrival were presented to us, to stay our appetites, the master of the tent where we lodged fetched us from his flock (according to the number of our company) a kid or a goat, a lamb or a sheep, half of which was immediately seerched by his wife, and served up with *cuscasoo*; the rest was made *kab-ab*, i. e. cut into pieces (*μισυλλον* is the term, Hom. Il. A. ver. 465.) and roasted, which we reserved for our breakfast or dinner the next day.

Yet the cold and the dews that we were every night exposed to, in the deserts of Arabia, did not incommode us half so much as the vermin and insects of all kinds, which never failed to molest us in Barbary. Besides fleas and lice, which might be said, without a miracle, to be here in *all their quarters*, the apprehensions we were under, in some parts at least of this country, of being bitten or stung by the scorpion, the viper or the venomous spider, rarely failed to interrupt our repose, a refreshment so very grateful and so highly necessary to a weary traveller. Upon sight indeed of one or other of these venomous beasts, a *thaleb*, or writer, who was one of my *spahes*, after he had muttered a few mystical words, exhorted us all to take courage, and not be afraid of such creatures, as he had made tame and harmless by his charms and incantations. We were likewise no less offended (from whence we might least expect it) by their young kids, lambs, and calves, that are tied up every night under the eaves of their tents, to prevent them from sucking their dams. For the cords used upon these occasions, being made only of yarn loosely spun, the fretful creatures are every moment breaking loose, dropping their dung and trampling upon us.

When we were entertained in a courteous manner (for the Arabs will sometimes supply us with nothing till it is extorted by force), the author used to give the master of the tent a knife, a couple of flints, or a small quantity of English gun-powder; which, being much stronger than their own, is in great esteem, and kept chiefly for the priming of their fire-arms. If the *lallab*, or lady, his wife, had been obliging also in her way, by making our *cuscasoo* savoury, and with expedition, she would return a thousand thanks for a skean of thread, or for a large needle, or for a pair of scissars; all of them great rarities, and very engaging presents with these people. An ordinary silk handkerchief, of two shillings value, was a present for a princess.

During the excessive heats of the summer, and especially when we were apprehensive of being intercepted by the free-booting Arabs, or *barammees*, we then travelled in the night, *which having no eyes*, according to their proverb, few of them dare venture out, as not knowing the unforeseen and unexpected dangers and ambuscades which they might possibly fall into. At this time, we have frequent opportunities of calling to re-

membrance

membrance the beautiful words of the Psalmist, Psal. civ. 20. "Thou makest darkness that it may be night; wherein all the beasts of the forest do move." The lions roaring after their prey, the leopards, the hyænas, the jackalls, and a variety of other ravenous creatures crying out to their fellows, Isa. xiii. 22. and xxxiv. 14. (the different sexes perhaps finding out and corresponding in this manner with their mates), break in very awfully upon the solitude, and the safety likewise, that we might otherwise promise to ourselves at this season.

Our horses and camels keep generally a constant pace; the latter at the rate of two miles and an half, the other of three geographical miles an hour; sixty of which miles, according to my calculation, constitute one degree of a great circle. The space we travelled over was first of all computed by hours, and then reduced into miles, which, in the following observations, when Roman is not mentioned, are always to be taken for geographical miles. I alighted usually at noon to take the sun's meridian altitude (called by the Arabs, *the weighing of the sun*), and thereby adjust the latitudes; observing all along the course and direction of our travelling by a pocket compass, the variation whereof (A.D. 1727) I found at Algiers to be 14° , and at Tunis 16° to the west. Every evening therefore, as soon as we arrived at our *connack**, for so the *spahces* call the tents, the houses, or places where we put up, I used to examine what latitude we were in, how many hours, and in what direction we had that day travelled, making proper allowances for the several windings and occasional deviations that we had made out of the direct road. In our passage through the mountains and forests, or where the plains were cut through with rivers (for we no where met with hedges, or mounds, or inclosures, to retard and molest us), it frequently happened, that when we had travelled eight hours, i.e. twenty-four miles, they were, according to the method above laid down, and as far as longitude or latitude were concerned, to be estimated for no more than eighteen or twenty. I found by observation the latitude of Algiers, by which that of other places is regulated, to be $3^{\circ} 32' 30''$ east of London, which, in the maps, is my first meridian; according to which, they are all of them laid down and projected. Mr. Sanson, who attended for many years the viceroy of Constantinâ as his slave and surgeon, supplied me with a great many geographical remarks concerning that province; in the description of which, particularly with regard to Lambese, I am likewise obliged to the learned and curious Dr. Poissonel, who took A.D. 1726, a survey of the greatest part of the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, at the expence of the French King. In the description of the western portion of the Zeugitania, which the civil wars, A.D. 1727, prevented me from visiting, I am much indebted to the learned Father Francisco Ximenes, then the Spanish administradôr at Tunis, who very generously communicated to me his notes and remarks, which he had made in his several journeys over those parts. The provinces of Zaab, Wadrang, and the other southern districts of the kingdom of Algiers, are laid down from the repeated accounts which I received of those countries from the inhabitants themselves;

* *Connac* is at present the same appellation in the East with the *πανδοχειον* and *κατελυμα* in the Old and New Testament, which are rendered inns or *hospitia*. But excepting the *caravanjerai*, which may in some measure answer to the *πανδοχεια* and *κατελυματα*, (those which I have seen were only bare walls), there are, properly speaking, no houses of entertainment in this country, in the sense at least that we understand inns or *hospitia*; viz. where we can be provided with lodgings, provisions, and other necessaries for our money. For a *connac* denotes the place itself only, whether covered or not, where the travellers or caravans halt or break off their journey for a time, in order to refresh themselves and their beasts of burden. Thus the *malon*, or inn, Gen. xlii. 27. and xliii. 21. &c. where the sons of Jacob opened their flocks to give their asses provender, are no other than one of the like stations, which I have described above in Arabia, viz. the place where they themselves rested and unloaded their asses.

with whom we have frequent opportunities of conversing in almost every city of Barbary. And as I rarely found them disagree in their accounts, I am persuaded that I have been little, if at all, imposed upon by them.

The several names of the places and tribes of these kingdoms, are all of them written according to the English pronunciation, and the force of our own alphabet. The Arabic letters, *ح ه ا*, answering to our *i*, *h*, and *w*, make those words (which indeed are very numerous) wherein they occur, to have an easier transition into our language, than into the French or Italian; and, for the want of the like correspondent letters, the authors who have described these countries, have generally miscalled the true Arabic appellations, and thereby rendered them useless to travellers, as I can speak by experience, in making inquiries after particular places there recorded, by being thus strangely expressed in those idioms.

We learn from the Notitia that there were, at one time or other, more than six hundred episcopal sees in Barbary; though, for want of geographical circumstances, I have not been able to adjust the situation of more than one hundred of them. And, in examining their ruins, I have often wondered that there should remain so many altars and tokens of Pagan idolatry and superstition, and so very few crosses or other monuments of Christianity. Yet even this may perhaps be well enough accounted for, from that great hatred and contempt which the Saracens have always had for the Christian name, and of their taking all imaginable opportunities to obliterate and destroy it; wherein they are further encouraged, by finding not only a number of coins, but large pieces of lead and iron also, wherewith the stones which they are thus industrious to pull down, are bound together. But of these coins, I rarely met with any that were either valuable or curious. Such of them as are purely African, or Carthaginian, or carry along with them at least the insignia and characteristics of being struck there or in Sicily, and other of their colonies, may be well accounted the rarest; not taking the least notice of the *Missilia*, as they are called, of the lower empire, nor of the coins, which are equally common, of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Alexander, Gordianus, and Philippus; in whose times these parts of Africa appear to have been adorned with the most sumptuous edifices. I have some pieces likewise of *glass money*, found in the ruins of such of their buildings, as were erected by their sultans, viz. Occ'ba and Ben Egib. For these, no less than those that were erected by their predecessors, the Carthaginians and Romans, have been equally subject to their changes and revolutions. These coins, of which I have two sorts, the one of the bigness of a farthing, the other of a silver two-pence, are flat and plain on the one side, and impressed on the other with the Mahometan creed, viz. "There is no God but God: Mohammed is the apostle of God."

But, to return to what was the more immediate design of this preface: our stages or days journeys were not always the same. For when any danger was apprehended, we then travelled through as many by-paths as our conductors were acquainted with; riding in this manner, without halting, sometimes twelve, sometimes fifteen hours. Nay, in returning from Jerusalem, so vigilant were the Arabs in distressing the pilgrims, and particularly myself, that notwithstanding we had the *sheik*, or saint, of Mount Carmel, with twenty of his armed servants to protect us, we rested only one hour in two-and-twenty; for so long a time we were in travelling, and that very briskly, betwixt Sichem and Mount Carmel. But in the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, an ordinary day's journey, exclusive of the time taken up in making observations, rarely exceeded eight or nine hours. Our constant practice was, to rise at break of day, set forward with the sun, and travel till the middle of the afternoon; at which time we began to look

look out for the encampments of the Arabs, who, to prevent such parties as ours from living at free charges upon them, take care to pitch in woods, vallies, or places the least conspicuous. And indeed, unless we discovered their flocks, the smoke of their tents, or heard the barking of their dogs, it was sometimes with difficulty, if at all that we found them. Here, as was before observed, we were accommodated with the *mounah*; and if, in the course of our travelling the next day,

We chanc'd to find
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
We blest'd our stars, and thought it luxury.

This is the method of travelling in these countries, and these are its pleasures and amusements; few indeed in comparison with the many toils and fatigues; fewer still with regard to the greater perils and dangers that either continually alarm, or actually beset us. And besides, as the reader will have too frequent occasion to remark, the discoveries we are thus eager to pursue, and which are the occasion of all this anxiety and labour, how seldom is it that they answer our expectations? Even these larger scenes of ruin and desolation at Jol Casarea, Cirta, Carthage, and other of the more celebrated cities in Africa, where we flatter'd ourselves to be entertained with such dissuive scenes of antiquity and instruction, yet, when we come more nearly to view and examine them, how infinitely do they fall short of what before hand we had conceived in our minds of their beauty and munificence. Instead of really diverting or instructing us in the manner we apprehended, they have sometimes produced quite contrary effects, by engaging us at once in a very serious turn of thought and meditation. For here we are immediately struck with the very solitude of these, now domes, arches, and porticos that are left standing, which history informs us, were once crowded with inhabitants; where Scyphax and Massinissa, Scipio and Cesar, the orthodox Christians and the Arians, the Saracens and the Turks, have given laws in their turn. Every heap of ruins points out to us the weakness and instability of all human art and contrivance, reminding us further of the many thousands that lie buried below them, which are now lost in oblivion, and forgotten to the world. Whilst we are full of these thoughts and meditations, Christians steps in to our relief, acquainting us that we are only *strangers and pilgrims upon earth*; seeking a city, not like these, subject to the strokes of time and fortune, but *which hath everlasting foundations, whose builder and maker is God*, Heb. xi. 9. &c.

TRAVELS OR OBSERVATIONS RELATING TO BARBARY.

PART I.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM OF ALGIERS.

CHAP. I. — *Of the Kingdom of Algiers in general.*

THE kingdom of Algiers, since it became subject to the Turks, has been one of the most considerable districts of that part of Africa, which the latter ages have known by the name of Barbary*. It is bounded to the west, with Twunt and the neighbouring

* Africa veteribus proprie dicta, hodie Barbaria quibusdam vocatur, alias Barbariæ pars. Thuan. Hist. l. vii. Moros, Alarbes, Cabayles, y algunos Turcos, todos gente puerca, fuzia, torpe, indomita, inauil,

ing mountains of Trara; to the south, with the Sahara, or desert; to the east, with the river Zaine, the ancient Tufca; and to the north, with the Mediterranean sea.

Sanfon *, in bounding this kingdom with the rivers Mulvia and Barbar, as he calls the Mullooiah and the Zaine, makes it 900 miles from east to west; De la Croix †, 720; Luyrs ‡, by reckoning $48\frac{1}{2}$ miles for one degree of longitude, allows it to be about 630: whereas others § make it of a less extent. But according to the exactest observations which I could make myself, or receive from others, I find the true length of this kingdom, from Twunt (which lies 40 miles to the eastward of the Mullooiah) to the river Zaine, to be, a little more or less, 480 miles; the first lying in $0^{\circ} 16'$ W. longitude from London; and the latter, upon whose western banks Tabarka is situated, is $9^{\circ} 16'$ to the east.

There is not the like disagreement among these geographers, in relation to the breadth of this kingdom, though none of them || make it less than 150 miles where it is the narrowest; nor more than 240 where it is the broadest. The breadth indeed, though much short of these accounts, is not every where the same: for near Tlem-fan it is not above 40 miles from the Sahara to the sea-coast; near the sources of the rivers Sigg, and Shelliff, it is about 60; which, in the western part of this kingdom, may be taken at a medium for the extent of what the Arabs call Tell, *i. e.* land proper for tillage. But, to the eastward of Algiers, the breadth is more considerable; particularly in the meridians of Boujejah, Jijel, and Bona, where it is never less than 100 miles.

With regard to the old geography, Pliny ¶, who is followed herein by Martianus **, makes the breadth alone of the Mauritaniæ to be 467 miles, *i. e.* 300 miles at least more than will agree with that part of this kingdom which answers thereto. The 200 miles likewise, which the same author †† lays down for the particular breadth of Numidia, is nearer the truth, though still with an excess of at least 60 miles. Ptolemy ‡‡, by placing the Mauritania Cæsariensis between the Malva and the Ampsaga, (or the Great River, as it is now called); *i. e.* from long. $11^{\circ} 10'$ to long. $26^{\circ} 15'$, extends that province alone, (by allowing, agreeably to these degrees of longitude, as it has been already observed, $48\frac{1}{2}$ miles to one degree); upwards of 700 miles. And if to these we add 240, *i. e.* the 5° distance, as he makes it, betwixt the Ampsaga and Tabraca, the whole distance betwixt the Malva and Tabraca will be 940 miles, *i. e.* betwixt Twunt and Tabarca 900 miles. Neither must we omit another great error of this author, who, by placing his great promontory, or Cape Hone, as it is now called, in N. lat. 35° , and the Ampsaga in $31^{\circ} 45'$; and so, in proportion of the inter-jacent places, makes this part of the sea-coast to lie in an E. S. E. direction: whereas the greatest part of it, as far as Rus-acconatter, near Algiers, lies the contrary way, or nearly in a N. E. direction; not to mention other particular places in his tables, relative to them both, which are put 5° or 300 miles further to the S. than they are found to be by observation.

inauil, inhumana, bestial: y por tanto tuuo porcierto razon, el que da pocos anos aca acostumbro llamar a esta terra, Barbaria pues, &c. D. Hacedo de la captiuidad en su Topogr. e Hitor. de Argel. p. 126. Vallad. 1612.

* L' Afrique en plusieurs Cartes nouvelles, &c. n. 23. a Paris, 1683.

† Nouvelle Methode pour apprendre le Geogr. Univers. Tom. v. p. 280. a Paris, 1705.

‡ Introd. ad Geographiam, p. 669. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1692.

§ Moll's Geography, Part ii. p. 146. Lond. 1722. Atlas Geograph. vol. iv. p. 182.

|| The geographical and Roman miles differ, as 60 is to $75\frac{1}{2}$, *i. e.* 60 Geogr. and $75\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles are equal to 1° of a great circle. Vide Danville's Introd. to Geogr.

¶ Plin. l. v. c. 2.

** Mart. Cap. de duab. Mauris.

†† Plin. l. v. c. 4.

‡‡ Ptol. l. iv. cap. 2.

And

And then again, with regard to the extent of this kingdom, as it is laid down in the Antonine Itinerary, we are to observe, that the Portus Cæcili (a few miles only from Twunt, our western boundary) and Tabarca are placed nearly one thousand Roman, or 800 geographical miles from each other; 100 miles short indeed of Ptolemy's account; though above 300 miles more than the real distance betwixt them. But to shew, without being too particular at present, how cautiously this guide or directory is sometimes to be followed or relied upon, we need only give the reader, in one view, some of the more noted places, with their distances as they are marked down there, and as they have been found, in the following sheets, by observation, viz.

In the *Itinerary*.

Malva, or, according to the present name,
 From Cæfareæ 316
 From Saldis 214
 From Ruslicade 318. *Cod. Vat. mel* 117
 From Hippone Regio 215. *Exemp. Bland.* 115
 From Carthagine 113. *al.* 193

In the following observations.

Mullooiah
 or *Shefsbell* 263
 or *Boujeiah* 200
 or *Skigata* 106
 or *Bona* 93
 or *Carthage* 212

But to return to the modern geography of this kingdom, and to describe the further extent of it, we are to observe, that the dominion, which the Algerines pretend to beyond the Tell, is very uncertain and precarious: for which reason I have fixed the proper boundaries and limits of this kingdom that way, sometimes upon the northern skirts of the Sahara; sometimes upon the most advanced parts of the mountains of Atlas; which, indeed, for the most part, coincide with them. Some of the villages indeed of the province of Zaab, and others likewise, hat have a more distant situation from Algiers, pay regularly their annual taxes, or at least give some tokens of submission to the Turks: but the other communities are all of them independent: whilst the correspondent Arabs are seldom brought under contribution; being always upon their guard, or at a distance: particularly when the Turkish armies are abroad to collect the taxes.

The southern part of this kingdom, which I am now speaking of, together with the whole tract of land that lies in that direction between the Atlantic Ocean and Egypt, is called by most of the modern geographers, Biledulgerid; or, according to its true name, Blaid el Jeridde, i. e. *The dry country*. Though, if we except the Jerid, a small portion of it, that is situated near the Lesser Syrtis, and belongs to the Tuniseans; all the rest of it is known (at least to those Arabs whom I have conversed with) by no other general name than the Sahara, i. e. *The desert*, as we may interpret it.

Gramage, De la Croix, and other modern geographers divide this kingdom into a great many provinces, according to the several petty royalties which, at one time or other, it was cantoned into, before and after the time of the Turkish conquests. But at present there are only three, viz. the province of Tlem-san, to the west; of Titterie, to the south; and of Constantina, to the east of Algiers. The Dey appoints over each of these provinces, a bey or viceroy, who has a despotic power within his jurisdiction; and at the appointed seasons of collecting the tribute, upon a rebellion, insurrection, or other the like occasions, is assisted with a body of troops from Algiers.

Thus stands, at present, the general description and division of this kingdom, which, upon comparison, will correspond with the Provincia Nova* or Numidia† of the

* Κασααρ — της Νομαδας λαβων ες τε το υπηκοον επηγαγε — τα εν τη Λιβυη εδνη ταυτα, το μεν περι την Καρχηδονα (ο δη και Αφρικην καλεμην) παλαιον, οτι εκ πολλης καταεργαστο το ες δη των Νομαδων, νιον, οτι νεωτερι εληπτο επανομασθη. Dion. Hist. Rom. l. xliiii. p. 345-6. ed. Steph.

† Numidæ possidere ea loca, quæ proxuma Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Sal. Bell. Jug. Cantab. 1710. § 21. p. 287. Ad Mauritaniam Numidæ tenent. Id. § 22.

ancients. For if we bound it with the river Tusca * (*i. e.* the *Zaine*) to the east, it will then contain a part of the Africa of Pomponius Mela † and Ptolemy ‡; the Numidia properly so called §, or the Numidia of the Massylii ||. And again, as it is bounded to the westward with the mountains of Trara, (excepting that small space of it which lies from thence to the Mullochia, and belongs to the Western Moors) it will take in the other Numidia, viz. the Numidia of Mela ¶, or the Numidia of the Massæyli **: this was called afterwards, when the Romans were in full possession of it, the Mauritania Cæsariensis ††; and, in the middle age, that part of it which lay near the city Sitifi, took the name of Sitifensis, as we learn from Æthion, Isidore, and other geographers of that time.

We may well take that remarkable chain of eminences, which sometimes borders upon the Sahara, and sometimes lies within the Tell to be the Atrixis of Orosius, the same with Mount Atlas, so noted in history. Yet, it may be observed, that this mountain is not always of that extraordinary height or bigness which has been attributed to it by the ancients, being rarely or ever equal, as far as I have seen, to some of the greater mountains of our own island; and perhaps can no where stand in competition either with the Alps, or the Appennines. If we conceive, in an easy ascent, a number of hills usually of the (perpendicular) height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with a succession of several groves and ranges of fruit and forest trees growing, one behind another, upon them; and if, to this prospect, we sometimes add a rocky precipice of superior eminence and more difficult access, and place upon the side or summit of it, a mud-walled Daskrah of the Kabylés, we shall then have a just and lively picture of Mount Atlas, without giving the least credit to the nocturnal flames, to the melodious sounds, or lascivious revels of such imaginary beings, as Pliny ‡‡, Solinus, and others, have, in a peculiar manner, attributed to it.

It has been remarked by some of the old geographers, that these mountains were called Dyris and Adiris, or Dyrin and Adderin §§ by the Indigenæ of first inhabitants; but have not attempted to give us the signification or import of those words. Bochart observes |||, that Atlas was called Dyris by the Phœnicians; perhaps from [אֲדִיר] ¶¶

* Plin. l. v. cap. 3, 4.

† P. Mel. Africa Descript. c. vii.

‡ Ptolem. Africa Sit. c. iii. Τῆς δὲ Αἰθιοπίας — ὅσων, αἱ δύο 'Μαυριτανίαι, δυτικότερα μὲν ἢ Τιβήντων, ἐχόμεναι ταύτης· Καίσαρησι, μὲν ἢ Ἀφρικῇ, ἢ ἢ Κυβενναίῃ, &c. Agathem. l. ii. cap. 5.

§ Plin. ut supra. Solin. Polyhist. c. 26. Æthic. Cosmog. Lug. Bat. p. 63. Martian Capell. de duabus Mauris. Isid. c. 5.

|| Strab. Geog. ed. Amst. l. ii. p. 193. & l. xvii. 1188. Cum Syphace Romanis juncta amicitia est. Quod ubi Carthaginenses acceperunt, extemplo ad Galam in parte altera Numidiæ (Massyla ea gens vocatur) regnantem, legatos mittunt. Liv. l. xiv. § 48. Syphax erat rex Numidarum. ibid. Massylii regnum paternum Masanißæ læti, ut ad regem diu desideratum concessere. Syphax, pulsis inde præfectis præsidibusque suis, veterè se continebat regno, nequitquam quieturus. Id. l. xxx. § 11.

¶ P. Mel. c. vi.

** Vid. Not. 7. Masanißæ non in possessione modo paterni regni esset, sed etiam socios Carthaginensium populos, Massæylorum fines (id Syphacis regnum erat) vallaret. Liv. l. xxix. § 32. Massæyli gens affinis Mauris, regionem Hispaniæ, maxime qua sita est Carthago nova, spectant. Idem. l. xxviii. § 17.

Post hos immensæ Nomadum de femine gentes,
Atque Massæylii, nec non Masylia proles.

Priscian. Perieg. v. 176-7.

†† Plin. l. v. c. 2. Solin. Polyhist. c. 25. Æthic. Cosmog. p. 63. Isid de Libya, c. 5. Ο Κλαυδῖος διχῇ τῆς Μαυρίας τῆς ἰπτικῆς νημεν, ἐς τὰ περὶ Τερρῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ περὶ Καίσαρηαι (αφ' ὧντις καὶ ονομαζονται) καὶ δύο κερχῶν ἰππῶν προσετιζῇ. Dion. Hist. Rom. l. ix. p. 771.

‡‡ Herod. p. 280. ed. Lugd. Bat. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Solin. Polyhist. c. 24. Mart. Capell. de Afric.

§§ Strab. l. xvii. p. 1185. Plin. l. v. c. 1. Solin. Polyhist. xxiv. Mart. Capell. de Afr.

|| Phil. l. ii. c. 13.

¶¶ Vid. Schindler. Lex. in voce.

Addir, which signifies *great* or *mighty*. Upon the sea coast of Tingitania, we find *Ruffadirum*, *Ρυσσάδιον*, a word of near affinity with it, mentioned by Mela, Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary. The same name likewise, or *Rafaddar*, is given at present by the Moors to Cape Bon, the Promontorium Mercurii; thereby denoting a large conspicuous cape, promontory, or foreland. Or rather, as Mount Atlas runs for the most part east and west, and consequently bounds the prospect as well as the agriculture of the Mauritians and Numidians to the south; we may deduce the names above-mentioned from the aspect and situation of the mountains themselves, to whom they are attributed. For, among the Moors and Arabs, *Dohor* still denotes the place or aspect of the sun at noon day, as *Dérem* * does the like in the Hebrew. If then we choose to call it, not simply *Dyrim* with Strabo and Pliny, but *Addirim* with Solinus and Martianus; *Addirim* or *Hadderim*, by the addition of *Had*, which denotes a mountain, will signify either the great, or else the southern eminence, limit or boundary, such as Mount Atlas generally is with respect to the Tell, or cultivated parts of this country.

Gætulia †, a part of Ptolemy's Inner Lybia, is laid down in very indefinite terms by the ancients; though by comparing their several accounts and descriptions together, we shall find the northern limits thereof to be contiguous to, and frequently to coincide with, the southern limits of the Mauritania and of Numidia. The villages therefore of *Zaab*, the ancient *Zebe*, with others situated near the parallel of the river *Adjodee*, will belong to *Gætulia* properly so called; as the *Figigians* had *Beni-Mezzab*, and the inhabitants of *Wadreag* and *Wurglah*, with their respective *Bedoween* Arabs, (all of them situated still further to the southward, and of a swarther race and complexion), may be the successors of the ancient *Melanogætuli*, and of other *Libyans*, if there were any, who lay nearer the river *Niger* and the *Ethiopians*.

So much in general concerning the comparative geography of this kingdom; and, if we come to particular places, *Cellarius* has already observed that the order and situation of them is variously set down by the ancients ‡; and, we may likewise add, by the moderns. The reader will soon be enough acquainted with this country, to embrace the same opinion. And, if the situation of several of the ancient rivers, ports, or cities, may be fixed and settled by some few names, ruins, or traditions of them that are continued down to our times, he will likewise have further occasion to complain of the want of accuracy and correctness both in the old and the later geography.

No apology, we presume, need be made for the little amusement and entertainment, which some readers may receive from these or other of our geographical inquiries. *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*, those celebrated masters in this branch of literature, have given us the pattern, which we have all along endeavoured to follow and imitate: with what success, must be left to the judgment and decision of those alone who are acquainted with, and take delight in these studies.

* *אָדֶר אֶדֶר* *Auster, Meridies*: *Plaga meridionalis*: sic dicta quasi *אָדֶר אֶדֶר* *Habitatio alta*: quod Sol in ista plaga altius incedat. Schind. in voce *Targ. Jonath. Josh. x. 40.*

† *Libyes* propius mare *Africum* agitabant: *Gætuli* sub Sole magis, haud procul ab adoribus, hique maturæ oppida habuere. *Sall. Bell. Jug. § 21. p. 286.* Super *Numidiam* *Gætulos* accepimus, partim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare: post eos *Æthiops* esse. *Id. § 22. p. 291.* Ἰπτακίται δὲ τὰς περὶ *Mauritanίας* ἢ *Γαιτελίας*. *Ptolem. l. iv. c. 6.* *Strab. l. xvii. p. 1182. 1185. 1192.*

— Tergo *Gætulia* *Æthiam*

Torrigit, et patulis Nigrita finibus errant.

Euf. Ff. l. 321.

‡ Multa in *Mauritania* turbata et confusa videntur, quod ad loca singula demonstrabimus. *Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. l. iv. cap. 5. p. 126.*

CHAP. II. — *Of that Part of the Mauritania Cæsariensis, which belongs to the Tingitarians or Western Moors.*

AS the Mauritania Cæsariensis extended itself as far as the river Malva, I shall begin the account I am to give of it from that river.

The Malva then, Malua, Μαλσα, or Mul-looiah, (according to the pronounciation of the Moors) is a large and deep river, which empties itself into the Mediterranean Sea, over-against the bay of Almeria in Spain. It lies, as was before observed, about 40 miles to the westward of Twunt, and 240 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. Small cruising vessels are still admitted within its channel, which, by proper care and contrivance, might be made sufficiently commodious, as it seems to have been formerly, for vessels of greater burden. The sources of it, according to Abulfeda, are a great way within the Sahara, at the distance of 800 miles; and the whole course of it, contrary to most of the other rivers, lies nearly in the same meridian.

The Mullooiah therefore, as it appears to be the most considerable river in Barbary, so it is by far the fittest for such a boundary, as the ancient geographers and historians have made it, betwixt Mauritania and Numidia; or betwixt the Mauritania Tingitana and Cæsariensis, as they were afterwards called. The same river likewise, by comparing together the old geographers, will appear to be the Molochath and the Mulucha; for both these names have no small affinity with the Mullooiah, or Muluhah, the true original name perhaps of the Malva, or Μαλσα. The same boundary likewise between the Mauri and the Massæyli, which is by Strabo * ascribed to the Molochath, is by Sallust †, Mela ‡, and Pliny §, ascribed to the Mulucha. As then the Mauritania Cæsariensis, which extended to the Malva, was the same with the country of the Massæyli, which likewise extended to the Molochath or Mulucha; the Malva, Molochath, and Mulucha must be the same river with the present Mullooiah.

Three little islands, where there is good shelter for small vessels, are situated to the N.W. of the river, at the distance of ten miles. These are the Tres Insulæ of the Itinerary ||.

Six leagues further to the eastward is the village of Seedy ¶ Abdelmoumen, one of the tutelar marab-butts or saints of this country, whose tomb they have here in the greatest veneration. Below it, there is a small but commodious road for vessels, which the row-boats of this country frequently touch at; as they do likewise at Maïscar-da, a little beyond it to the east. This, which is another of the lesser maritime villages of Barbary, from whence a great quantity of grain is often shipped for Europe, is made
up,

* Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1183.

† Haud longe a flumine Muluchæ, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, &c. Sal. Bell. Jugurth. Cantab. 1710. § 97. p. 471. Gætulorum magna pars et Numidæ ad flumen usque Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat. Id. § 22. p. 292. Ego flumen Mulucham quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Bocchi Orat. Id. § 118. p. 524. Ad Mauritaniam Numidæ tenent: proxume Hispaniam Mauri sunt. Id. § 22. p. 291. Pauci ad Regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Id. § 66. p. 398.

‡ P. Melæ Afr. descript. cap. 5. in fine.

§ Plin. l. v. cap. 2.

|| Ptol. l. iv. c. 2. in princip.

¶ Seedy or (Cid) as the Spanish historians write it (which we shall have frequent occasion to mention), is the same word of respect amongst the Moors and Arabs, that *sir*, *master*, or *lord*, is amongst us; but which they

up, like those in the inland country, in a careless slovenly manner, with mud, stone, timber, hurdles, and such materials, as are not the most durable, but the most easily procured. The first of these villages was probably the Lemnis of the Itinerary.

The Tingitanians have upon the banks of the Mullooiah, in the road betwixt Fez and Tlem-fan, a well fortified castle, with a garrison of a thousand men. They have another at El-Joube, i. e. the cisterns, 20 miles further to the eastward. In the wars betwixt the late Muley Ishmael and the regency of Algiers, they were both of them of the greatest consequence; as they still continue to be very servicable in awing the Ang-gadd and other factious clans of Arabs, inhabitants unworthy of so delicious and fruitful a country.

Wooje-da, the Guagida of Leo, is the frontier town of the Western Moors, and lies about the half way betwixt El-Joube and Tlem-fan.

To the southward is the desert* of the Ang-gadd, whose numerous and warlike offspring extend their hostilities and encampments to the very walls of Tlem-fan; and to the northward, nearer the sea, we have, together with a celebrated intermitting fountain, the mountainous and rugged district of Beni Zeneffel, (or Jafneten, as Leo calls them), a no less powerful tribe of Kabyles; who, secure in their numbers and situation, have not hitherto submitted to the Tingitanians. Ptolemy's Chalcorychian mountains, the seat of the ancient Herpiditani, had probably this situation.

We should not leave Tingitania, without observing, that, during the long reign of the late Muley Ishmael, these, no less than the other districts more immediately influenced by the capital, were under such strict government and regulation, that, notwithstanding the number of Arabs who are every where in the way, intent, every one of them, upon plunder and rapine, yet a child (according to their manner of speaking) might safely carry a piece of money in his open hand from one end of the kingdom to another, whilst the merchant travelled with his richest commodities, from one fair and sea-port to another, without the least danger or molestation.

CHAP. III. — *Of that Part of the Sea Coast of the Mauritania Casariensis, called at present the Western Province, or the Province of Tlemsan.*

LEAVING Maifearda and Woojeda at some distance to the westward, we enter upon Twunt and the mountains of Trara; a beautiful knot of eminences, which furnish the markets of Tlemsan with all manner of fruit. These are the confines of this province to the west, as the river Ma-saffran, at near 200 miles distance to the east. The whole of it is almost equally distributed into mountains and valleys; and, were it better supplied with rivers and fountains, it would be more delightful, as it was in the time of Salust

they attribute in a higher degree to their mar-rab-butts, as they call such persons who are or have been remarkable for any extraordinary sanctity of life, or austerity of manners. These mar-rab-butts (whom I shall have frequent occasion likewise to mention) are usually buried under a little vaulted roof, (or cubba, as they call it; from whence our cupola), having their tombs painted and adorned with beads, ribbons, and such like trinkets. A number of these sanctuaries are dispersed all over Barbary, and are usually places of refuge: where there is kept up great hospitality, especially for pilgrims and persons in distress. In the Levant, these saints are called sheiks, which word properly signifies *elders*.

* By desert or wilderness, the reader is not always to understand a country altogether barren and unfruitful, but such only as is rarely or ever sown or cultivated; which, though it yields no crops of corn or fruit, yet affords herbage more or less for the grazing of cattle; with fountains or rills of water, though more sparingly interspersed than in other places. The wilderness or desert where our Saviour was tempted, with several others mentioned in Scripture, was of this nature and quality.

(Bell. Jug. p. 278.) accounted a more fertile and populous district than the eastern part of this kingdom.

It will be difficult, from the uniformity and the little interruption there is among the mountains of this province, to distinguish that particular chain of them, which may be taken for the continuation of Mount Atlas; a point of geography that must be always regarded. However, as the mountains of Sachratain behind Tlem-fan, lie the nearest to the Sahara, and are continued, quite through this province, by those of Sout el Tell, Tafarowy, Elcalla, Benizerwall, Elcadara, and Miliana; these, I presume, as they are all along remarkably conspicuous, from the great number and variety of plains which lie on each side of them, so they seem to lay the greatest claim to that celebrated ridge of mountains.

About 14 miles from Twunt, the mountains of Trara stretch themselves into the sea, and make one of the longest and most conspicuous forelands to the eastward of the Mullookiah. It is called at present, Cape Hone, Ras Hunneine, and Mellack; and was the *promontorium*, or the Great Promontory of Ptolemy. The meridian of London, which likewise, in laying down the maps, is our first meridian, falls in pretty nearly with this cape.

Six leagues to the E. of this cape, is the mouth of the river Tafna, the ancient Siga*, made up of the Isser, the ancient Affianus, the Barbata, and other smaller rivulets. On the western banks are several ancient ruins, called Tackumbreet; where the city Siga, or Sigeun, once the metropolis of Sciphax, and other Mauritanian Kings, was situated. We may well imagine, that from the most early times, great encouragement must have been given to trade and navigation, in as much as these princes chose this for their place of residence, which has no beautiful prospects or fertility of soil to recommend it; which likewise, from the influx and frequent inundations of the adjacent rivers, is far from being the most wholesome and agreeable. The Wool-hafa are inhabitants of this neighbourhood.

Over against Tackumbreet, there is a small island, the Acra of the ancient geography. This forms the port of Harshgoone; where vessels of the greatest burden may lie in safety.

Five leagues from the Tafna, is the mouth of the Wedel Mailah, i. e. *the salt river*. This was the Flumen salum of the itinerary; the same appellation, expressive of the saline quality of its water, having been given to it in all ages, and by all authors; yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, such is the want of good water in the neighbourhood, that the Arabs, by long custom and habit, are reconciled to the taste, and drink it without reluctance.

The Si-nan, the most considerable of the brooks which fall into the Wed † el Mailah, has its sources at no greater distance than the southern confines of the plains

* Scylac. Perip. p. 46. edit. Oxon. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 2. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 2.

† El Marques [de Comares] le [el Barbarroja] alanco ocho leguas de Tremecen, antes de passar a un grande rio que se dize l'uedxa. [*I suppose a corruption only of Wed*] Barbarroja q vido al Marques a sus Espaldas y tan cerca que ya venian los Christianos rebueltos con sus Turcos matando y degollando, dava se priessa por passar en toto caso el rio y salvarle. Y para mejor lo poder hazer y entretener al enemigo, uso de un lindo estratagema de guerra (si lo huuiara con otra gente) porque mando sembrar muchos vasos de oro y de plata, muchas joyas y mucha moneda de que yvan todos cargados, con muchas otras cosas, y ropas muy preciosas: pareciendole que topando los Christianos con esto, la cobdicia los harta entretener, para cogerlo, y assi tendria tiempo para el y sus Turcos poder huyr y passar aquel rio a su salvo, &c. Epitome de les Reges de Argel. c. 11. p. 54. p. Diego de Haedo, &c. Valladolid. 1612. Pour les [Christiens] arrester il lassoit couler de tems en tems de l'or et de l'argent par le chemin. Marmol. l. v. c. 11. p. 341.

of Zei-doure. It glides in a variety of beautiful windings through this fruitful district, and is known, as most of the rivers of this country are, by several names, according to the remarkable places, that are visited by them. It was near the banks* of this river, which might be occasionally swelled, where the elder Barbarossa strewed about his treasure, when he was pursued by the victorious Spaniards; his last, though ineffectual effort to retard the pursuit of his enemies. The Wed el Mailah, a little after it is united with the Si-nan, discharges itself into the Harsh-goone.

Passing by the two islands Ha-beeba, the lesser of which lies over-against the Wed el Cafaaph, or river of Canes, a small stream, we double Cape Falcon, as our mariners call it; or, as it is called by the Moors, Ras el Harshfa, *i. e.* The rugged head-land. When I passed by this Cape, in the month of December, several plats of ground on each side of it were sown with wheat and barley; but the promontory itself appeared to be rocky and barren. It may be disputed therefore, from these tokens of fertility in the adjacent country, whether this is the Metagonium of Strabo, as it has been taken by some modern geographers. For though the situation indeed may be opposite to Carthage, or Carthago Nova, yet the distance being little more than 90 miles, is not one-third part of Strabo's three thousand furlongs. There is on the eastern side of this Cape, a fine sandy bay, exposed only to the N. E. winds; which the Moors call the port of Ras el Harshfa; where the Spaniards landed, with little molestation, in their late fortunate expedition (A. D. 1732) against Oran.

Two leagues farther, is the Mers' el Keeber, *i. e.* the Portus Magnus or Great Port of the Romans; so named, as Pliny has justly observed, from the largeness and capacity of it. This port, which in the Spanish history is called (by a corruption of the Arabic name) Mer el Guiver, or Mers' el Cabir, is formed by a neck of land, which advances almost a furlong into the bay, and thereby secures it from the N. and N. E. winds. The castle, built for the defence of it, was more remarkable when I saw it, for spaciousness and extent, than for strength and beauty; though a great part of it, particularly to the W. was, with great art and contrivance, hewn out of the natural rock.

The author of the Itinerary assigns 107 Roman miles for the distance between this port and the Flumen Salsum; whereas, in fact, it will not amount to 60. For if we take the Mers' el Keeber for the Portus Magnus of the ancients, and the Wed-el Mailah for the Salsum Flumen, (as the tradition of the same appellations, from time immemorial, may be a sufficient proof), we shall have in them a clear demonstration, how little we are, in some instances, to depend upon the distances and situations of places as they are transmitted down to us from antiquity.

Five miles to the S. E. of the Great Port, and 54 to the N. N. E. of Temsan, is Warran*, commonly called Oran, a fortified city of about a mile in circumference. It is built upon the declivity, and near the foot of a high mountain, which overlooks it from the N. and N. W. and, upon the ridge of this mountain, there are two castles, that command the city on the one side, and the Mers' el Keeber, on the other. To the S. and S. E. there are two castles, erected upon the same level with the lower part of the city, but are separated from it by a deep winding valley, which serves

* Oranum variis nominibus vocatur a recentioribus, nam alii Madaurum, alii Aeram, Aurum nonnulli vocant; Atri hodie Guharan appellant. Omnia autem hæc nomina locum acclivem, [from *Wah-ar*, we may suppose, that signifies a place very difficult to be come at] et ventis expositum significant. Gomecius de rebus gestis Fr. Ximenii. l. iv. p. 1022. Franc. 1603. *☞ Mutmerant.* Fovea subterranea, crypta, in qua frumentum reconditur. Vid. Gol. in voce. *A pit under ground, wherein the Arabs deposit their corn.*

it as a natural trench on the S. side; where likewise, at a little distance, there is a very plentiful spring of excellent water. The rivulet formed by this fountain conforms its course to the several windings of the valley; and, passing afterwards under the walls of the city, liberally supplies it with water. We see, at every opening of the valley, such a pleasingly confused view of rocky precipices, plantations of orange trees, and rills of water trickling down from them, that nature rarely displays herself in a greater variety of prospects and cool retreats. Near the fountain, there is also another castle, which not only guards the Mattamores that are dug under the walls of it, but is, at the same time, an important defence to the city. From all these circumstances, Oran must undoubtedly be a place of great strength, as well by nature as art, much more tenable than Algiers; neither could it have been so easily taken, if an unaccountable panic had not seized upon the Bey, otherwise a very valiant man, in abandoning it, upon the first landing of the Spaniards, without shutting the gates, or shewing the least preparation to oppose them.

The Spaniards, when they were first masters of the place, built several beautiful churches, and other edifices, in the manner and style of the Roman architecture, though of less strength and solidity. They have imitated the Romans further, in carving upon the frizes, and other convenient places of them, several inscriptions, in large characters, and in their own language.

I met with no Roman antiquities at Warran, or at Geeza, a small village, within half a furlong of it to the W. The latter has no small affinity with the Quiza [*Colonia*] of the ancients, which is placed by them immediately after the Great Port; and therefore not far, as we may conjecture, from this position.

Pliny fixes his Mulucha, and Ptolemy his Chylemath, (both which have been already treated of) betwixt Quiza and the Great Port. In travelling indeed betwixt the Great Port and Warran, we pass over a very small rill of water, which has its sources at a furlong's distance from the sea; but there is no river, properly so called, nearer than the Wed el Mailah, on the one side, or the Sigg, on the other. This river therefore, which has hitherto so much perplexed the ancient as well as the modern geography, appears to be altogether imaginary; especially in this situation, where we are directed to look after it.

Leaving the little village of the Carastel, a clan of Kabyles, on our right hand, we arrive at Cape Ferrat, the Mcfaff of Edrisi. This promontory is remarkable for a high rock, which, standing out at a small distance from it, in the sea, aptly represents a ship under sail.

Twelve miles to the S. S. E. of this cape, is the port of Arzew, called by the Moors the port of the Beni Zeian, after the name of the neighbouring Kabyles, who were formerly a considerable community. It is of the same figure, though more capacious than the Great Port: and, according to the liberty of expression in the former ages, might much better deserve the epithet of *divine*, than the ports I have mentioned, at Ras el Harth-fa. Ptolemy, we are sure, situates his Deorum Portus betwixt Quiza and Arsenaria; which can be no other than this, provided Geeza or Warran is the ancient Quiza, as Arzew is, without doubt, the ancient Arsenaria.

Arzew is at the distance of three Roman miles from this port, as Pliny places his Arsenaria. The country, for some miles behind it, is made up of rich champain ground: but towards the sea we have a range of steep rocks and precipices, which must have been always a natural safeguard to it, in that direction. The water which the inhabitants use at present lies lower than the sea; a circumstance that may account for the

the brackishness of it. However, to supply it, as we may well imagine, with wholesome water, the old city was formerly built upon cisterns, of which several still remain and serve the inhabitants to dwell in. A great many capitals, bases, shafts of pillars, and other ancient materials, lie scattered all over the ruins. A well finished Corinthian capital of Parian marble supports the smith's anvil; and in the Kaide's house, I accidentally discovered a beautiful Mosaic pavement, through the rents of a ragged carpet that was spread over it. Several sepulchral inscriptions likewise, with the names of Regulus, Saturninus, and Gandus, still remain in a Hypogeum, fifteen feet square, built very plain, without either niches or columbina.

Five miles from the sea coast are the salt pits of Arzew, from whence the neighbouring communities are supplied with salt. This commodity, from the facility of digging it, the shortness afterwards of the carriage, and the advantage of the adjacent port, would, under any other than a Turkish government, be a branch of trade as invaluable, as the pits themselves are inexhaustible.

Under some steep rocky cliffs, five miles to the E. of Arzew, we pass by two little ports; one of which opens towards Musty-gannim, the other towards the port of Arzew. Both seem to have been protected by one and the same fort, that is situated above them; as they were both very conveniently supplied with water by a small conduit from an adjacent mountain.

At a little distance from these ports, the river Sigg, or Sikke, empties itself into the sea. This might well be taken for the ancient Siga, provided an affinity in sound was only to direct us; provided likewise the old geographers had not been unanimous in placing it further to the W. where we have the river Tafna. As therefore the fertile plains of Midly, through which it flows may be considered as a large garden, cantoned out into a number of partitions; and, as each of these partitions has a branch, *rivus* * or *incile* of the Sikkè, always ready to overflow it; we may deduce the name rather from *Sikkè*, or *Sakrah*, whereby the Arabs signify such artificial drains and trenches, as this river, upon occasion, may be derived into.

The Habrah, another considerable river, falls into the Sigg. It is so called from a numerous tribe of Arabs who live upon the banks of it. The conflux of the Sigg and Habrah from a stream as big as the Charwell, near Oxford; the mouth whereof is called El-muckdah, or *the Ford*; which, except in the rainy season, is entirely drunk up by the sand, and leaves the passage without water. This, in all probability, was the Cartennus of Ptolemy.

Mafagan, or Mazachran, a small mud-walled town, is situated upon the western declivity of a range of hills 12 miles to the N.E. of the Cartennus, and within a furlong of the sea. The name seems to denote a place abounding with water †; a circumstance indeed which very justly corresponds with the situation.

Musty-gannim, the adjacent city, so called from the sweetness of the mutton that is fed in that neighbourhood, is built in the form of a theatre, with a full prospect of the sea; but, in every other direction, it is closed up by a round of hills that hang over it. It is somewhat bigger than Warran, and takes place after Tlem-san, among the cities of

* *Incilia*, fossæ sunt quæ in agris fiunt ad aquam deducendam; dicuntur et derivationes de Rivo communi factæ. Vid. Columel. in voce *Incilia*.

Claudite jam rivos, pueri, sat prata biberunt.

Vir. Ecl. iii. v. 111.

† Vid. Col. in voce *Sajir* (aqua implevit, sc. fluvium) et *Zakhir* (exundavit alveus).

• this province. The inhabitants have a tradition (and some vacant spaces seem to confirm it), that the present Musty-gannim is made up of several contiguous villages. In the middle of it, near one of these vacancies, are the remains of an old Moorish castle, erected, as appears from the fashion of it, before the invention of fire arms. The N.W. corner, which overlooks the port, such an unsafe one as it is, is surrounded with a strong wall of hewn stone, where there is another castle built in a more regular manner, with a Turkish garrison to defend it. But Musty-gannim being too much exposed to every troop of Arabs, who have the courage to make themselves masters of the hills behind it, the principal strength and defence of it lies in a citadel, that was lately erected upon one of these eminences, and which has a full command of the city and of the country round about it.

In travelling betwixt Mafagran and Musty-gannim, we are entertained with the prospect of a number of gardens, orchards, and country-seats, that are ranged, in a beautiful variety, all along the sea-shore. A chain of hills bounds these to the S and S. E. which not only shelters them from the hot scorching winds, that sometimes blow in those directions, but break out every where in fountains to cherish and refresh them. The Alhenna, which I shall have further occasion to speak of, is here cultivated to advantage.

The strength and beauty, particularly of the walls of Musty-gannim, to the N. W. may well allow us to suppose them to have been formerly a portion of some Roman fabric. For both Musty-gannim and Mafagran are so copiously supplied with water; they are so commodiously situated with regard to the fertile and extensive lawns that are spread far and near behind them; they enjoy besides such a delightful prospect of the sea, and of the rich maritime country, that lies in view to a great distance on each side; that, without doubt, they were stations too valuable to have been neglected by the Romans. Pliny and Ptolemy place their Cartenna in this direction; and, in the Itinerary, we have the same distance betwixt Arsenaria and Cartenna, that I find betwixt Arzew and these places. One or other of them, therefore, or both, might have formerly made up this colony; for, considering that their situations are nearly contiguous, and that the interjacent plantations belong indifferently (as they perhaps always did) to them both, there is some probability at least that they had likewise the same interest, and were accordingly one and the same community under the name Cartennæ, as Ptolemy writes it in the plural.

Under Jibbel Difs, or Cape Ivy (according to our modern sea charts) betwixt the encampments of the Bookhammel and the Magrowah, at 15 miles from Musty-gannim, is the mouth of the river Shelliff, the Chinalaph of the old geography. This is the most noted, as well as one of the largest rivers of this kingdom. When I crossed it in Autumn, it was nearly of the bigness of the Isis, united with the Cherwell. Abulfeda ascribes to the Shelliff the same property with the Nile, of augmenting its stream in the summer season; but I am persuaded, the least occasion could never have been given for, any constant or regular appearance of that kind. The sources of it, which are 70 miles to the S. E. are called Sebbeine Ain, i. e. *the seventy fountains*; and a little way to the northward is the Nahar (i. e. *river*) Wassel, the first tributary rivulet to the Shelliff. In stretching afterwards towards the N. E. it receives the Midroe so called from a distant Gattulian village, now in ruins. Tuckereath, the ancient Tigava, lies near the W. banks of the Midroe. The Shelliff continuing still in the same direction, loses itself in the Pond of Titterie (or Titterie Gewle, according to the Turkish name); and, recovering itself afterwards, runs directly towards the sanctuary of Seedy ben Tyba, a little below the city

city of Medea. From hence it runs all the way nearly in the same parallel with the sea-coast, receiving all along several large contributions, which will be hereafter taken notice of. The whole course of the Shelliff, from the Sebbcine Ain to Jibbel Dis, i. e. *the mountain of spartum, or reedy grass*, is little short of 200 miles.

After we have touched at the Zour el Hamam, i. e. *the Pigeon Island*, and passed under the shade of Jibbel Minifs, a mountain of salt, the rich possession of the Weled Younefs, we come to Tnifs or Tennis, which has a low dirty situation, (as the name, from *tn mud*, may probably import) at a small distance from the sea. Before the Turkish conquests, it was the metropolis of one of the petty royalties of this country, though a few miserable hovels are all that remains of it at present. A little brook runs winding by it, which afterwards empties itself into the sea, over against a small adjacent island. Tnifs has been long famous for the many loadings of corn which are shipped off from thence to Christendom; but the anchoring ground (for harbour we cannot call it) that lies before it, being too much exposed to the north and west winds, is the occasion that vessels are frequently call away, (as they are likewise at Hammose, Magrowa, and other dangerous roads on this side the Shelliff,) unless they fall in with a season of calm weather.

Sanson, with other geographers, make Tnif to be the ancient Jol, or Julia Cæsarea; though the island which I have mentioned seems to be the only circumstance in favour of that opinion.

The Moors have a tradition, that the Tnithians were formerly in such reputation for forcery and witchcraft, that Pharaoh sent for the wisest of them to dispute miracles with Moses. It is certain, that they are the greater cheats of this country; and are as little to be trusted to as their road. Hammet Ben Useph, a late neighbouring Ma-rab-but, has left us this rhapsodical character both of the place and its inhabitants:

Tennis;			<i>Tennis</i>
Mabaneh ali dennis;			<i>Is built upon a dunghill;</i>
Mawah Shem;			<i>The soil of it is stinking;</i>
Ma dim;			<i>The water of it is blood;</i>
Wa howa sim;			<i>And the air is poison;</i>
Wa Hamet Ben Useph ma			<i>And Hammet Ben Useph did</i>
dukkul thine.			<i>not come there.</i>

Nakkos, the large adjacent promontory, formerly the Promontorium Apollinis of Ptolemy, is so called from a grotto that is formed below it in the shape of a bell. In advancing towards this cape from the coast of Spain, it appears like the head of a wild boar. We fall in afterwards with several little islands, where there is good shelter for small vessels; and upon the continent over against them, are the Doukkrah of the Beni Headjah and Beni Howah. A little further to the S. are the Goryah and other troublesome Kabyles, which have below them, upon the coast, Dahmufs and Brei, formerly two cities of the Romans.

Sherfshell, the next place of note, was the Jol, or Julia Cæsarea, so famous in history. When I saw it (A. D. 1730) it was in great reputation for making steel, earthen vessels, and such iron tools as are wanted in the neighbourhood; but a few years afterwards (1738), it was entirely thrown down by an earthquake. The ruins upon which this town was situated, are not inferior in extent to those of Carthage; and we may likewise conceive no small opinion of its former magnificence, from the fine pillars, capitals, capacious cisterns, and beautiful Mosaic pavements that are every where remaining.

..The water of the river Hassem, according to its present name, was conducted hither through a large and sumptuous aqueduct, little inferior to that of Carthage in the height and strength of its arches; several fragments of it, scattered among the neighbouring vallies to the S. E. continue to be so many incontestable proofs of the grandeur and beauty of the work. Besides these, there are two other lesser conduits, which continue perfect and entire; and plentifully supplying Sherhell with excellent water, for that of the wells is brackish, may be considered as two inestimable legacies of the ancients.

Nothing certainly could have been better contrived, either for strength or beauty, than the situation of this city. A strong wall, forty feet high, supported with buttresses, and winding itself near two miles through the several creeks of the sea shore, secured it from all encroachments from the sea. The city, to the distance of two furlongs from this wall, lies upon a level; and afterwards, rising gradually for the space of a mile, to a considerable elevation, implied in the ancient name Iol*, spreads itself over a variety of hills and vallies, and loses entirely the prospect of the sea. One of the principal gates this way is placed about a furlong below the summit of these hills, and leads us to the rugged possessions of the Beni Menasser; and, of the other two, near the sea shore, the western lies under the high mountains of the Beni Yifrah, and the eastern under that of the Shenouah.

As Sherhell is thus shut up in the midst of mountains and narrow defiles, and all communication with it may be easily cut off, whenever the neighbouring tribes are disposed to be mutinous and troublesome, as it frequently happens, even to this day. And this circumstance will afford us one argument, that Sherhell was the Julia Cæsarea, by interpreting Procopius's † description of it in our favour, viz. 'That the Romans could only come at Cæsarea by sea, access by land being rendered impracticable, as all the passes were then seized upon by its neighbours.'

They have a tradition, that the ancient city was destroyed, as the new one was lately, by an earthquake; and that the port, formerly very large and commodious, was reduced to the miserable condition wherein we find it at present, by the arsenal and other adjacent buildings being thrown into it by the shock. The Cothon ‡, that had a communication with the western part of the port, is the best proof of this tradition. For when the sea is calm, and the water low, as it frequently happens after strong S. or E. winds, we then discover all over the area of it so many massy pillars and pieces of great walls, that is cannot be well conceived how they should come there without such a concussion.

The port is nearly in a circular form, of two hundred yards in diameter: but the securest part of it, which, till of late, was towards the Cothon, is now filled up with a bank of sand, that daily increases. However, there still lies in the mouth of it a small rocky island, which at present is the main shelter and defence against the northern tempests. This island, therefore, and these large and sumptuous remains of an ancient city, will afford other arguments for supposing Sherhell to be the Iol or Julia Cæsarea.

* Ab עֵיל vel Syr. עֵיִלִי vel עֵיִל quod celsum sonat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 34. unde *Ilberis*, *Iliturgis*, civitates quæ altum situm habent.

† Ες τὴν [Καίσαρη] Ῥωμαῖοι ναυτὶ μὲν ὡς αἰ σιλλονται· περὶ δὲ γενναίη καὶ ὡς δύναται Μαυροβυστίαν ἐν ταύτῃ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς χωρεῖ. Procop. l. ii. de Bell. Vand. c. 20. in fine.

‡ Servius in illud Virgilii *Æneid.* i. Hic Portus alii effodiunt. Portus non naturales, sed arte et manu factos Cothonas vocari asserit. Idem scribit et Festus, viz. a קוֹתָן *katan* vel Phœnicis more *katbam* incidere, unde קָטִים *kathum* incisus et קִיתִים *kithum* vel קִיתִימָה *kethima* Incitio: ita etiam apud Arabes. Vid. Boch. ut supra, cap. xxiv. et Buxt. in voce.

For ports are very rare upon the coast of Barbary; especially in this situation, where we are to look for Cæsarea; and an haven, with an island at the entrance into it, is only to be met with at Siga or Tackumbreet, a place at too great a distance to the W. to be taken for Cæsarea, Tnifs, where Sanson * and others have placed the Julia Cæsarea, has indeed an island before it, yet without the least rudiments of a haven, or any heaps of ruins. Algiers, likewise, the other city that is brought by Dapper and later geographers into the dispute, was formerly in the same situation with Tnifs; its present port having been made since the Turkish conquests by Meradin Barbarossa, A. D. 1530, who united the island that formerly lay before it, to the continent. The principal characteristic, therefore, whereby the ancients describe their Iol Cæsarea, cannot, with any propriety, be attributed to any other place than Shershell. Besides, in the Itinerary, Cæsarea is placed 25 miles from Aquis, or Aquis calidis; which agrees very well with the distance there is betwixt Shershell and the Hamam Melwart, which will be hereafter described.

The country round about Shershell is of the utmost fertility, and exceedingly well watered by the Nassara, Billack, and Hasham; neither are we to forget a beautiful rill of water, received into a large basin of Roman workmanship, called *Shrub we krub*, i. e. *bibe et fuge, drink and away*, there being the like danger of meeting here with rogues and assassins, that the dog is said to have had in meeting with the crocodile, in drinking of the Nile. Even the very mountainous parts, towards the sea, the possessions chiefly of the Shenooah, are here barren, as they frequently are in many other places, covered to the very summits of them, with a succession of delicate plats of arable ground, here and there diversified with plantations of apricot, peach, and other fruit trees. Nothing certainly can be more entertaining than that variety of prospects which we every where meet with in this delightful country.

The northern extremity of these mountains form a pretty large cape, called Ras el Amoushe, the same with the Battal of Edrifi. Below it to the eastward is the Island Barin-shell, from whence, as they are fond of telling us, one of the neighbouring Kabyles, to avoid the fury of the Algerines, swam with a little child upon his back as far as the river Mafassran, at 20 miles distance. A little lower is the Mers' el Amoushe, or *Port of Amoushe*, very safe in westerly winds; after which we cross the river Gurmant, and then fall in with a number of stone coffins of an oblong figure, not unlike those that are sometimes found in our own island. A little farther to the E., under a rising ground, are the ruins of Tefessad, or Tfeffad, called likewise Blaid el Madoone, which extend themselves for the space of two miles along the sea shore, though the breadth is not equal to one third part of the length.

Tefessad, by being situated 13 miles to the eastward of Shershell, appears to be the Tipasa of the old geography. For Ptolemy, in fixing Tipasa 30' to the E. and 10' to the S. of Cæsarea, does not a little authorize this position. The author likewise of the Itinerary, in placing his Tipasa Colonia 16 Roman miles to the eastward of Cæsarea, gives us the very same distance. Tefessad, likewise, by an easy transition, or the changing *f* into *p*, will have a sound not very different from Tipasa.

Both at this place and Shershell, we meet with several arches and walls of brick, not commonly found in other parts of Barbary; especially where the work itself may be looked upon as Roman. The bricks (from whence the Moors might have called it *Madoune*) are of a fine paste and colour, two inches and a half thick, and near a

* Atlas Geogr. vol. iv. p. 208.

foot square. We have the following inscription, upon a large pannelled stone, brought from hence to Algiers :

C. CRITIO. C. F.
QVIRIT. FELICI.
EX TESTAMEN
TO EIVS.

The sea coast, from Tefessad to Algiers, to the breadth, for the most part, of two or three leagues, is either woody or mountainous; thereby securing the fine plains of the Mettijah, which lie behind it, not only from the more immediate influence of the northerly winds, but from the spray of the sea, which is equally noxious. The Kubber Ro-meah, i. e. *the sepulchre of the Christian women*, called by the Turks, from the fashion of it, Maltapasy, or *the treasure of the sugar loaf*, is situated upon the mountainous part of the sea coast, seven miles to the eastward of Tefessad. According to the discoveries hitherto made, it is a solid and compact edifice, built with the finest free stone; the height whereof I computed to be a hundred feet, and the diameter of the basis ninety. It is of a round figure, rising with steps quite up to the top, like the Egyptian pyramids. This structure, therefore, in consideration of the elegance of the workmanship, and the beauty of the materials, appears to be much older than the Mahometan conquests; and may better be taken for the same monument that Mela (c. vi.) places betwixt Iol and Icosium, and appropriates to the royal family of the Numidian Kings. Sepulchres of this kind, and in the like maritime situation, have been taken notice of, at other places, by ancient authors*.

A few miles from the Kubben Romeah, is the mouth of the Masaffran, the eastern boundary of this province, a river very little inferior to the Shelleff. In passing through the several deep vallics of that part of Mount Atlas, where some of its branches have their fountains, it runs in such a variety of mazes and turnings, that I crossed it fourteen times in an hour. The name of Masaffran†, was probably attributed to it from the tawny or saffron colour of its water.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the most remarkable inland Places and Inhabitants of the Western Province, or the Province of Tlemfan.*

IF we return, then, to the westward, five leagues to the southward of the mouth of the river Tafna is the city Tremesen, as the modern geographers write it, or Tlemfan or Tlemfan, according to the Moorish pronunciation. It is situated upon a rising ground, below a range of rocky precipices, the Sachratain (as we may take them to be) of Edrifi: these make a part of Mount Atlas; and upon the first ridge of them, (for there is a much higher one to the southward), we have a large strip of level ground, that throws out from every part of it a number of fountains. These, after uniting gradually into little rills, fall in a variety of cascades, as they draw near to Tlemfan.

* Pfylli regis sepulchrum in parte Syrtium est. Plin. l. vii. c. 2.

Καιεν δ' αν περι κολπον ιδοις τρικυδια τυμβων,
Τυμβον ον Αρμωνης Καδμωιο τε Φημης ινσπη.

Dionys. Per. l. 390-1.

Τη γαρ ταφη (τη Λιαντος) τα προς τον αιγιαλον, εφασκει τον τε επικλυσαι θαλασσαν, και τον εσοδον προς το μνημα η χαλεπην ποιησαι. Paus. in Attic. Han. 1613. p. 66. Καταβασι δε εκ ακροπολεως, μνημα εστι προς θαλασσην Αειλεγος. Id. ibid. p. 82. vid. annot. V. Cl. Abr. Gronov. in P. Melam.

† Mazafran, fulvus; ex fulvo rubens. Vid. Gol. in voce.

In the west part of the city, there is a large square basin of Moorish workmanship, two hundred yards long, and about half as broad. The inhabitants entertain a tradition, that formerly the Kings of Tlemfan took here the diversion of the water, whilst their subjects were taught the art of rowing and navigation. But the water of the Sachratian, as Leo well observes, being easily turned off from its ordinary course, this basin might have been rather designed for a reservoir in case of a siege; not to mention the constant use of it at all other times, in preserving a quantity of water sufficient to refresh the beautiful gardens and plantations that lie below it. Edrifi takes notice of a structure of this kind, where the fountain of Om-lahia discharged itself.

Most of the walls of Tlemfan have been built, or rather moulded in frames, a method of building which Pliny informs us, (l. xxxv. c. 14.) was used by the Africans and Spaniards in his time. The mortar of which they consist is made up of sand, lime, and gravel; which, by being at first well tempered and wrought together, has attained a strength and solidity not inferior to stone. The several stages and removes of these frames are still observable, some of which are at least one hundred yards in length, and two yards in height and thickness; whereby may be estimated the immense quantity of this compost that was made use of at one time. About the year 1670, Hassan, then Dey of Algiers, laid most of this city in ruins, as a punishment for the disaffection of the inhabitants; so that there is not remaining above one-sixth part of the old Tlemfan, which, when entire, might have been four miles in circuit.

Among the eastern part of these ruins, we meet with several shafts of pillars, and other fragments of Roman antiquities; and in the walls of a mosque, made out of these old materials, we have a number of altars dedicated to the *P^{re} Manes*; but the following was the only legible inscription:

D. M. S.
M. CREBIVS
ABVLLVS VIX.
AN. LV. M. TRE
BIVS IANVARIVS
FRATRI CARISSIMO
FECIT.

Gramaye * informs us, that Rabbi Abraham had seen several medals dug up in this place, inscribed, Tremis. Col., a city, I presume, not known in the old geography; for Timice †, from some supposed affinity in the name, has been generally, though, with as little reason, taken for Tlemfan; whereas Ptolemy's Lanigara will better agree with this situation. There is some room likewise to conjecture, that Tlemfan may be an appellation ‡ of Arabic extraction, on account of the rich arable ground which lies round about it.

Upon the banks of the Isser, which is the easternmost branch of the Tafna, we fall in with the baths of Seedy Ebly; and after them we enter upon the rich plains of Zeidoure, which extend themselves through a beautiful interchange of hills and vallies, to the very banks of the Wed el Mailah, at 30 miles distance. These have no small affinity with the *Ζειδωρα* of the Greeks; an appellation that denotes such plenty and fertility as we every where meet with in these plains. About the middle of them is the Shurph el Graab, or the *pinnacle of the ravens*, a high pointed precipice, with a branch of the Sinan running by it. The Welled Haffa and Zeir are the principal Arabs of this part.

* Afric. illustr. c. 25.

† Atl. Geogr. vol. iv. p. 313.

‡ Derived perhaps from *Telm*, (sulcus terræ, speciatim factus sementis ergo) and *San*, (formare.) Vid. Gol. in voce.

Six leagues to the S. of the Sinan is Jibbel Karkar, a high range of rocky mountains, which bend our prospect to the south. Beyond them are the mountains of the Beni-Smeal, with the Arabs Harar, a little beyond them in the Sahara. After them, again, at the distance of five days journey to the S.S.W. are the villages of Figig, noted for their plantations of palm trees, from which the western parts of this province are supplied with figs.

Beyond the river Mailah, as far as Warran, is the Shibkah, as they call a very extensive plain of sandy saltish ground, which is dry in summer, but covered with water in the winter season.

The Ammer have their encampments in this neighbourhood, who, from their long intercourse with the Spaniards, whilst they were masters of Warran, retain several of their customs, and speak their language with great propriety.

To the southward of the Shibkah, are the noted mountains of Souf el Tell and Taffarowy, which make part of Mount Atlas. The extensive ruins of Arbaal lie on the one side, and those of Teflailah on the other. The latter, which from an affinity in the name, might belong to the ancient Astacitis, are surrounded with some of the most fertile plains of this country, cultivated by Weled Aly, the implacable enemies of the Weled Zeir and Halfa.

Crossing afterwards, nearly in the same parallel, the rivers Makerra and Hamaitc, both of which fall into the Sigg, we come to Mascar, a collection of mud-walled houses, built in the midst of a plain, at ten leagues distance from Multy-gannim. There is a little fort to defend it against any sudden revolt of the neighbouring Arabs, which is not garrisoned as usual by Turks, but by its own inhabitants. The Hashem, who are the Bedoweens of this part of the country, are called Jowaite, or gentlemen, being excused from taxes, and serve only as volunteers, when the Algerines want their assistance.

Five leagues to the N. E. of Mascar, is El Callah, the greatest market of this country for carpets and Burnooses. This likewise, though larger than Mascara, is a dirty ill-contrived town, without either drains, pavement, or causeways; being built, as the name* imports, upon an eminence, and in the midst of other mountains, which make part of Mount Atlas. There are several villages of the same nature, and in the like situation, round about it; all of them very profitably employed in the same woollen manufactories. The Turks have here a small garrison and citadel; and from some few large stones and pieces of marble of ancient workmanship, we may take it to have been formerly a city of the Romans; the Gitlui or Apfar perhaps of Ptolemy.

Travelling for some leagues under the shade of Mount Atlas, which turns here to the northward, we ford the river Minah†, which falls into the Shelliff at El Had, near the plains of Elmildegah, where the Swidde have their chief abodes. El Had may denote a mountain, by way of eminence; such indeed as those of the Benizerwall may be properly called, which run here parallel with the Shelliff‡. This part of Mount Atlas is celebrated for the plenty, as well as delicacy, of its figs: such as those might be which Cato § threw down before the Roman senate, and were admired for their largeness and beauty.

Seedy Abid, a noted sanctuary, lies four leagues further, at a little distance only from the influx of the Arhew into the Shelliff. Over against it, on the other side of

* *Calab*, cacumen, vertex, &c. Vid. *Gol.* in voce.

† Vid. *Atlas Geogr.* vol. iv. p. 211.

‡ Ibid.

§ Vid. *Plut.*

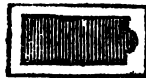
the Shelliff, is Mazounah, a dirty mud-walled village, without the least footsteps of any such Roman temples and sumptuous edifices as are mentioned by Dapper and Marmol. It is, however, as remarkable for its woollen manufactories as either Mascar or El Callah, and is delightfully situated under the south side of Mount Atlas. The Weled Seleema are the neighbouring Bedowecns.

In the same meridian nearly with Mazoana, at eighteen leagues distance, is Tagadempt, the Tergdent, Tigdent, or Tigidentum of the Atlas Geographus, placed by Sanfon 110 miles to the S. of Oran, and more than 120 to the S. E. of Tlemfan. Yet neither these distances nor directions will fall in with our Tagadempt; which, by the ruins, appears to have been a very large city, not long ago abandoned by the Arabs, who have taken their usual care to leave us several tokens of their own humility and ignorance in architecture, at the same time they have pulled down and defaced whatever was beautiful and magnificent in the buildings of their predecessors. If this then should be the Tignident of Marmol, (lib. v. c. 34.) and there is no other place, as far as I could be informed, of the like name, it will be difficult to account for his making it the Julia Cæsarea which undoubtedly was a maritime city, far removed from the position wherein we find the present Tagadempt. The Weled Booker, with their numerous Douwars, surround these ruins.

If we return again to the Shelliff, four leagues from Seedy Abid is Memounturroy, as the Weled Spaihee, who live near it, call an old square tower, formerly a sepulchral monument of the Romans. This, like many other ancient edifices, is supposed to have been built over a treasure; agreeably to which account, they tell us, these following mystical rhimes were inscribed upon it, by Prince Maimoun Tizai.

Maily	} i e. {	<i>My treasure</i>
Fe thully;		<i>Is in my shade;</i>
Wa thully		<i>And my shade</i>
Fe maily.		<i>Is in my treasure.</i>
Etmah;		<i>Search for it;</i>
La teis:		<i>Despair not:</i>
Wa teis;		<i>Nay despair;</i>
Le tetmah.		<i>Do not search.</i>

Round about this monument, there are several massy blocks of marble, hollowed out in the fashion of coffins.



Five miles further, upon the banks of the Shelliff, are the ruins of Memon and Sinaab, formerly two contiguous cities. The latter, which might have been three miles in circuit, is by far the most considerable; though I saw nothing more of it than large pieces of walls, and capacious cisterns.

Wan-nash-reefe, the Guceferis of Sanfon, and the Ganfer of Du Val, lies eight leagues to the southward of Sinaab. It is a high rugged mountain, generally covered with snow, and, on these accounts, is one of the most noted land-marks of this country, distinguishing itself all the way, from El Callah to Medea, over a number of lesser mountains ranged far and near about it. Edrifi was greatly misinformed concerning the length of it, which he makes to be four days journey; in as much as this will better agree with the view and prospect we have of it, which is indeed at much more

more than that distance. This mountain was probably the Zalacus of Ptolemy; as Sinaab, from the position seven leagues to the northward, should be his Oppidoneum.

The Wed el Fuddal, or *River of Plate*, has its source in this mountain. In great rains, many fleaks of lead ore, for which this mountain is famous, are brought down by the river; and being afterwards left upon the bank, and glittering in the sun, gave occasion to the name. Abulfeeda, with other later geographers, have been mistaken in deducing the river Shelliff, instead of this branch of it only, from Wan-nash-reefe.

The Weled Uxeire and the Lataff rove on each side of the Fiddah; and over against the mouth of it, are the mud-walled villages of Merjejah, and of the Beni Rathid; of which the latter made some figure in former ages, (*Atl. Geogr. vol. iv. p. 210.*) having had a citadel, two thousand houses, and a race of warlike inhabitants, who commanded this country as far as El Callah and Mascar. But at present the castle is in ruins; the two thousand houses and their large territories are reduced to a few cottages; and the people, from a like course of obedience to a jealous and severe government, are become equally timorous and cowardly with their neighbours. However, their fruits, and particularly their figs, for which they were always famous, continue in the same repute, and may dispute with those of the Beni Zerwall for size and delicacy of taste. The rocky situation, wherein the fig-tree so notably thrives in both these communities, is very agreeable to an observation of Columella: "*Ficum*," says he, l. xii. c. 21: "*frigoribus ne serito; loca aprica, calculosa, glareosa, interdum, et laxosa amat.*"

Two leagues to the eastward of the Beni Rethid, on the northern brink of the Shelliff, is El Herba, with a narrow strip of plain fertile ground behind it. Here are several small marble pillars of a blueish colour and good workmanship; but the capitals, which were of the Corinthian order, are defaced. There are, besides, several coffins, like those at Memounturroy; and upon one of the covers, which is scooped or hollowed in the upper part of the top of it, as if it were intended to receive a libation, we have this imperfect inscription:



M. - MORI L. -
SECVNDIANI - -
VIC. XII ANNI - -
XIII LVCIO - -

.....
.....
.....

El Khada-rah, the Chadra of Edrifi, lies thirteen miles only in a direct line from the river Fuddah, though, by the intervention of mountains, it is as much more in the course of travelling. It is situated upon a rising ground, on the brink of the Shelliff, in the same meridian with Sherhell; and appears, by the ruins, to have been three miles in circuit. A range of mountains, rising immediately from the opposite banks of the Shelliff, shelter it from the N. wind; whilst, at a mile's distance to the southward, Jibbel Dwee, another high mountain, rising up in a conical figure, apart, (*Matt. xvii. 1.*) like the celebrated Mount Tabor, supplies the beautiful little plains between

between them with a plentiful rill of excellent water. The perpetual verdure of these plains might, in all probability, have communicated the name of El Khadarah, or El Chuhd-ary, i. e. *the Green*, to these ruins.

If then Ptolemy's authority is to direct us, we may take this place for his Zucchabari, (the same will be Succabar and the Colonia Augusta, as we may suppose, of Pliny,) placed in the same lat. and 50' to the E. of Sinaab, or Oppidoneum. Jibbel Dwee likewise, upon the same supposition, will be the Mons Transcellensis, which, according to Ammianus *, hung over it.

A little to the E. of El Khadarah, are the remains of a large stone bridge; the only one, as far as I could learn, that was ever built over the Shelliff; notwithstanding the great inconveniences which travellers are put to, especially in the winter season, of waiting sometimes a whole month before they can ford.

Seven miles to the E. of El Khadarah, at a little distance from the Shelliff, are the ruins of El Herba, another Roman town, of the same name and extent with what has been just now described. The same name occurs very frequently in this country; and is of the like import and signification with *pulled down, or destroyed*. Here the Shelliff begins to wind itself through a plain, not inferior in extent and fertility to any of this kingdom. The mountains likewise of Atlas, which, from the Beni Zerwall to El Khadarah, hung immediately over the Shelliff, retire now two leagues to the northward.

Maniana or Maliana, or Miliana, is situated upon these mountains, half a mile above this plain, and two leagues to the eastward of El Herba. It lies exposed to the S. and S. W. promising a large scene of Roman buildings and antiquities at a distance; but the fatigue of climbing up to it, is badly recompensed with the sight only of a small village, with the houses of it tiled, instead of their being flat, and covered with plaster of terrace, according to the ordinary practice of the country. However, if the access to it was less troublesome, Maliana has several things to recommend it: for it is exceedingly well watered from Jibbel Zickar, that hangs over it; it has a number of fruitful gardens and vineyards round about it; and, besides all this, it enjoys a most delightful prospect of the rich arable country of the Jendill, Matmata, and other Arabs, as far as Medea. In the spring season, the devotees of Algiers, Bleda, Medea, and the neighbouring villages, come, with great reverence, to kiss the shrine of Sede Youseph, the tutelar saint of this city.

There are several fragments at Maliana of the Roman architecture; and in a modern wall, made up of these ancient materials, we have a Cippus, with this inscription:

Q. POMPEIO CN. F. .
QVIRIT. CLEMENTI
PA..... DIIVR
EX TESTAMENTO.
Q. POMPEIO F. QVIR.
ROGATI FRATRIS
SVI
POMPEIA Q. P.
MABRA POSVIT.

If this monument therefore should bear any relation to Pompey's family, the following lines of Martial will receive from thence an additional force and beauty, as

* Ammian. Marcell. l. xxix. c. 5.

we find Pompey's grandson, and probably his great-grandson, to have been buried at this distance from their ancestors, and in such an obscure place.

Pompeios juvenes Asia atque Europa, sed ipsa
Terra tegit Libyes: si tamen ulla tegit.
Quid mirum toto si spargitur orbe? jacere
Uno non poterat tanta ruina loco.

Epigr. l. v. Ep. 75.

Eight miles to the E. N. E. of Maliana, at the half way betwixt the Shelliff and the sea, are the Hammam, i. e. *the baths of Mereega*, the Aquæ Callidæ Colonia of the ancients. The largest and the most frequented of them is a basin of twelve feet square, and four in depth; and the water, which bubbles up in a degree of heat just supportable, after it has filled this cistern, passes on to a much smaller one, which is made use of by the Jews, who are not permitted to bathe in company, or in the same place with the Mahometans. These baths were formerly covered, and had corridors of stone running round the basins; but at present they lie exposed to the weather, and are half full of stones and rubbish. Yet, notwithstanding all this, a great concourse of people usually resort hither in the spring, the season of these waters; which are accounted very efficacious in curing the jaundice, the rheumatic pains, and some of the most inveterate distempers. Higher up the hill there is another bath, which being of too intense heat to bathe in, the water thereof is conducted through a long pipe into another chamber, where it is used in *Duccian*; an operation* of the like nature and effect with pumping. Betwixt this and the lower bath are the ruins of an old Roman town, equal to that of Herba; and at a little distance from it, we see several tombs and coffins of stone, which I was informed were of an unusual size. Muzeratty, the late Kaleefa, or Lieutenant of this province, assured me, that he saw a thigh bone belonging to one of them, which was near two of their *draas*, (i. e. thirty-six inches) in length. The like account I had from other Turks, who pretended to have measured it; but when I was there half a year afterwards, I could not receive the least information about it. The graves and coffins likewise that fell under my observation, were only of the usual dimensions. However, the people of *this*, as well as of other countries, are full of stories and traditions of the like nature; and, indeed, provided these should not have been human bones, as the Africans are no nice distinguishers, we may possibly account for them from the custom of the Goths and Vandals, which might pass over with them into Africa, of burying the horse, the rider, and their armour together in the same grave. Long swords, with large cross handles, have been often found in this country; one of which, that was found not many years ago, in the ruins of Temenduse, is still preserved in the dey's palace at Algiers. The Roman poet has a few fine lines upon this occasion:

Agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila:
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

VIRG. Georg. I. v. 494, &c.

* Asperionem in Balneis naturalibus Ducciam appellant.—Sunt ergo in Balneis, quæ ad hunc usum probantur, constitutæ fistulæ—quæ digiti parvi magnitudine vel majori, ubi opus est, volubili epistomio clauduntur: e superiori alveo, qui infixas ex ordine habeat fistulas, ac statim a communi fonte sinceræ recipiant aquæ, pro eo ac quisquam voluerit, vel quantum voluerit, recluso epistomio, vel clauso infundant succiduum. Delabuntur autem sic aquæ palmi unius, vel ad summum cubiti spatium, unde ex insula convenientem faciant impressionem; vel in Balneum, vel in subjectum ad eas recipiendas alvolum, &c. Baccius de Theriis, lib. ii. cap. 16.

The country round about these baths, inhabited by the Bookelcran and the Wuzra, is made up of a succession of exceedingly rugged hills and deep vallies; each of them, in their turn, very difficult and dangerous to pass over. Yet this danger and fatigue is sufficiently recompensed, by travelling afterwards through the rich and delightful plains of the Hadjoute and the Mettijah, which lie beyond them to the northward. The latter are called by Abulfeda, Bledeah Kibecrah, i. e. *A vast country**, being near fifty miles long, and twenty broad, watered in every part by a variety of springs and rivulets. The many country seats and *masbareas*, as they call the farms of the principal inhabitants of Algiers, are taken out of these plains, as it is chiefly from them that the metropolis is supplied with provisions. Flax, alhenna, roots, pot-herbs, rice, fruit, and grain of all kinds, are produced here to such perfection, that the Mettijah may be justly reckoned the garden of the whole kingdom.

CHAP. V.—*Of the Sea Coast of that Part of the Mauritania Cæsariensis, called the Southern Province, or the Province of Titterie.*

THIS province, which lies bounded to the E. by the river Booberak, as it does to the W. by the Masaffran, is much inferior to the western in extent; being, exclusive of the Sahara, scarce sixty miles either in length or breadth. Neither is it, in general, so mountainous; for the sea coast, to the breadth of five or six leagues, the least formerly of the ancient Machurebi, as it is now of the Durgana, Rassouta, and Beni Hameed, is made up chiefly of rich champaign ground; behind which indeed we have a range of rugged mountains, the continuation of Mount Atlas, that run, almost in a direct line, in a parallelism with the sea coast. But beyond them, particularly in the neighbourhood of Medea, Titterie Doshi, and Hamza, the ancient territories of the Tulensii and Baniuri, we have other extensive plains; though none of them equal to those of the Mettijah. Such is the general plan of this province, which has the city of Algiers, the metropolis of the whole kingdom, for its capital.

In describing this province, therefore, we are to observe, that after we have left the Masaffran, we pass by a little round tower, situated upon a small rocky cape, that stretches itself about a furlong into the sea. The inhabitants call it Seedy Ferje, from the sanctuary of that saint, which is built upon it, where we have some few walls and cisterns of Roman workmanship, which, by the order of Ptolemy's tables, may lay claim to his *Via*. We meet with several pieces of a Roman highway betwixt Seedy Ferje, Ras Accon-natter, and Algiers; and near the tomb of Seedy Halliff, another Marabbutt, about the half way betwixt Seedy Ferje and Algiers, we fall in with a number of graves, covered with large flat stones, each of them big enough to receive two or three bodies.

The high mountain of Boorjereah, with its three contiguous *dajbkrahs*, are nine miles from Seedy Ferje, to the N. E. Half a league from them, to the W. N. W. is the Ras Acconnatter, the Cape Caxines of our modern sea charts. After which, about three miles further to the S. E. we turn into the port of Al Jezeire el gazie, i. e. *Algiers the warlike*, as the Turks are pleased to call their metropolis.

This place, which for several ages has braved the greatest powers of Christendom, is not above a mile and a half in circuit, though it is computed to contain about 2000 Christian slaves, 15,000 Jews, and 100,000 Mahometans, of which thirty, at

* *Gizaier* Mazghannan, sita ad littus maris, est admodum populosa, et mercatores lucri addictissimi: place ejus elegantes; ubi adjacet, *Bulediah Kibecrah*. Abul. ex traduct. V. Cl. J. Gagnier.

most, may be Renegadoes. It is situated upon the declivity of a hill, that faces the N. and N. E. whereby the houses rise so gradually above each other, that there is scarce one but what, in one or other of those directions, has a full prospect of the sea. The walls are weak and of little defence, unless where they are further secured, which is chiefly at the gates, by some additional fortification. The *caffaubah*, or citadel, built upon the highest part of the city towards the S. W. is of an octogonal figure, each of the sides in view having port-holes or *embrasures*, defended with cannon. A ditch formerly surrounded the whole city to the landward, which, at present, is almost entirely filled up, except at the west and south gates, called Bab el wed, *the gate of the river*, and Bab Azoonâ; where it is still of little consequence or defence. But towards the sea, it is better fortified, and capable of making a more strenuous defence. For the embrasures, in this direction, are all employed; the guns are of brass, and their carriages and other utensils in good order. The battery of the Mole-Gate, upon the east angle of the city, is mounted with several long pieces of ordnance, one of which has seven cylinders, each of them three inches in diameter. Half a furlong to the W. S. W. of the harbour, is the battery of *Fisher's Gate*, or *the gate of the sea*, which, consisting of a double row of cannon, commands the entrance into the port, and the road before it.

The port itself is of an oblong figure; a hundred and thirty fathoms long, and eighty broad. The eastern mound of it, which was formerly the island that gave name to the city, is well secured by several fortifications. The *Round Castle*, built by the Spaniards whilst they were masters of the island, and the two remote batteries erected within this century, are said to be bomb-proof, and have each of them their lower embrasures mounted with thirty-six pounders. But the middle battery, which appears to be the oldest, is of the least defence. Yet none of these fortifications are assisted either with mines or advanced works; and as the soldiers, who are to guard and defend them, cannot be kept up to any regular course of duty and attendance, a few resolute battalions, protected by a small squadron of ships, would find little difficulty to take them.

There is very little within the city that merits the attention of the curious. Upon the tower of the great mosque, we have some broken inscriptions; but the letters, though of a sufficient bigness to be seen at a distance, are all of them either inverted, or filled up to that degree with lime and white-wash, that I could never particularly distinguish them. They may probably be the same with these following ones taken notice of by Gramaye:

IVLIO CAESONI. M. M.	P. O. MAVRIT. X.
II LEG. MAVRIT. . .	COH. IVL. M. F
PRISCA F. ELIA POS.	. ISRVFVSETLETVS
PTOLO. IVB. F. :	P. D. ONV. MIS .

Gram. Afr. Illust. l. vii. c. 1.

The public buildings, such as their *bagnios*, *koshareas*, &c. their officers, such as the *musty*, *kady*, &c. the inhabitants, such as Jews and Moors, &c. have been already sufficiently described by other authors. The additions therefore which I have to make, will relate chiefly to the government, the army, the navy, and the political interests and alliances of this regency; but of these in their proper place.

Leo and Marmol inform us, that it was formerly called Mesgana, from an African family of that name. The present name, Al Jezeire (for so we should pronounce it), signifies in their language, *the island*; which was so called from being in the neighbourhood, not as Leo wrongly supposes, of the Balearick islands, but of the eastern mound

mound of the harbour, which, before the time of the Turkish conquests, was severed from the continent. In their public letters and records, they style it, *Al Jezeire Megerbie*, i. e. *The island in the West*, to distinguish it from a city of the same name, near the Dardanelles, in the Archipelago.

The hills and valleys round about Algiers are all over beautified with gardens and country-seats, whither the inhabitants of better fashion retire, during the heats of the summer season. They are little white houses, shaded with a variety of fruit-trees and ever-greens; which, besides the shade and retirement, afford a gay and delightful prospect towards the sea. The gardens are all of them well stocked with melons, fruit, and pot-herbs of all kinds; and, what is chiefly regarded in these hot climates, each of them enjoys a great command of water, from the many rivulets and fountains which every where abound in this situation. The fountain water made use of at Algiers, universally esteemed for its excellency, is likewise brought through a long course of pipes and conduits, from the same sources.

Four miles to the S. E. of Algiers, we cross the river Haratch, the ancient *Savus*, that has a beautiful bridge lately built over it. Upon the banks, we meet with the ruins of a Roman city, which bids fairer than Algiers to be the ancient *Icosium*, placed by the Itinerary, as this is, 47 miles from Tipasa, or Tefessad. Crossing afterwards the Hamaese, another considerable stream, we arrive at Temendfuse, or Metafus, a low cape with a *tabled land*, as the mariners call a flat hillock, that rises up in the middle of it. The Turks have here a small castle for the security of the adjacent roads, once the chief station of their navy, where we have still the traces of an ancient cothon, with several heaps of ruins, of the same extent with those of Tefessad, and which have no less contributed to the fortifications of Algiers. The distance of fifteen Roman miles, betwixt these ruins and those upon the Haratch, is the same we find in the Itinerary, between the *Rusguniæ Colonia* and *Icosium*. *Rusgunia* is the same with the *Rustonium* of Ptolemy, the *Ruthisia* of Mela, and the *Rusconia* of Pliny, and others. In an inscription at Sour, the ancient *Auzia* is called *Col. Ruscunienfis*.

After fording the rivers Regya, Budwowe, Corfoe, Merdafs and Yisser, which run at no great distance from each other, and descend from the adjacent mountains of Atlas, we come to the little port Jinnett, from whence a great quantity of corn is shipped off yearly for Christendom. Jinnett is a small creek, with tolerably good anchoring ground before; and was probably Edrissi's *Mers' el Dajaje*, i. e. *Port of Hens*. I was told that Jinnet, or *Paradise*, was given to this place, on account of a row-boat, which was once very providentially conducted within the creek, when the mariners expected every moment to have perished upon the neighbouring rocks. The sea-shore, which from Algiers to Temendfuse, and from thence to this place, is very little interrupted with rocks and precipices, begins now to be very rugged and mountainous; and among these eminences, three leagues farther to the E. we have the mouth of the *Boo-berak*, the eastern boundary of this province.

CHAP. VI. — *Of the most remarkable inland Places and Inhabitants of the Southern Province; together with the correspondent Part of the Sahara.*

RLEEDA and **Medea**, the only inland cities of this province, are each of them about a mile in circuit; but their walls, which are chiefly of mud, perforated all over by *hornets*, cannot much contribute to their strength and security. Some of their houses are flat-roofed, others tiled, like those of Maliana; with which they also agree, in being well watered, and in having all around them very fruitful gardens and plantations.

tions. A branch of an adjacent rivulet may be conducted through every house and garden at Bleeda; and at Medea, the several conduits and aqueducts that supply it with water, some of which appear to be of Roman workmanship, are capable of being made equally commodious. Both these cities lie over against the mouth of the Mafaffran; viz., Bleeda, at five leagues distance, under the shade of Mount Atlas, and Medea three or four leagues on the other side of it. As Bleeda, therefore, and Medea, lie nearly in the same meridian; as they are situated at a proper distance from the Hamam Mereega, the Aquæ Calidæ Colonia of the ancients; as likewise there is little difference betwixt the modern and what may be presumed to be their ancient names, we may well be induced to take the one for the Bida Colonia, the other for the Lamida of Ptolemy.

That part of Mount Atlas which lies betwixt these cities, and reaches as far as Mount Jurjura, is inhabited by numerous clans of Kabyles, few of which, from their rugged situation, have been made tributary to the Algerines. The Beni Sala and Haleel overlook Bleeda and the rich plains of the Mettijah, whilst the Beni Selim and Haleefa sometimes descend into the pasture ground, near the banks of the Bishbesh, or *river of fennel*, a great quantity of which grows upon the banks of it. Further to the eastward, a branch of the Megrowa live, in a full prospect of the extensive plains of Hamfa, over against Sour Gullan; and beyond them are the Inshlowa and Bonganie, who have below them, to the southward, the fertile plains of the Castoolah, noted for the feeding and breeding up of cattle. Not far from the Castoolah are the Kabyles of Mount Jurjura, of which the Beni Alia are the chiefest on the N. side, as the Beni Yala are on the S.

Jurjura, the highest mountain in Barbary, is as noted and conspicuous a landmark in this province, as Wannashreefe is in the western. It is at least eight leagues long; and, if we except a pool of good water, bordered round with arable ground, that lies near the middle of it, the whole, from one end to another, is a continued range of naked rocks and precipices. In the winter season, the ridge of this mountain is always covered with snow; and it is further remarkable, that whilst the inhabitants of the one side of it carry on an hereditary and implacable animosity with those of the other, yet, by consent, this border of snow puts a full stop to all hostilities during that inclement season, which, like those of the cranes and pigmies, as related by the poet, are renewed with fresh vigour in the spring:

Ηἱμαὶ ὕψος τῆς κατὰ πρὸς τὴν ὄρεα προφερνται. Π. γ. v. 7.

Jurjura, as well from its extraordinary ruggedness, as from the situation of it betwixt Rufucurium, or Delly, and Saldis, or Boujeiah, should be the Mons ferratus*, taken notice of by the geographers of the middle age.

If we return again to the westward, we shall find, at five leagues distance to the S. of Medea, the Titterie Dosh, as the Turks call Hadjar Titterie, or *rock of Titterie*, a remarkable ridge of precipices, four leagues in length, and, if possible, even more rugged than Jurjura. Upon the summit, there is a large piece of level ground, with only one narrow road leading up to it, where, for their greater security, the Welled Eifa have their granaries. Beyond the Welled Eifa are the encampments of the Welled In-anne, the principal Arabs of the district of Titterie, properly so called, which lies in the neighbourhood only of this mountain.

* Vid. Peuting. Tab. Æthic. &c.

It will be difficult perhaps to determine the meaning and import of the appellation Titterie, as this province is called. Probus*, in his observations upon Virgil, makes Tityrus, the name of one of his shepherds, to signify, in the African language, *a he-goat*. The same interpretation, among others, is given to Tityrus by the Greek Scholiast† upon Theocritus. We likewise see, upon some of the Etruscan medals, an animal not unlike a fawn or a kid, with [TITV] Tutare for the Legend‡; that particular piece of money being perhaps denominated, as Pecunia in general was from Pecus, from the animal there exhibited. But the people of this district informed me, that Titterie, or Itterie, was one of their words for *cold* or *bleak*; a circumstance indeed which, in the nights and mornings especially, I often experienced to be very applicable to this region, and so far may well justify the etymology.

Burg Hamza, or *the castle of Hamza*, where there is a Turkish garrison of one Suffrah §, is situated two leagues to the southward of the rich plains of that name, and five to the eastward of the rock of Titterie. It is built out of the ruins of the ancient Auzia, called by the Arabs, Sour, or Sour Gullan, i. e. *the walls of the antilopes*. A great part of this ancient city, fortified at proper distances with little square turrets, is still remaining, and seems to have been little more than six furlongs in circuit.

Tacitus|| has left us a very just description of this place. For Auzia was built upon a small plat of level ground, every where surrounded with such an unpleasant mixture of naked rocks, and barren forests, that, through the whole course of my travels, I scarce ever met with a more gloomy and melancholy situation. Menander, as he is quoted by Josephus¶, mentions an African city of this name, built by Ithobaal, the Tyrian; though Bochart** seems to doubt, whether the Phœnicians were at all acquainted with the inland parts of Africa. Yet provided we could rely upon the tradition recorded by Procopius††, that a number of Canaanites fled from Joshua into the westernmost parts of Africa, some of which, upon such a supposition, might have rested at this place, nothing, I presume, can be objected against the ruggedness of the situation; in as much as such an one, from the very nature of it, would not only be the properest for the first settlement of a colony, but for the future safety and security of it. Due regard might have been had to this circumstance in the founding of Capsa, Feriana, and other cities of Africa, which will be hereafter taken notice of, whose

* Tityri et Melibœi personas de Theocrito sumpsit (Virgilius) sed tamen ratio hæc nominum est: Hircus Libyca lingua Tityrus appellatur, &c. Prob. gramm. de Bucol. carminis ratione. Vid. et Pomponii Sabini annot. in 1 Eclogam Virg. Bucol.

† Τῆς ἀργαῆς, τιτύρης; λέγουσι, ὡν δὲ ὄνομα ἐστὶν ἀντιόλης, κατὰ ἐμφερειαν τῆς Χαράκτιρος. Ἄλλως, ὄνομα κυρίου ὁ Τίτυρος. Τίτις δὲ φασὶν ὅτι Σικελίας τις. ἢ Σικελίας τις. Ἄλλοι δὲ τῆς ΤΡΑΓΟΥΣ, ἱτέροι τῆς σατυρῆς, &c. Schol. in 3 Idyll. Theocr.

‡ Vid. Dempst. Hetrur. reg. tab. lx. fig. 4.

§ *Suffrah*, the common name among the Algerines for a band or company of Turkish soldiers, consisting for the most part of twenty persons, including a cook, steward, and *Oda Basba*, or lieutenant; so called from being such a number, or *mes*, as for the convenience of eating can sit about one [*Suffrah*] table. This was like Contubernium of the Romans, though consisting of no more than ten persons, who lived in one *papilio* (pavilion) or barrack, as these Turks live under the same tent. The *Decanus*, who commanded the former, answers to the *Oda Basba*, who commands the latter.

|| Nec multo post adfertur Numidas apud Castellum semirutum, ab ipsis quondam incensum, cui nomen Auzia, positus mapalibus consedisse sisos quia vastis circum saltibus claudebatur. Tacit. annal. l. iv.

¶ Οὗτος [Ithobalus] πᾶσι Βοτρῶν ἡκιστὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Θουκκα καὶ Αὐζῶν (vel disjunctis vocibus Αὐζῶν τῶν) ἢ Αὐζῶν, Jos. Antiq. Jud. l. viii. c. 7.

** Sed Mediterranea hæc oppida, tot millibus a Phœnice distita non videntur quicquam habere commune cum Auzia Ithobuli. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

†† Procop. De bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 20.

founders must otherwise have made an improper choice, provided they were guided by any other consideration than the natural strength of the situation.

We have at Sour the following inscriptions :

Upon a Stone, adorned with Figures and Garlands.

AVZIO DEO GENIO ET CONSERVATORI COL-
EXTRICATVS - - - - -

Upon the end of a Tomb-stone, a quarter of a mile from the City.

AAÑBVŠ HOC SACRVM CERTA PI
ETATE RESOLVO HOC NOVELLVŠ EGO
MATRI FILIOQVE SEPVL+S VALEN+AA +BI
DIGNO DVLCISSIMA MATER NOMEN
VIGET ECCE TWM IN +TYO CLARVM
BNVM NATVRAE MERI+S DE CARMINE
SIGNO FELIX ECCE SOLVM EC+ HAEC DVO
NOMINA CARA EXTRICATE FILI AD
PLANCTVS AVIAE BLENTE
AELIA VALENTINA VIXIT ANNIS LV
IVLIUS EXTRICATVS VIXIT XII.

Upon a moulded Stone.

Q. GARGILIO Q. F. - - - -
PRAEF COH - - - - BRITANIAE
TRIB CO - - - - MAVRCAE
AMIL PRAE. COH. SING ET VEX
EQQ MAVROR IN TERRITORIO
AVZIENSI PRETENDENTIVM
DEC DVARVM COLL AVZIEN
SIS ET RVSCVNIENSIS ET PAT
PROV OB INSIGNEM IN CI
VES AMOREM ET SINGVLA
REM ERGA PATRIAM ADFEC
TIONEM ET QVOD EIVS VIR
TVTE AC VIGILANTIA FA
RAKEN REBELLIS CVM SA
TELLITIBVS SVIS FVERIT
CAPTVS ET INTERFECTVS
ORDO COL AVZIENSIS
INSIDIIS BAVARVM DE
CEPTO PPFDD VIII KAL
FEBR. PR. CCXXI*.

Upon a moulded Stone, in half foot Letters.

IVLIAE
AVGVŠ
TAE AARI
CAESA
RIS ET
CASRO
RVM

A few miles to the southward of Sour, we enter upon Gætulia ; the first remarkable place whereof, in this direction, is Jibbel Deera, where the river Jin-enne has its sources, which, after it has run about 30 miles through a dry sandy soil, loses itself gradually in the Shott. Most of the Getulian Arabs, who dwell upon the banks of it, are *Zworwiah*,

* Provided Mauritania was made a Roman colony, A. U. C. 722, and before Christ 32, then the defeat of Faraxen here recorded, but no where mentioned in the Roman history, will fall in with the clxxxix. year of our Christian æra ; or with the eleventh of L. Septimius Severus. Mauritania was likewise divided into two provinces, by the Emperor Claudius, A. U. C. 795, A. D. 42.

as they call the children and dependents of their Marabbutts, who, like those of the same denomination in all the Mahometan dominions, enjoy great privileges, and have their possessions free from taxes. The Welled Seedy Eefa, the northermost of these communities, have the Cubba * or sepulchre of their tutelar saint at the distance of five leagues from Sour; and there is hard by it, on the one side, a large rock, upon which Seedy Eefa was daily accustomed to offer up his devotions. On the other, is the Ain Kidran, or *fountain of tar*, supposed to have been miraculously bestowed upon them by this their progenitor, which they constantly use instead of common tar, in salving their camels, and other uses.

Six leagues farther, are the Welled Seedy Hâdjeras, called so from another of these Marabbutts. Here the Jin-enne changes its name into that of the Wed el Ham, i. e. *the river of carnage*, from the number of people that have been at one time or other drowned in the fording of it. A little higher, is Seedy Braham Aslemmy, and his offspring, who spread themselves to Hirmam, a noted *dashkrah* in the way to Boosaadah, at which place the palm brings forth its fruit to perfection.

Jibbel Seilat lies about seven leagues to the westward of Seedy Braham; and twelve leagues farther, in the same direction, are the [Theneate el Gannim] *Sheep-cliffs*, called likewise Ede Tepelaar, or *the Seven Hills*, by the Turks. These are situated over against the Burgh Swaary and the Titteric Dosh, at thirteen leagues distance. A little way beyond the *Seven Hills* are the eminences and salt-pits of Zaggos, after which are the Saary, and the Zeckar, two noted mountains; this twelve, the other five leagues to the southward of Zaggos. These, with many other rugged and mountainous districts in the Sahara, very well illustrate what Strabo may be supposed to mean by the γῆ τῶν Γαιταλων ορεινῇ, *the mountainous country of the Gætulians*.

Six leagues to the E. of the Zeckar, is Fythe† el Bothmah; so called, perhaps, from the broad or open turpentine trees that grow upon the spot. Seven leagues from thence to the N. is Thyte el Bo-tum, i. e. *the thick or shady turpentine tree*, as it is probably named in contradistinction to the others. These are two noted stations of the Beni Mezzah, and other Getulians, in their journeyings to Algiers.

At Herba, a heap of ruins a little to the eastward of Fythe el Bothmah, are the sources of Wed el Shai-er, i. e. *the Barley River*, a considerable stream of this part of Gætulia. The course of it, from Herba to the Dashkrah of Booserjoone, is ten leagues in a N. N. E. direction. At a little distance from Booserjoone, below a ridge of hills, there are other ancient ruins called Gahara. Besides the palm, which grows in this parallel to perfection, Booserjoone is noted also for apricots, figs, and other fruit.

To the N. of Booserjoone, the Wed el Shai-er acquires the name of Mailah, from the saltiness of its water; and passing afterwards to the E. of Ain Delfa, or Dc-faily, i. e. *the Fountain of Olcanders*, it loses itself in the Shott. Over this fountain hangs the mountain Mai-herga, the noted haunt of leopards, serpents, and other noxious animals.

Six leagues to the S. of Fythe el Bothmah, are Gumra and Amoura, two *dashkrahs*, with their springs and fruit-trees. Beyond them, at a greater distance to the S. W. is the Ain Maithie; and then Dimmidde, which, with the *dashkrahs* of the Low-aate,

* *Cubba*, Fornix, concameratum opus et tale sacellum. Gol. in voce, from whence perhaps the cupola of the later architects. The Marabbutts are generally buried under one of these buildings, which have frequently an oratory annexed to them, and sometimes a dwelling-house, endowed with certain rents for the maintenance of a number of *Thul-by* [students] who are to spend their time in reading and devotion. I have often observed, where there is an institution of this kind, that then the place, including the *Kubba* [the oratory], &c. is called the *Zowwah* of such or such a Marabbutt.

† *Viz* a *Futteh* latum efficere. Gol. in voce.

nine leagues farther to the W. are the most considerable villages of this part of Gætulia. They have likewise in all these places large plantations of palms, and other fruit-trees.

The numerous families of Maithie, Noile, and Mel-leeke, with their several subdivisions and dependents, range all over this country, from the Burg Swaary and the river Jin-enne, to the *dafbkrah*s of the Low-aate and Ammer, who spread themselves over a mountainous district, a great way to the west; the same probably with the Mons Phruræsus of the old geography.

The villages of the Beni Mezzab are situated thirty-five leagues to the S. of the Low-aate and Ammer, which, having no rivulets, are supplied altogether with well-water. Gardeiah, the capital, is the farthest to the W. Bery-gan, the next considerable *dafbkrah*, is nine leagues to the E. and Grarah, the nearest of them to Wurglah, has the like distance and situation with respect to Bery-gan. The Beni Mezzab, notwithstanding they pay no tribute to the Algerines, and, being of the sect of the Melaki, are not permitted to enter their mosques; yet they have been from time immemorial the only persons who are employed in their slaughter houses, and who have furnished their shambles with provisions. It may be farther observed of these sons of Mezzab, that they are generally of a more swarthy complexion than the Gætulians to the northward; and as they lie separated from them by a wide inhospitable desert, without the least traces of dwellings, or even the footsteps of any living creatures, they may be in all probability, as it will be elsewhere observed, the most western branch of the Melanogætuli, so much sought after, and so little known in the modern systems of geography.

CHAP. VII. — *Of the Sea Coast of that Part of the Mauritania Casariensis and Numidia, called the Eastern Province, or the Province of Constantina.*

THIS province, which lies betwixt the meridians of the rivers Booberak and Zaine, is nearly equal to the other two in extent, being upwards of 230 miles in length, and more than a hundred in breadth. The tribute likewise collected by this viceroy is proportionably greater. For whilst the Tittérie bey brings every year into the treasury of Algiers little more than twelve thousand dollars*, and the Tlemfan bey from forty to fifty thousand: the viceroy of Constantina pays in never less than eighty and sometimes a hundred thousand.

The sea coast of this province from the Booberak to Boujeiah, and from thence almost entirely to Bona, is rocky and mountainous, answering very appositely to the title of El Adwah, i. e. *the high or lofty*, as Abulfeda has called it. In this rugged situation, I have already taken notice of the mouth of the Booberak, which is made up of a number of branches, like the Shelliff and Masaffran, and is likewise of the same bigness.

At a league's distance from the mouth of this river, is Dellys, or Teddeles, according to Leo and the sea charts. It is a small town, built out of the ruins of an ancient city, partly at the foot, partly upon the declivity of a high mountain, by which token of antiquity, it should be the Rufucuriam of Pliny, the Rufuccoræ of Ptolemy, and the Rufuccuro of Peutinger's tables. In a wall just over the harbour, we have a small niche, with an image placed in it, in the attitude of a Madona; but the features and drapery are defaced.

* A dollar of Algier, Tunis, &c. passeth usually for three shillings and four-pence or sixpence; and of the like value are the *ajlans* or current dollars of the Levant.

Passing afterwards by the port of the Zuffoone, commonly called *Mers' el Fahm*, or *the Port of Charcoal*, and doubling Cape Ash-oune-mon-kar, where stood the ancient Vabar, the next remarkable place is the *Mettfe-coub*, or *perforated Rock*, which answers to the *TPHTON* of Ptolemy in the import of the name, though not in situation. The Spanish priests, who have been for many ages settled at Algiers, as father-confessors to the slaves, have preserved a tradition, that Raymund Bully, in his mission to Africa, was wont to retire frequently to this cave for meditation.

At a small distance from the *Mettfe-coub*, is the port of Boujeiah, called by Strabo the Port of Sarda, or *Salda* rather, which is much larger than either that of Warran or Arzew. It is formed, however, in the same manner, by a neck of land that runs out into the sea. A great part whereof was formerly faced with hewn stone, over which likewise an aqueduct was conducted, for the greater conveniency of supplying the port with water. But at present, the wall, the aqueduct, and the basons where the water discharged itself, are all of them destroyed; and the tomb of Seedy Busgree, one of the tutelar saints of Boujeiah, is the only thing for which it is now remarkable.

Boojeiah, or Bugia, as the modern geographers write it, is built upon the ruins of a large city, in the same manner, and in a like mountainous situation with Dellys, though of thrice the circuit. Besides the castle, upon the summit of the hill, which commands the whole city, there are two others at the bottom of it, for the security of the port, where several breaches still remain in the walls, made by the cannon-balls that were fired against them by Sir Edward Spragg, (A. D. 1671,) in his memorable expedition against this place*.

Boujeiah is one of the garrisoned towns of this kingdom, where three Suffrahs constantly reside; yet they are of so little consequence, that the Goryah, the Toujah, and other neighbouring Kabyles, lay it under a perpetual blockade. Every market day, especially, strange disorders are occasioned by these factious clans. All the morning, indeed, while the market continues, every thing is transacted with the utmost peace and tranquillity; but immediately afterwards, the whole place is in an uproar and confusion, and the day rarely ends without some flagrant instance of rapine and barbarity.

The Boujeians carry on a considerable trade in plowshares, mattocks, and such like utensils as they forge out of the iron, dug out of the adjacent mountains. Great quantities likewise of oil and wax, brought down every market day by the Kabyles, are shipped off for the Levant, and sometimes for Europe.

Roujeiah, lying at the distance of 91 Roman miles, according to the Itinerary, or $1^{\circ} 45'$ according to Ptolemy, from Dellys or Rufucurium, may be well taken for the ancient *Saldæ*; though the latter is vastly mistaken in placing it in lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$; i. e. $4^{\circ} 15'$ too far to the southward. Abulfeda also, though nearer to the truth, yet, in giving to it 34° of N. lat. throws it $2^{\circ} 48'$ too far to the S. Boujeiah being the only city of this part of Barbary that is taken notice of by Abulfeda, will give us room to suspect that Algiers was either not built, or of little consideration in his time.

A large river runs a little to the eastward of Boujeiah, which may be the *Nafava* of Ptolemy. It is of a very great extent; and, if we except the plains of Hamza and Seteef, the whole country, which is watered by several branches of it, is very rocky and mountainous; thereby occasioning such a number and variety of torrents, particularly in the winter season, that infinite losses and calamities are daily sustained by the inhabitants. The Beni Boo-Mafoude, who live near the mouth of it, have frequent

* Vid. Atlas Geogr. vol. iv. p. 191.

occasion to make this complaint; where we may very justly apply the beautiful description that Horace has left us of the Tiber.

— Cætera fluminis
Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
In mare, nunc lapides adesos,
Stirpesque raptas, et pecus, et domos
Volventis una, non sine montium
Clamore, vicinæque sylvæ:
Quum fera diluvies quietos
Irritat amnes, &c. *Lib. iii. Carm. Od. 29.*

The Mansourea, or Sifaris, another large river at a small distance from the Nafava, separates the districts of the Beni Isah and the Beni Maad. The nickname of Sheddy, i. e. *Monkey*, that was given two centuries ago by the Beni Maad to the sheik or *chief* of the Beni Isah, occasioned that bloody and irreconcilable animosity which has ever since subsisted betwixt them. The greatest part of the oaken plank and timber that is made use of in the docks of Algiers is shipped off from the Man-sou-reah.

Jijel, the Igilgili of the ancients, lies a little beyond the cape that forms the eastern boundary of the gulf of Boujeiah. There is nothing left us of this ancient city, except a few miserable houses and a small fort, where the Turks have a garrison of one Suffrah. It will not, I presume, be disputed that Boujeiah and Jijel are the Saldæ and Igilgili of the ancients; though it may be difficult to reconcile the thirteen leagues, which, in travelling along the sea coast, we find betwixt them, with the 2° of Ptolemy, or with the ninety-three Roman miles of the Itinerary. Ptolemy likewise places Igilgili half a degree to the southward of Saldæ, in a situation quite contrary to that of Jijel, which lies 12' more to the northward. This circumstance, together with the distance of 733 miles which Agathemer places betwixt ΓΙΔΥΕΛΙΣ *, as he calls it, and Maffilia, now Marseilles, in the gulph of Narbonne, instead of 400 at the most, as it should be, are other instances, among many already given, of the inaccuracy of the ancient geography.

The Wed el Kibeer, i. e. *the Great River*, the Ampsaga † of the ancients, falls into the sea ten leagues to the E. of Jijel. Beyond it are the Sebba Rous, or *Seven Capes*, where the Sinus Numidicus may be supposed to begin; where likewise the river Zhoora has its influx.

The Welled Attyah, and the Beni Frigānah, the two principal clans of the Sebba Rous, drink of this river, and dwell not, like other Kabyles, in little mud-walled hovels, but in caves, which they themselves have either scouped out of the rocks, or found ready made to their hands. When any vessel, either in the course of sailing, or by distress of weather, approaches their coast, these inhospitable Kabyles immediately start out of their holes, and running down to the cliffs of the shore, which they cover with their multitudes, they throw out a thousand execrable wishes, that God would deliver it into their hands. And probably the name of Boujarone or Catamite, was first given by the Italian geographers to these capes, in consideration of the brutal and inhuman qualities of the inhabitants.

The Tritum of Strabo, and the Matgonium of Mela answer to these promontories. And, indeed, the Metagonium of Strabo, in being placed at the distance of three thousand furlongs from Carthago Nova, or Carthagena, according to its present name,

* Agatham. Geogr. l. ii. c. 14.

† Ampsaga, Arabice مَدَفَا aphsach, latum et amplum sonat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

will much better agree with this place, than with the Ras el Harshfa, as it has already been taken notice of.

Cull, the Collops Magnus, or Cullu of the ancients, another maritime garrison of the Algerines, is situated under the easternmost of these capes, 18 miles from the *Great River*. It is in the same miserable condition with Jijel, and with as few antiquities to boast of. The small haven that lies before it, is in the same fashion, though more capacious than that at Dellys, from which the adjacent city might receive its name*. Here the river Ze-amah has its influx.

Sgigata, the ancient Rusicada, called likewise Stora in the sea charts, is of a greater extent than Cull, and discovers more tokens of antiquity; though a few cisterns, converted at present into magazines for corn, are the only remains of it. The author of the Itinerary, in laying down 60 miles betwixt Culli and this place, more than doubles the real distance betwixt them. The adjacent rivulet may be well taken for the Tapfas† of Sequester.

Five leagues to the N. E. of Sgigata is the little port of Gavetto; and then, after doubling Ras Hadeed, i. e. *The Cape of Iron*, four leagues further, which is the eastern boundary of the Sinus Numidicus, we arrive at the island Tuckush, with a village of the same name situated over against it, upon the continent. This was probably the Tucatua of the Itinerary, and the Tucaccia of Thuanus, l. vii. in principio. Leaving this island and village, we double Cape Hamrah, or *the Red Promontory*, the Hippo Promontorium of the ancients; and passing by the little port, Barber, called by the Europeans Port Genoesa, we arrive at Bona; known to the Moors by the name of Blaid el Aneb, or *the town of Jujeb*, from the plenty of fruit which is gathered in the neighbourhood. Bona is, without doubt, a corruption of Hippo or Hippona; though we are not to look for that ancient city here, where the name is preserved, but among a heap of ruins a mile farther to the south. Leo informs us, that Blaid el Aneb was built out of these ruins of Hippona; and it is certain, if we except one or two of the streets that are made with causeways, after the Roman manner, the rest might have been the later work of the Mahometans. Bona therefore may be rather the Aphrodisium of Ptolemy, which he places 15' to the N. of Hippo; as the Colonia, joined with it in the tables, will, according to Cellarius, l. iv. c. 5. be an appellation more suitable to the latter.

Bona, besides its capacious harbour to the E., had formerly a convenient little port under the very walls of it to the southward; but by the constant discharge of ballast into the one, and neglecting to cleanse the other, both of them are every day rendered less safe and commodious. However, a great quantity of corn, wool, hides, and wax, are every year permitted to be shipped off from this place, which, by proper care and encouragement, might become the most flourishing city in Barbary; as, by removing the rubbish, repairing the old ruins, and introducing a supply of fresh water, which is much wanting, it would be one of the most convenient and delightful.

Betwixt Blaid el Aneb and the ancient Hippo, we have a low, marshy plain, which appears to be an acquisition from the sea, and might have therefore been formerly the haven of Hippo. The river Boo-jeemah, which has a bridge of Roman workmanship built over it, runs along the western side of this marsh, as the Seibouse, a much larger river, does to the eastward: both of them having their influx together into the sea. They both of them likewise are very subject to inundations, and bringing along with

* Viz. a Culla, Portus, tuta navium Statio, unde Italorum Scala. Vid. Gol. in voce.

† Tapfas Africae fl. juxta Rusicadem. Vib. Sequest. de flumin.

them, at these times, a great many roots and trunks of trees, and leaving them afterwards upon the neighbouring shore, might have first occasioned, as I have mentioned, this addition of land to the continent. The low situation of the adjacent country, and the inundations consequent thereupon, sufficiently justify the etymology which Bochart * has left us of Hippo.

The ruins of this ancient city are spread over the neck of land that lies betwixt these rivers, which, near the banks, is plain and level, but rises afterwards to a moderate elevation. They are about half a league in circuit, consisting as usual of large broken walls and cisterns; some of which were shewn by the Moors, who have an interest in keeping up such a profitable tradition, for the convent of St. Austin. This city was called Hippo Regius, not only in contradistinction to the Hippo Zarytus, but from being one of the royal cities of the Numidian kings. For Silius Italicus† acquaints us, that it was formerly one of their favourite seats; and, indeed, if a city, strong and warlike ‡, commodiously situated, as well for trade and commerce, as for hunting and diversion; that enjoyed a healthful air, and took in, at one view, the sea, a spacious harbour, a diversity of mountains loaded with trees, and plains cut through with rivers, could engage the affections of the Numidian kings, Hippo had all this to recommend it.

The Sei-boufe and Ma-fragg, the principal rivers betwixt Hippo and Tabraca, answer to the Armua and Rubricatus of the ancients. Thuanus, l. vii. p. 612. seems to have been very little acquainted with the course of the latter, in conducting it, below the promontorium Apollinis, into the Gulf of Carthage.

Doubling Cape Rosa, five leagues from the Mafragg to the N. E. we turn into the Bastion, where there is a small creek, and the ruins of a fort, that gave occasion to the name. The factory of the French African company had formerly their settlement at this place; but the unwholesomeness of the situation, occasioned by the neighbouring ponds and marshes, obliged them to remove to La Calle, another inlet, three leagues farther to the east, where those gentlemen have a magnificent house and garden, three hundred coral fishers, a company of soldiers, several pieces of ordnance, and a place of arms. Besides the advantage of the coral fishery, and of the whole trade of the circumjacent country, they have also at Bona, Tuckush, Szigata, and Cull, the monopoly of corn, wool, hides, and wax; for which they pay yearly to the government of Algiers, to the Kaide of Bona, and to the chiefs of the neighbouring Arabs, thirty thousand dollars, i. e. about five thousand guineas of our money; a trifling sum for such great privileges. The Bastion, and La Calle, are, I presume, too near each other to be taken for the Diana and Nalpotes of the Itinerary, which, however, we are to look for in this situation.

Among the principal inhabitants of the maritime parts of Numidia, we have, along the banks of the Zeamah, the Beni-Meleet; and after them the Reramnah, Taabnah, and Beni Minuzh, who, with the Hajaitah and Senhadgah, the Bedowens of Porto Gavetto and Ras Hadeed are the chief communities of the Sinus Numidicus, or gulf of Stora. But the mountains from Tuckush to Bona, and the plains from thence to the Mafragg, are cultivated by the citizens of Bona. The Merdafs, who have continued

* Nec ab equis aut equilibus Hipponeth Græco nomine Phœnices appellarent. — Hippo nempe a Phœnicibus ubo vel ubbo dici potuit, quia in sinu latet. Sinus enim Syris est עֹבָא ubo, vel עֲבָא ubbo, etiam ut multi scribunt. Et Arabice عُيْ ubbon tam STAGNUM quam Sinum sonat. Giggeius أَلْعَب (alubbo) Sinus, Stagnum. Chan. l. i. cap. 24.

† Antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo. l. iii. v. 259.

‡ Ες πολλὴν Νυμιδίας ἰσχυρὰ καὶ θαλάσσιον κινεῖται, ἀφικόμενος, ὃν δὲ Ἰταπὸν ἵσχυον καλεῖται. Proc. Bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 4.

to live in this situation from the time of J. Leo *, are the Bedoweens of the champaign country betwixt the Mafragg and the Bastion. Beyond them are the Mazoulah, who have an unwholesome district, full of ponds and marshes, quite up to the Nadies. These, a mischievous plundering tribe, like the rest who live upon the frontiers, spread themselves from the Wed el Erg, to the mountains of Ta-barka; where the river Zaine, the ancient Tufca, the eastern boundary of this province, has its sources.

Zaine, in the language of the neighbouring Kabyles, signifies *an oak tree*; a word of the same import nearly with Thabraca, or Tabraca, as the ancient city, built upon the western banks of it was called. Leo, indeed, and others upon his authority, call it Guadilbarbar, i. e. *the river Barbar*, and deduce it from the city Urbs, which lies a great way to the southward. But this river is known by no such name at present; neither are its fountains at any greater distance than the adjacent mountains. Tabarca, as it is now called, has a small fort to defend it, but can boast of few other remaining antiquities, besides a Cippus, with the following inscription:

D. M. S.
NEVIA GEMIS.
TA PIA CASTA
VIX. ANN. XXII.
MENS. VI. ID. XI.
H. S. E.

The Lomellines, a noble Genoese family, have been in possession of the little island that lies before Tabarca, at the mouth of the Zaine, ever since the time of the famous Andrea Doria, to whom the Tuniseans gave it, with the solemn consent of the Grand Segnor, in ransom for one of their princes, whom Andrea had taken captive. This place is defended by a small castle, well armed, and in good order, and protected the coral fishery, which was carried on in these seas. But A. D. 1740, that monster of princes, Ally Bashaw, the reigning King of Tunis, took it by treachery from the Genoese; and, contrary to all justice, and the right of nations, put some of them to the sword, and the rest, to the number of three or four hundred, he carried into captivity.

CHAP. VIII. — *Of the most remarkable inland Places and Inhabitants of the Eastern Province, or Province of Constantina, together with the correspondent Part of the Sahara.*

THE whole tract of this province, which lies between the meridians of the rivers Boo-berak and Zhoore, from the sea coast to the parallels of Setceef and Constantina, is, for the most part, a continued chain of exceedingly high mountains; few of whose inhabitants, from the ruggedness of their situation, pay any tribute to the Algerines. Near the parallels of Setceef and Constantina, it is diversified with a beautiful interchange of hills and plains, which afterwards grows less fit for tillage, till it ends, upon the Sahara, in a long range of mountains, the Buzara, as I take it to be, of the ancients. The district of Zaab lies immediately under these mountains; and beyond Zaab, at a great distance in the Sahara, is Wadreag, another collection of villages. This part of the eastern province, including the parallel of Zaab, answers to the Mauritania Sitifensis, or the *First Mauritania* †, as it was called in the middle age.

* Huic oppido (Bonæ) spatiosissima quædam est planities, cujus longitudo quadraginta, latitudo autem viginti quinque continet milliaria: hæc frugibus serendis est felicissima, ab Arabibus quibusdam colitur, quos Merdez appellant. J. Leo, p. 211.

† Procop. Bell. Vand. c. 30. l. ii. p. 287.

The mountainous country betwixt the meridians of the rivers Zhoore and Seibouse is of no great extent, rarely spreading itself above six leagues within the continent; the inhabitants whereof, near Tuckush and Bona, are tributaries to the Algerines, but in the Gulf of Stora, near Port Gavetto, Sgigata, and Tull, they bid them defiance. From the Sei-bouse to the Zaine, except in the neighbourhood of Ta-barka, where it begins again to be very mountainous, the country is mostly upon a level, though sometimes interrupted by hills and forests. The like interruptions we meet with below Tuckush, along the encampments of the Hareishah, Grarah, and other Bedowecns, as far as Constantina, where we sometimes see a small species of red deer, which are rarely, if ever, met with in other parts of this kingdom. Beyond this parallel, we have a range of high mountains, the Thambes of Ptolemy, extending themselves as far as Ta-barka; behind which there is pasture and arable ground, ending at length upon the Sahara, as the Mauritania Sitifensis did before, in a ridge of mountains, the Mamp-farus probably of the ancients. Part of the Africa Propria of Mela and Ptolemy, the Numidia Massylorum, the Metagonitis Terra *, &c. was comprehended in this part of the province.

But, to be more particular. A few leagues to the S. E. of Mount Jurjura, among the mountains of the Beni Abbess, we pass through a narrow winding valley, continued for above half a mile, under two opposite ranges of exceedingly high precipices. At every winding, the rocky stratum that originally went across it, and thereby separated one part of this valley from another, is hewn down like so many door-ways, each of them six or seven feet wide, which have given the Arabs an occasion to call them the Beeban, or *gates*, whilst the Turks, in consideration of their strength and ruggedness, know them by the additional appellation of Dammer Cappy, i. e. *the gates of iron*. Few persons pass through them without horror; a handful of men (and the masters of them are a race of sturdy fellows) being able to dispute the passage with a whole army. A rivulet of salt water, which attends us all along this valley, might first point out the way that art and necessity would afterwards improve.

Two leagues to the S. S. E. of the Beeban, is the Accaba, or *ascent*; another dangerous pass, the very reverse of the Beeban. For here, as in the noted Mount Cenis in Italy, the road lies upon the narrow ridge of a high mountain, with deep vallies and precipices on each side, where the least deviation from the beaten path exposes the traveller to the almost inevitable danger of his life. Yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, the common road from Algiers to Constantina lies over this ridge, and through the Beeban; being preferred to another a little on the right hand, by being wider, and to Wan-nougah in being more direct.

Mount Atlas, which quite through the province of Titterie, as far as Mount Jurjura, ran nearly in a parallelism with the sea coast, begins from thence to incline to the S. E. In the same direction likewise are the high mountains of Wannougah and I-aite; which are succeeded afterwards, though more in a parallelism with the sea coast, by those of the Welled Selim, Mustewah, Aurefs, and Tipasa, quite into the kingdom of Tunis.

Three or four leagues to the southward of Mount I-aite, is Messelah, the frontier town of this province to the westward. It is built upon the southern skirts of the plains of El Huthnah, nine leagues to the S. S. W. of Seedy Embarak El-mati, and sixteen to the S. W. of Seteef; so that Abulfeda † must be greatly mistaken in placing it only

* Plin. l. v. c. 3.

† Al Kaiem Billah Fathemita condidit Meseela An. Heg. 315 appellavitque eam Al Mohammediah. Inter Collinam et Meseclam octodecim miliaria, et mons continuus. Abulf. ut supra.

eighteen miles from Constantina. It is a dirty place, like other villages of this country, having its houses built, either with reeds daubed over with mud, or else with tiles baked in the sun. Here the Algerines had formerly a garrison of three suffrahs, which is changed at present into a small body of spahees, who have little duty upon their hands; and upon any insurrection or disturbance, as there is no castle to protect them, have only their arms to trust to. The air is too cold at this, as well as at other places upon the skirts of the Sahara, for the production of dates; and therefore the gardens that surround it, are only furnished with peach, apricot, and such fruit trees as are common to the more northern parts of Barbary. Mes-seelah * denotes a situation like this, which borders upon a running water.

At the same distance on the other, *i. e.* the N. side of Jibbel I-aite, we enter upon the plains of Ma-janah, shaded to the northward by the Dra el Hammar, and to the W. by the mountains of Wannougah. These plains are both extensive and fertile, but the many pools of stagnating water, as the name imports, that are left here in the rainy season, and corrupt afterwards in the spring, occasion a variety of agues and such like distempers as are common to other places in the like situation. We have several heaps of ruins dispersed all over these plains; out of which, the Turks have lately built a fort, called Burg Majanah, where they have a garrison to watch the motions of the Beni Abbess, and other neighbouring Kabyles and Arabs.

We have nothing further remarkable, till passing by the village Zammora, *i. e.* of olive trees, and the sanctuary of the Seedy Embarak Es-mati, we come to Seteef, the ancient Sitipha or Sitifi, the metropolis of this part of Mauritania; which is recorded in history to have made a stout resistance upon the incursions of the Saracens. This city, which I conjecture might have been a league in circuit, was built upon a rising ground, that faces the S.; but the Arabs have been so very severe to it, that there is scarce one fragment left us either of the ancient walls, pillars, or cisterns of the Romans; the few remaining structures being obviously the work of the later inhabitants. The fountains, which continue to flow very plentifully near the centre of the city, are equally delightful and convenient; and, without doubt, gave occasion formerly for many ingenious and useful contrivances in the distribution of the water. I found here the two following inscriptions; the latter whereof is inscribed in beautiful characters, six inches or more in length.

D. M. S.
C. IVLIVS
CALLIS
TIANVS
VIX. LXXI.
H. S. E.
NINO. AVG. P.
GERM. TRIB. PO.
VS DIVI TRA
ER. AVG. MA.

The plains and rich pasture grounds of Cassir Attyre lie a little to the southward of Sateef. They are cultivated by the Raigah, a clan of Arabs famous for the breeding of cattle, particularly of horses, which are reckoned the best in this kingdom. Here, and in several other districts already described, πολυβοτειρος, ιπποβοτος, εριβωλαξ, and other the like fine epithets of Homer, might be well applied. The Σιταριον πεδιον

* *Mysch* (viz. *Saubæ fluxit aqua*) locus torrentis seu fluentis aquæ. Vid. *Gol. Gig. &c.* in voce.

likewise of Ptolemy, provided Σιτταίον has any relation to Sispha, might justly claim this situation.

Near the Raigah are the Ammer, who are a powerful, though infamous tribe; prostituting contrary to the practice of their brethren, their wives and daughters. Both these tribes drink of the Bopfellam, the river of Seteef.

Eight leagues to the S.E. of Seteef, are the ruins of Taggah and Zainah, situated at half a league's distance from each other, in a fruitful and champaign country, below Jibbel Mustewah; the chief abode of the Welled Abdenore, a very numerous and powerful clan. Taggah and Zainah are rarely mentioned apart, but from their contiguity are called jointly Tagou-Zainah. A little brook runs betwixt them; and at Zainah, the only appellation I have met with in this country that bears any affinity with the ancient Zama, once a royal city of the Numidian Kings, we have, among other ruins, the remains of a triumphal arch, supported by two large Corinthian pillars. Upon the frize is the following inscription, which fixes the Diana of the Itinerary at this place.

IMP. CAES. M. SEVERO. PIO. FELICI. AVG.
PONT. MAX. TRI. POT. PROVIDENTISSIMO.
ET SANCTISSIMO. PRINCIPI. ET. ANTONINO.
NOBILLISSIMO. CAESARI. PRINCIPI. IVVEN.
TVTIS. DIANENSIVM. EX. DECRETO. D.D. P.P.

Diana likewise, as we learn from the Itinerary, was called Diana Veteranorum, from some veteran troops that might have been there stationed. In Peutinger's table also, we see at Diana a large temple dedicated no doubt to the goddess of that name, the protectress of the highways, which temple, as Africa was always fond of Pagan superstitions, might continue even a long time after this country was governed by Christian princes.

Five leagues to the E. of Tagou-zainah, upon the northern skirts of Jibbel Aurefs, we have a very remarkable sepulchral monument, called Medrashem, or Mail' Cashem, i.e. *the treasure of Cashem*. It is nearly of the same fashion with the Kubber Romeah, but differs in being larger, and in having the cornish of the base supported with Tuscan-like pilasters. The Arabs imagine that an immense treasure lies buried underneath it; and have therefore made the like attempts as at the Kubber Romeah to lay it open.

The district, in the neighbourhood of this Mausoleum, is called Ai-yac-coute; probably from the *Ai-yac-coute**, or *diamond* (i. e. transparent) *fountain*, that flows near the middle of it. Several fragments of Roman highways, and other ruins, are scattered all over it; amongst which the chiefest are those of Om-oley-Sinaab, a league or more to the westward of Medrashem, in the way to Tagou-zainah.

Tattubt, bordering upon the Ai-yac-coute to the N. E. is about four leagues from Om-oley Sinaab, and eight to the S. S. W. of Constantina. This has been formerly a considerable city, but at present, it is almost entirely covered with earth and rubbish. Hassan, the bey of this province, dug up lately out of these ruins, several beautiful

* This is the usual name for the diamond in the several places both of the Levant and Barbary, where I have been. The זכוכית *Zakoukit* in the book of Job, xxviii. 17. seems to be the same; and, being there joined with things of the greatest price, may perhaps be much better rendered the *diamond* than *crystal*, as it is in our translation. However Golius and other interpret it differently; viz. Voce hac Orienti diversæ appellantur gemmæ: siquidem hyacinthi suæ species quatuor numerat; rubram, flavam, caeruleam, et albam. Atque ita quoque sapphirus et chrysolithus. Absolute tamen intelligitur hyacinthus rubra; qui lapis vulgo rubinus dicitur.

granite pillars, of twelve feet long, which may justly be reputed the most graceful ornaments of the new mosque that he has lately erected at Constantina. Tartubt seems to be the same with the Tadutti of the Itinerary; and, lying betwixt Lambese and Gemellæ, as the ancients called Tezzoute and Jim-meelah, will accordingly lay claim to this situation.

Ten leagues to the S. of Taggon-zainah, and twelve from Medrassem, are the ruins of the ancient Thubuna, as the present name Tubnah seems to insinuate, and as Ptolemy's position of it, in the same meridian nearly with Igilgili, may farther confirm. It is situated in a fine plain betwixt the rivers Bareekân, and Boo-ma-zoofe; but the few remains of it are so much buried in sand and rubbish, that it will be difficult to determine its former extent. The opinion of the Arabs, that a large treasure lies buried in these ruins, gave occasion to the following rhapsody.

Mel Tubna taat thul athloulah
Afer? Weis! la takoun toumah.

*The treasure of Tubnah lies under the shade of what is shaded.
Dig for it? Alas! it is not there.*

Seven leagues to the S. S. W. of Tubnah, and sixteen to the S. E. of Me-feelah, is Em-dou-khal, a little village surrounded with mountains. Here we meet with the first plantation of date trees, though the fruit does not ripen to that delicacy and sweetness as in the province of Zaab, that commences a little beyond it.

The Shott is a large valley or plain, that runs, with few interruptions, betwixt two chains of mountains, from the neighbourhood of Em-dou-khal, to the westward of the meridian of Mef-feelah. The word commonly signifies *the sea shore* or *the banks* of some lake or river; but the meaning here is somewhat varied, and denotes *the borders* or *area* rather of such a plain, as according to the seasons of the year, is either covered with salt, or overflowed with water. Several parts of the Shott consist of a light oozy soil, which, after sudden rains, or the overflowing of the adjacent rivers are changed into so many quicksands, and occasion no small danger to the unwearied traveller. La Croix (tom. v. p. 282.) was badly informed in affirming that all the rivers of this kingdom run from south to north; since, besides several others in a quite contrary direction, we have no fewer than five, and those very considerable streams, which empty themselves from the northward into the Shott.

Crossing the Boo-ma-zoofe, over against Tubnah, we have a large mountain of excellent free-stone, with a number of square blocks, ready prepared for the builder. It is called Muckat el Hadjar, i. e. *the quarry*; and the Arabs have a tradition that the stones employed in building Seteef (and without doubt, Nic-kowfe, Jigbah, and other neighbouring cities) were brought from this place.

Four leagues to the northward of this quarry, is Boo-muggar, a fruitful little district, with some traces of ancient buildings. Betwixt it and Ras el Ai-une, is the village of Nic-kowfe or Bencowfe, as the Turks call it; where there is a garrison of one suffrah, a mud walled rampart, and three pieces of cannon. The inhabitants are chiefly Zwowiah, under the protection of Seedy Laffan, their tutelar saint; the revenues of whose sanctuary maintain two hundred thalebs. Nic-kowfe is situated in a valley, with a circle of mountains at a moderate distance from it. A rivulet glides by it to the W.; but, being impregnated with too many nitrous particles, which the soil is here sufficiently charged with, the water is seldom made use of in the offices of the table or kitchen. We have the traces here of a large city, with the remains as usual of pillars, broken walls, and cisterns; but at present, the Nic-kowfians make themselves famous for the tombs, which they pretend to shew, of *the*

Seven Sleepers *, whom they strenuously maintain to have been Mussulmen, and to have slept at this place.

The powerful clans of the Lakhder, Cossoure, and Hirkawse, are masters of the mountainous district to the eastward of Tubnah and Nic-kowse, as far as Jibbel Aurefs, or Eurefs, as the Turks pronounce it. This, the Mons Aurasius of the middle age, and the Mons Audus of Ptolemy, is not one single mountain, as the name would insinuate, and as Procopius † seems to describe it, but it is a large knot of eminences running one into another, with several beautiful little plains and vallies intervening. However, both the higher and the lower parts of it, are most of them of the utmost fertility, and still continue to be the garde. of this province. The whole mountainous tract may be a hundred and twenty miles in circuit, or three long days' journey according to Procopius : and the northern part alone, which is visited every year by a flying camp of the Algerines, is possessed by such a number of clans, viz. the Boozeenah, Lashash, Maifah, and Boouref, that it requires forty of their stations to bring them all under contribution. However, the Turkish soldiers have rarely the courage to penetrate so far to the S. E. as the Ain Ou-heide, which is a noted intermitting fountain, flowing only, as I was informed, on Fridays ; at which time, it discharges itself in a very plentiful flux of water, into the river of Bag-gai. The like rugged situation to the southward, equally discourages them from subduing the Near dee, a sturdy community, and so well fortified by nature, that one of their Marabbutts expressed the danger of attacking them, by *cating fire* ‡. A high pointed impenetrable rock, the seat of their Dashkrah, seems to be the Petra Geminiani §, or the Tumar of Procopius, answering to all the circumstances of those places as they are recorded by that historian. Within our memory, Umhaany, a brave warlike princess, like one of the heroines of old, commanded several of these sturdy clans, whom she has often led out to battle, and animated them therein by her own courage and example.

There are a number of ruins spread all over these mountains, and their fruitful vallies ; the most remarkable of which are those of L'erba or Tezzoute, three leagues nearly in circumference, where indeed we have a great variety of antiquities ; for besides the magnificent remains of several of the city gates, which, according to the tradition of the Arabs, were forty in all, and that when the place was in prosperity, it could send out of each of them forty thousand armed men, we have the seats and upper part of an amphitheatre ; the frontispiece of a beautiful Ionic temple, dedicated to Esculapius ; a large oblong chamber, with a great gate on each side of it, intended perhaps for a triumphal arch ; and the Cubb' el Ar-rosah, i. e. *the cupola of the bride*, as the Arabs call a little beautiful mausoleum, built in the fashion of a dome, supported with Corinthian pillars.

These, and several other edifices of the like elegant structure, sufficiently demonstrate the importance and magnificence of this city ; which alone, without the authority of inscriptions, might be a presumptive argument for what has been already suggested, that Tezzoute or L'erba was the Lambese or Lambasa of the ancients. The particular notice that is taken of Lambese in the Itinerary, should induce us to suppose it to have been the most considerable city of that part of the country, where

* The common opinion is, that they slept in a cavern of Mount Ochlon, near the city of Ephesus, from A. D. 253 to A. D. 408, viz. from the Decian persecution, to the time of the younger Theodosius. Vid. Gregoire de Tours de gloria martyrum, cap. 95. Diction. de Moreri, in voce Dormans.

† Procop. Bell. Vand. l. ii. cap. 13. p. 266.

‡ La shuff Neardy ! Tackul el Nahar. *Don't see (fight with) the Neardy : in so doing, you will (catch a Tartar) eat fire.*

§ Procop. Bell. Vand. l. ii. cap. 13. p. 286. et cap. 19. it

it was situated; and the respective distances and directions laid down by the same author in conducting us thither, point out to us the situation of it in general, viz. that it made, with Theveste and Sitifi, an irregular triangle, whose height was to be determined by the distance of Cirta. Ptolemy indeed, by placing Sitifi to the southward of Cirta and Lambesa, or in the situation of the present Theveste, gives to each of these places a position very different from what they are placed in; however, by informing us, that the *Legio tertia Augusta* was stationed at Lambesa, he furnishes us with a matter of fact, and so far instructs us, that where we find the third legion, as we do here at Tezzoute, there we may fix his Lambesa. The word LAMBASENTIVM, in the first of the following inscriptions, may further confirm it.

In an old Mosque.

IMP. CAESARE
M. AVRELIO ANTONINO
ARMENIACO
PARTHICO
TRIB. POTES- . . . PONT. MAX.
LAMBASENTIVM ----
D.D. P.P.

Upon the frize of a Temple dedicated to Æsculapius.

AESCVLAPIO ET SALVTI IMP. CAES. MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS
AVG. PON MAX.
IMP. CAES. LVCIVS AELIVS VERVS. AVG.

Upon a square Stone hard by it.

DEONTEIO FONTINIANO
STERNIO RVTINO
LEGATO AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR COS. DESIGNATO
SEX TERENTIVS SATVR
NINUS LEG. . . .
AVGVST.

Near a triumphal Arch.

IMP. CAES.
AELIO HADRIANO
ANTONINO AVG.
PONT. II. MAXIMO
TRIB. POTES. X. .
IMP. II. COS. III. P. P.
DEDICANTE
INDVIO CR. . .
LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

PRO CO. . . .
. . . . ISSIMO
BENIGNISSIMO
CAES.
IANVARIVS
LEG. III. AVG.

Near the Amphitheatre.

MAXIMIANO
INVICTO AVG.
LEG. III. AVG.
P. F.

The Kabyles of these mountains of Aurefs have a quite different mien and aspect from their neighbours. For their complexions are so far from being swarthy, that they are fair and ruddy; and their hair, which, among the other Kabyles is of a dark colour, is with them of a deep yellow. These circumstances, notwithstanding they are Mahometans, and speak the common language of the Kabyles, may induce us to take them, if not for the tribe mentioned by Procopius *, yet at least for some remnant or other of the Vandals †, who, notwithstanding they were dispossessed in his time of these strong holds, and dispersed among the African families, might have had several opportunities afterwards of collecting themselves into bodies, and re-instating themselves.

Between Jibbel Aurefs and Constantina is the high mountain of Ziganeah, at the foot of which is Phylgēah, formerly a city of the Romans, where there is a plentiful fountain and reservoir according to the import of the name, the water whereof was formerly conducted by an aqueduct to Constantina.

Constantina ‡, or Cirta §, or Cirta Sittianorum ||, as it was anciently called, is well situated by Pliny 48 miles from the sea. We learn from history ¶, that it was one of the chiefest, as well as one of the strongest cities of Numidia; the first of which circumstances is confirmed by the extent of the ruins, the latter by its particular situation **. For the greatest part of it has been built upon a peninsular promontory, as I may call it, inaccessible on all sides, except towards the S.W. where it was joined to the continent. This promontory I computed to be a good mile in circuit, lying a little inclined to the southward; but to the northward, it ended in a precipice of at least a hundred fathom in perpendicular; from whence we have a beautiful landscape over a great variety of vales, mountains, and rivers, which lie to a great distance, before it. The view, which Cuper (in his notes upon Lactantius de Mort. Persecut.) has given us of Cirta, is on the north side of it, though very incorrect, and not at all like it. To the eastward, our prospect is bounded by an adjacent range of rocks, much higher than the city; but, towards the S. E. the country is more open, entertaining us with a distant view of the mountains of Seedy Rougeise and Ziganeah. And in these directions this peninsular promontory is separated from the continent by a deep narrow valley, perpendicular on both sides, where the Rummel or Ampsaga conveys its stream. The neck of land to the S.W. where we find the principal gate

* Procop. Bell. Vand. l. ii. c. 13.

† Id. l. i. c. 22.

‡ Per Africam sacerdotium decretum Flavie genti, Cirtæque oppido, quod obsidione Alexandri ceciderat, reposito ornatuque, nomen Constantina inditum. Aur. Victor in Vita Constantini.

§ Cirta s. Cirtha, Punice, קרית Cartha, i. e. Civitas. Boch. Chan. l. i. cap. 24. Kiriath, joined with Arba, Jerim, &c. in the H. Scriptures, seems to be the same word.

|| Cirta Sittianorum (viz. a militibus Sittianis) cognomine. Plin. l. v. c. 3. P. Sittii meminere. Sallust. in conjur. Catil. c. 21. Hirt. de B. Afr. c. 36. Dio. l. xliii. p. 242. App. de Bell. Civ. l. iv. p. 996.

¶ Jugurtha—neque propter Naturam loci Cirtam armis expugnare potest. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 25. Exc. p. 7. B.

** See the plan of this city in Ampl. Cuperi notis ad Lactant. de Mort. Persec. c. 44. which marks out the precipice; but is otherwise very incorrect, and gives us little knowledge of the place.

of the city, is about the breadth of half a furlong, being entirely covered with broke walls, cisterns, and other ruins, which are continued quite down to the river; carried on from thence over a strip of plain ground that runs parallel with the deep narrow valley already described. Such was the situation and extent of the ancient Cirta. But the present city has not the same dimensions, being confined to the peninsular promontory only.

Besides the general traces of a diversity of ruins scattered all over this place, we have still remaining, near the centre of the city, those capacious cisterns which received the water brought thither from Phys-geah by an aqueduct; a great part of which still remains, and is very sumptuous. The cisterns, which are about twenty in number, make an area of fifty yards square. The gate I have mentioned, is of a beautiful reddish stone, not inferior to marble well polished and shining; the side posts or pillars whereof are neatly moulded in pannels. An altar of pure white marble makes part of a neighbouring wall, and the side of it in view presents us with a well shaped simulum in a bold relief. The gate towards the S. E. is in the same fashion and design, though much smaller, and lies open to a bridge that was built over this part of the valley. This indeed was a masterpiece in its kind; the gallery, and the columns of the arches being adorned with cornices and festoons, ox-heads and garlands. The key-stones likewise of the arches are charged with caducei and other figures. Below the gallery, betwixt the two principal arches, we see, in a bold relief, and well executed, the figure of a lady treading upon two elephants, with a large escallop shell for her canopy. The elephants, facing each other, twist their trunks together; and the lady, who appears dressed in her own hair, with a close-bodied garment, like the women's riding habit of our times, raises up her petticoat with her right hand, and looks scornfully upon the city. This group, in any other situation, might well be supposed to have belonged to some fountain, as fountains or spouts of water were sometimes laid out in such ludicrous and wanton designs. Upon a stone, in the river below it, I traced out the following words, CAL. IVLI SIGNINARI: as in a wall, near the northern precipice, where we have the bases and pedestals of a magnificent portico, we see this broken inscription:

AID. III VIR. PR

RVSICADE BIS

PONTIFEX---

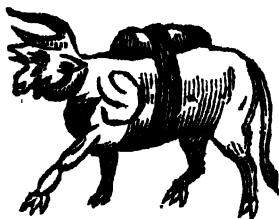
PERFECT.

Below the bridge, the rummel turns to the northward, where it runs near a quarter of a mile through a rocky subterraneous passage, designedly laid open in several places, for the greater conveniency of drawing up the water, and cleansing the channel. This, according to all appearance, seems to be an extraordinary provision of nature for the admission of the river, which otherwise must have formed a most extensive lake, and thereby laid a great part of the neighbouring country under water, before it could have found its way to the sea.

Among the ruins to the S. W. of the bridge, upon the narrow strip of land just now described, we have the greatest part of a triumphal arch, called Cassir Goulah, or the *Castle* (as they interpret it) of the *Giant*, consisting of three arches, the middlemost whereof, as usual, is the most spacious. All the mouldings and frizes are curiously embellished with the figures of flowers, battle-axes, and other ornaments. The Corinthian pilasters, erected on each side of the grand arch, are pannelled, like the gates of the city, in a style and fashion peculiar to Cirta.

Without

Without the precincts of the city, under the great precipice, we meet with the following sepulchral inscriptions. The first of them, which is upon a cippus, with the figure of a loaded beeve in basso relievo above it, and of a crab below it, makes one of the steps, as we descend to the lukewarm springs of Seedy Meemon, a Marabbutt, who lies there interred. Beeves are still made use of in Numidia as beasts of burthen.



M. MAGNI IVS . .
FELIX QYIRIT . .
SECR. ET IVS . .
VIX. AN. XXXX.



POMPEIO
RESTITVTO
IVDEO
POMPEIA KARA
PATRA KARIS
SIMO
FECIT.

A quarter of a mile to the eastward of Seedy Meemon, the rummel falls from its subterraneous channel in a large cascade. The highest part of the city, with the magnificent portico already taken notice of, lies above it; from whence criminals continue to be precipitated into the river, as they used to be in former times *. A little way beyond the cascade, is Kabat-beer-a-haal, as they call a neat transparent fountain, full of tortoises. Several strange and foolish stories of their being demons, and the authors of fevers and other distempers, have been related of these animals by J. Leo, and other credulous historians.

Five leagues, or, according to the Itinerary, 25 miles to the N. W. of Constantina, is the city Meelah, the Milevum or Mileu of the ancients, built in the centre of a beautiful interchange of vallies and mountains. It is surrounded with gardens, and plentifully stocked with fountains; one of which, bubbling up in the centre of the city, is immediately received into a large square basin of Roman workmanship. Constantina is supplied chiefly from this place with herbs and fruit; whose pomegranates particularly are of so large a size, and have withal so delicate a mixture of the tart and sweet, that they are in great esteem all over the kingdom. Leo and Marmol bear testimony likewise to the goodness of the apples, in as much as they have thought fit to derive the very name of the city from that fruit.

* Sui fratris uxorem ligato pondere lapidum in Ampsagam fluvium Cirtensem famosum jactando demersit. Vi&. Vit. l. ii.

In travelling from Constantina to the eastward, we pass by Alleegah and Announah, at each of which places there are large heaps of ruins. After them we come to the Hamam Melkouten, i. e. *the silent or enchanted baths*, situated on a low ground, surrounded with mountains. There are several fountains that furnish the water, which is of an intense heat, and falls afterwards into the river Ze-nati. At a small distance from these hot fountains, we have others, which, upon comparison, are of as intense a coldness; and a little below them, somewhat nearer the banks of the Ze-nati, there are the ruins of a few houses, built perhaps for the conveniency of such persons who came thither for the benefit of the waters. All this country, from Constantina to the Ze-nati, is a fruitful interchange of hills and vallies; some of which are all over interspersed and diversified with forests and plantations of olive trees.

The district of the Bookalwan, with the Aquæ Tibilitanæ upon it, called only at present Hamam, or the baths, lies to the eastward of the Hamam Melkouten, on the N. side of the river Scibouse. On the other side is the district of Mownah, the possession of the Beni Sala, a warlike tribe, with the ruins of Gelma or Kalma, as the Turks pronounce it. This undoubtedly is the Calama so much wanted in the old geography*, which was situated by St. Austin†, in an indetermined manner only, betwixt Hippo and Constantina, though nearer the former.

Behind Mownah is Tiffesh, the Theveste, Thebes‡, Thebæ, or Thebestis of the ancients. This is the only city in the district of the Hen-neishah which has preserved its old name, though, at the same time, it could not secure its walls from the devastations of the Arabs. It has been situated, like the rest, in a fine plain with a little rivulet running by it, and lies about nineteen leagues to the E. S. E. of Constantina.

In the neighbourhood of Tiffesh is the country of the Hen-neishah, who are not only a powerful and warlike, but a genteel and comely tribe. To them, and their gallant commander, Sultan Bwoazeefe, the Algerines, in their late wars with Tunis, have been often indebted for a complete victory, or an honourable retreat. This gallant, though unfortunate prince, in the late revolutions at Tunis, was, by the perfidiousness of his own father-in-law, Aly Bashaw, the present dey, most villanously betrayed, and inhumanly murdered. And, what is more extraordinary, his body was afterwards given to his drunken janizaries, to be made into *cabab*, and eaten; which was accordingly done with great festivity and rejoicing.

This district, the most fruitful as well as the most extensive of Numidia, lies betwixt the rivers Hameese and Myski-anah; the latter the most southern, the first the most northern branch of the Me-je-dah. There is scarce an acre of it, but what is watered by some choice fountain or rivulet; and there are few of these conveniences without having had some city or village built either upon or in the neighbourhood of them; which are now so miserably defaced, that a heap of rubbish, without either name or inscription, is all that remains of them at present.

To the southward of the Henneishah, near the banks of the Melagge, is Tipfa, or Tibessa, the Tipasa of the ancients, at present a frontier city and garrison of the Algerines. This place, which enjoys a fine situation, with some mountains at a small distance, still preserves the principal gate, several fragments of old walls, and other marks of the rank and figure it formerly obtained among the cities of Numidia. There is a large subterraneous quarry in the adjacent mountains; the same place perhaps that Leo was informed had been formerly inhabited by giants.

* Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. l. iv. c. 5. p. 122.

† Contra Literas Petiliani, l. ii. c. 99.

‡ Prætereo Thebas Liber, quas in Africa condidit Liber pater, quæ civitas nunc Thebestis dicitur. Hieron. Præf. l. xi. Comment. ad Galatas.

..The river Melagge runs a little to the northward of Tipasa, being a continuation of the Myskianah, which has its sources at Ain Thyllah, in the western confines of the Henneifhah. A little further, the Melagge, still directing its course to the N. E. assumes the name of Serrat, and is the eastern boundary of this kingdom. This, when joined a little further with the Sugerafs, which comes from Millah. Hameesc and Tiffesh, to the westward, assumes the name of Mejerdah, the ancient Bagradas, which will be further taken notice of hereafter.

Near the western banks of the Serrat, ten leagues from Tiffesh, is Collah, Gellah, or Gellah ad Snaan, a considerable village, built upon a high pointed mountain with only one narrow road leading up to it. This place, which is only to be conquered by hunger or surprise, is a convenient sanctuary for the rebels and villains both of this and the neighbouring kingdom, where they are hospitably entertained, till their friends have either procured their pardons, or compounded for their crimes.

So much then for the more remarkable places and inhabitants of the Tell. That part of the Sahara, which lies behind this province, has, exclusive of the distant city of Wurglah, and the village Engoufah, the two considerable districts of Zaab and Wadreag; with their respective numerous villages. These, a collection of dirty hovels, are all built in the same manner, with mud walls, and rafters of palm trees; expressive probably of Hazazen-Tamar, (2 Chron. xx. 2.) or Tuguria in palmeto sita, as Bochart (Hieroz. p. i. l. ii. c. 52.) explains that name. And as the inhabitants likewise are all of them alike occupied in cultivating the date tree, few of them will require a particular description.

The district then of Zaab, the Zebe or Zabe* of the ancients, (once a part of the Mauritania Sitifensis, as it was always of Gætulia) is a narrow tract of land, lying immediately under the mountains of Atlas, and has its villages, with few intermissions or vacant spaces betwixt them, reaching from the meridian of Mef-seeleh to that of Constantina. Of these, Doufan, Toodah, Seedy Occ'ba, Biscara, and Oumilhennah, receive their rivulets from the Tell; but the fountains and rivulets which refresh the others, rise within the Sahara, or else they ooze immediately from the southern and adjacent skirts of Mount Atlas. The Wed Adje-dee or Jiddec, i. e. *The river of the Kid*, receives these several streams, and running afterwards towards the S. E. loses itself in the Mol-gigg, an extensive tract of the Sahara, of the same saline and absorbent quality with the Shott, that has been already described. This river should be the Garrar or Jired of Abulfeda†; and, as there is no other noted stream on this side the Niger, it may be the same likewise with Ptolemy's Gir‡, though placed by him among the Garamantes, who, according to all the geographical circumstances relating to them, must have been situated a great way further to the E. or S. E.

Biscara, the capital of Zaab, is the residence of a Turkish garrison, who have here a small castle, built lately by Hassan, the munificent bey of Constantina. The chief strength and defence of it lies in six small pieces of ordnance, with a few unwieldy muskets, that are mounted likewise upon carriages.

The village of Seedy Occuba, or Occ'ba as the Arabs contract it, is famous for the tomb of the Arabian general of that name, and for that of Seedy Lascar, its tutelar

* *Zabe*, regio supra (i. e. ad austrum) montem Aurasiūm, ad Mauritaniam pertinentem, *Sitipbin* metropolim habens. Procop. de Bell. Vand. l. xi. c. 20.

† Al Zeb est territorium magnum, et fluvius Garrar s. Jirad in regione Al Megreb, cujus long. 30. 30. lat. 31. 30. Abulf.

‡ Ο Γίρς ὁ ἐκτὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἢ τὸ Οὐσαργαλα ὄρος καὶ τοῦ Φαραγγίου τῆς Γαζαμαντικῆς, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ ἐκτὸς ποταμὸς ὀνομαζέται κατὰ τὴν μακρὰν μὲν. 15'. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 6.

saint. It is a common report, that the tower adjoining to the sanctuary of Seedy Occ'ba, will very sensibly tremble upon calling out, TIZZA bil ras Seedy Occ'ba, i. e. *Shake for the head of Seedy Occuba*. An effect something like this is produced in a tower at Rheimes in France, and with the like niceness in its frame or equilibrio, by ringing one of the bells; the constituent parts of the fabric being perhaps so particularly and harmoniously put together, as to act in concert and at unisons with such sounds. Pliny likewise relates something of the same nature, l. ii. c. 96. "Juxta Harpasa oppidum Asiæ cautes stat horrenda, uno digito mobilis; eadem, si toto corpore impellatur, resistens." There is likewise near the Land's End, in Cornwall, a high rock called the Logging Stone, of the like moveable quality.

The Roman masonry may be traced out all over this province; and at Banteuse, one of the southern villages, there were lately dug up several stone coffins. It is very much to the honour of the Romans to find how careful they have been, where these rivulets ran through a loose and oozy soil, to support their banks with walls of hewn stone, and to pave their beds with pebbles.

The eating the flesh of dogs, for which the Carthaginians were formerly remarkable*, and from whence the Canarii might rather receive their name, than from their feeding promiscuously with dogs upon the carcases of wild beasts, according to Pliny†, continues in practice to this day among the inhabitants of Zaab.

Wad-reag is another collection of villages, like those of Zaab. They are reckoned to be twenty-five in number, ranged in a N. E. and S. W. direction; the capital of which is Tuggurt, built upon a plain, without any river running by it. For the villages of Wad-reag are supplied, in a particular manner, with water. They have, properly speaking, neither fountains nor rivulets; but by digging wells to the depth of a hundred, and sometimes two hundred fathoms, they never want a plentiful stream. In order therefore to obtain it, they dig through different layers of sand and gravel, till they come to a sleeky stone, like slate, which is known to lie immediately above the Bahar tâht el Erd, or *the Sea below Ground*, as they call the abyss. This is easily broken through; and the flux of water which follows the stroke, rises generally so suddenly, and in such abundance‡, that the person let down for this purpose has sometimes, though raised up with the greatest dexterity, been overtaken and suffocated by it.

Thirty leagues to the S. W. of Tuggurt is Engoufah, the only village of many in this situation, which subsisted in the time of Leo. After Engoufah, at five leagues distance to the westward, is the noted and populous city of Wurglah, the most distant community on this side the Niger. These several cities and villages, which together with those of Figig and of Beni Mezzab, are very justly compared by the ancients§ to so many fruitful and verdant spots or islands, in the vast expanse of a large desert, might formerly belong to, and make up the greatest part of the country of the Melanogætulians. For, after Gætulia, Ptolemy reckons up the nations th^t were situated

* Just. Hist. l. xix. c. 1.

† Plin. l. v. c. 1.

‡ Of the like gushing, rising, or ascending nature, might possibly have been the Beer or well, Numb. xxi. 17. "which the elders digged, and the people cut" or hewed (כרוה) out of the rock, "by the direction of the law giver," (במשנתם) with their staves. May it not rather be rendered, *with their united applause, or clapping of hands*, as שבע signifies in the Chaldee? For the digging or cutting a well with staves, as it is in all versions except the 70., seems to be very incongruous and absurd. But my learned friend, Dr Hunt, supplies me with another interpretation of this difficult text, wherein בכרוהק, which we render *by the direction of the law-giver*, may be expressed by *describing or marking out* the figure or fashion of the well במשנתם *with their staves*.

§ Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. ii. p. 192. Εἰς δ' οὐκονα Λιβυη παραδου, &c. Dionys. Perieg. l. clxxxi. Παράλιον δ', &c.

beyond it to the southward; among which, the Melanogætuli and Garamantes, were the chiefest. These nations certainly extended themselves behind the greatest part of that country, which belongs at present to the regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly; or, from the meridian of Siga, near Tlemsan, to the Cyrenaica, 35° further to the E. And as, inclusive of the Bedowen Arabs, there are no other nations in this direction besides the Figigians, the Beni Mezzab, the inhabitants of Wadreag and Wurglah to the west; and those of Geddemz, Fezzan, and Oujelah to the east; it is very probable that the Melanogætuli must have been the predecessors of these western Libyans, as the others to the east were, for the same reason, the successors of the Garamantes. This seems to be a very clear and full account of the situation of those distant communities, so much enquired after by Cellarius, and other later geographers, which likewise may have been too hastily charged with inaccuracies and contradictions in the *Universal History*, vol. xvii.

PART. II.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE KINGDOM OF TUNIS.

CHAP. I.—Of the Kingdom of Tunis in general.

THE kingdom of Tunis is bounded to the N. and E. with the Mediterranean Sea, to the W. with the kingdom of Algiers, and to the S. with that of Tripoly. It is from the island Jerba, in N. lat. $33^{\circ} 30'$ to Cape Serra in N. lat. $37^{\circ} 12'$. 220 miles in breadth, and 170 miles only in length. Sbekkah, the most advanced city of this kingdom to the W. lying in 8° . and Clybea, the farthest to the E. in $11^{\circ} 20'$. E. long. from London.

Of the modern geographers, Luyts*, by giving this kingdom 3° . of long. and 4° . of lat. seems to have been the best acquainted with the extent of it. For Sanfon, in placing Cape Bon in N. lat. $34^{\circ} 15'$. and Capes as he calls Gabs, in N. lat. 36° . situates it more than 3° . too far to the south. Moll indeed brings it a few minutes too far to the N. but extends it to the S. beyond the parallel of Tripoly; as Delisle has likewise done in his royal map (as he calls it) of Africa. Whereas a remarkable chain of mountains, called the Jib-beleah, in the same parallel with the island Jerba, is the boundary betwixt this kingdom and that of Tripoly.

If we attend to the ancient geography, we shall find the like errors and disagreements that have been taken notice of in the kingdom of Algiers. For Ptolemy, (besides his position of Carthage, and so respectively of other places, 4° too far to the S.) makes the latitudinal distance betwixt the promontory of Apollo, i. e. Cape Zibeeb, and the island Meninx, i. e. Jerba†, to be no more than $1^{\circ} 55'$. instead of 3° . as I find it. The Itinerary also, though in many cases a much better conductor than Ptolemy, yet, as Ricciolius‡ has already observed, he may well be charged with faults and contradictions, proper notice whereof will be taken in their respective places. Pliny§ too, by putting the greatest part of these cities in an alphabetical order, very little instructs us. Even in the enumeration of the maritime towns of Bizacium||, where he seems to follow some method, yet, by placing Leptis before,

* Ptolem. Geograph. l. iv. cap. 3.

† Id. Ibid.

‡ Geogr. l. iii. c. 10.

§ Lib. v. c. 4.

|| Id. Ibid.

i. e. to the northward of Adrumetum and Ruspina, he insinuates thereby, that the latter was situated at a greater distance from the lesser Syrtis, contrary to what appears from Hirtius and others. The same author, likewise, in making the province of Bizacium 250 miles only in compass*, falls vastly short of what it is found to be by observation. For if we bound Bizacium to the N. and S. with the parallels of Adrumetum and Tacape, and to the W. with Sufetula, one of the western cities of it, we shall have a circuit of at least 500 Roman miles, i. e. twice the number which are laid down by that author.

It may be farther observed, that this kingdom is not divided into provinces, and governed by provincial beys or viceroys, like that of Algiers, but the whole is under the immediate inspection of the bey himself, who collects the tribute in person. For which purpose he visits, with a flying camp, once every year, the principal parts of it; traversing, in the summer season, the fertile country in the neighbourhood of Keff and Baijah, and in the winter, the several districts betwixt Kairwain and the Jereed. And as these two circuits very nearly correspond with the Regio Zeugitana, or Zeugitania, as I shall call it, and the Bizacium of the ancients, I shall describe this kingdom under those divisions. The Zeugitania therefore, or the summer circuit, will take in that portion of it which lies to the northward of the parallel of the gulf of Hamam-et, as Bizacium, otherwise called the country of the Libyphœnices†, will contain the other part which lies beyond it to the southward.

CHAP. II.—Of the Sea Coast of the Zeugitania, or the Summer Circuit.

THE summer circuit, therefore, as it is bounded by the river Zain, or Tusca, will answer to the Regio Carthaginiensium of Strabo‡; to the Regio Zeugitana and the Africa Propria of Pliny, Solinus §, &c.; to the eastern part of the Africa of P. Mela and Ptolemy ||; to the Provincia Proconsularis of the Notitia; to the Provincia Vetus of the old historians ¶; and to the Zeugis of Æthicus **. It is much better inhabited, particularly the Frigeah ††, as they still call those parts of it which lie near Keff and Baijah, than any portion of the neighbouring kingdom of the like bigness, having a greater number of cities, villages, and dowars; where there is likewise a greater appearance of affluence, prosperity, content, and cheerfulness, owing, no doubt, to fewer instances of severity and oppression in the government. Such was the happy condition of this country, under Hassan ben Aly, A.D. 1727; but since that time, after that worthy prince was cruelly murdered by his nephew Aly Bashaw, all things continue in the greatest confusion, nothing heard of but the most flagrant instances of tyranny, oppression, and barbarity.

Leaving, therefore, the island of Tabarca, five leagues to the S. W. we go round, or double (in the mariner's phrase) Cape Negro, where the French African company have a settlement. The high pointed rocky island alta, the Galata of the ancients, lies a few leagues to the N. W. after which we arrive at Cape Serra, the most advanced part of Africa to the N. At the half way from this cape to the white promontory, we pass by three low flattish islands, called the Frati, or *Brothers*, lying not far from the continent.

* Lib. v. c. 4.

† Strab. Geogr. l. xvii. p. 1192.

‡ Strab. Geogr. l. ii.

§ Plin. l. v. c. 4. Sol. Polyhist. c. 17 Æth. Cosmog. p. 63.

|| Cap. 7.

¶ Dion Hist. Roman. l. xliii p. 245. ed. Steph.

** Cosmog.

†† *Frigeah*, a corruption doubtless of the ancient name *Africa*.

••The White Promontory, or Cape Blanco, or, which is still the same, as it is called by the inhabitants, Ras el Abead, is of a white chalky substance; upon which account, it may be well taken, not only* for the Promontorium Candidum of Pliny, but likewise for the Promontorium Pulchrum of Livy, where Scipio landed in his first African expedition*. That this was the Promontorium Candidum, besides the colour of it, and the tradition of the same name to this day, we have this further to urge, that Hippo Diarrhytus, according to the descriptions of Mela† and Pliny‡, lies in the very gulf which is formed by this cape and that of Apollo§. If then we may, particularly with regard to this point in dispute, take *pulchrum* and *candidum* for synonymous terms, we want no further proof that this was also the Promontorium Pulchrum.

Besides, Livy|| informs us, that when Scipio was in sight of the Promontory of Mercury, or Cape Bon, as it is now called, he did not think fit to direct his course thither; but the same wind (an easterly one, we may suppose, from the hazy quality of it) continuing, he ordered that some convenient place for landing should be pitched upon [*infra*] below it, i. e. as we may conjecture, to the westward. But there being no other promontories, besides those of Apollo and the Candidum in this direction, the Promontorium Pulchrum and Candidum must consequently be the same.

Xylander indeed, as he is quoted by Sir Walter Rawleigh, p. 963. supposes the place where Scipio landed to have been at Cape Bon; but as this, without question, is the Promontory of Mercury, so it could by no means be the place. Livy also acquaints us, as has been already observed, that Scipio did not land there, but at some other place below it. Now, as *infra* cannot be supposed to imply a southern direction, as well from the difficulty that Scipio would thereby have had in landing upon the eastern shore of Africa, as for the necessity there would have been afterwards of passing by Tunis and Carthage, in his intended journey towards Utica, too daring an enterprise certainly at that time; so there are not wanting authorities for rendering *infra*, as I have done, to the westward. Thus the course of sailing from the straits of Gibraltar to the Levant, is still called *going up* the Mediterranean Sea; as, in returning from thence to Gibraltar, we are said to *sail down* it. Virgil likewise, in placing Italy betwixt the Adriatic Sea, to the east, and the Tyrrhene to the west, makes use of *infra*¶ in the same sense with Livy, viz. to denote a position to the westward. The Promontorium Pulchrum therefore, as I have supposed, must be the same with the Candidum, or *White Promontory*, as it is universally called to this day.

Eight miles to the southward of this cape, at the bottom of a large gulf, is the city Bizerta, pleasantly situated upon a canal, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea. It is about a mile in circuit, defended by several castles and batteries, the principal of which are towards the sea. Bizerta is a corruption of the Hippo Diarrhytus or Zaritus of the ancients; though the present inhabitants derive it from their own language, and affirm it to be the same with Bensherd, i. e. *the offspring of a canal or rivulet*. Though this etymology cannot be received, yet it is ingenious enough, as it in some measure falls in with the meaning of the Diarrhytus of the Greeks, and with the Aquarum Irrigua, as that appellation seems to have been translated by Pliny.

* T. Liv. l. xxix. c. 27.

† P. Melæ Orb. descr. l. i. c. 7.

‡ Plin. l. v. c. 4.

§ Apollo, or Zibeeb, as it is now called.

|| Ut supra.

¶ An mare, quod *supra*, memorem; quodque alluit *infra*?

Virg. Georg. ii. v. 158.

Supra, i. e. ad partem superiorem, hoc est, orientem versus ad Venetias. *Infra*, i. e. a parte inferiori; hoc est, mare Tyrrhenum, quod Inferum vocant, occidentem versus. Vid. B. Ascensii et Donati annot. in locum.

For the lake upon which Bizerta is situated, has an open communication with the sea; and, according to an observation of the younger Pliny *, is either continually receiving a brisk stream from the sea, or else discharging one into it. In the hotter seasons, nay, sometimes when the weather is calm and temperate in winter, the same phenomenon that has been taken notice† of betwixt the Atlantic Ocean, and the Mediterranean Sea, is to be observed betwixt the latter sea and this lake; what the lake loses at these times in vapour, being proportionably supplied from the sea, which then runs very briskly into the lake to make up the equilibrium. The like happens when the winds are northerly, whereby a great quantity of water is usually accumulated upon the southern coast of these seas. But when the winds are from the southward, whereby the water is blown away from this coast, or when any considerable rains have fallen in the adjacent parts, whereby it receives a greater supply of water than is expended in vapour, then the contrary happens, and the lake empties itself into the sea.

The channel of communication betwixt the lake and the sea, is the port of Hippo Diarrhytus, which still receives small vessels; though it must have been formerly the safest, as well as the most beautiful haven of this part of Africa. There are still remaining the traces of a large pier that was carried out into the sea, to break off the N. E. winds, the want whereof, together with the great aversion of the Turks to repair it, will in a short time make this haven useless, which, in any other country, would be inestimable.

Scylax, in his description of this city, calls it only Hippo, though at the same time he takes notice of the lake upon which it was situated. Diodorus,‡ relates the same, but gives the name Hippouacra to it, in regard perhaps to the neighbouring promontory. By the direction of Scipio's marches, from the Promontorium Pulchrum to Utica, there is room likewise to conjecture, that this should be the rich anonymous town which is mentioned by Livy §. And indeed, provided the Turks were proper encouragers of trade and industry, no place certainly could lay a better claim to that title than Bizerta; in as much as, besides fish and fruit of all kinds, it abounds with corn, pulse, oil, cotton, and a variety of other valuable productions.

The gulf of Bizerta, the Sinus Hipponensis of the ancients, is a beautiful sandy inlet, near four leagues in breadth. The bottom of it, being low, gives us a delightful prospect through variety of groves and plantations of olive trees, a great way into the country. But, to the eastward, the eye is bounded by a high rocky shore, which reaches as far as Cape Zibeeb; a place so called, from the great quantity of Zibeeb, or *raisins* that are made upon it. The eastern extremity of this cape, is remarkable for the whiteness of its cliffs, and for having the *Pil-loc*, as these people call a high-pointed rock, in the shape of their favourite dish of that name, which is placed below it. Betwixt this and the White Promontory, are some low flat islands, called the *Canis* or *Dogs*, which were the *Dracontia* of the ancients, and ought to be carefully avoided by the mariners.

* Est in Africa Hipponensis colonia, mari proxima: adjacet ei navigabile stagnum, ex quo in modum fluminis æstuarium emergit, quod, vice alterna, prout æstus aut repressit aut impulsit, nunc infertur mari, nunc redditur stagno. Plin. Ep. xxxiii. l. 9. ad Caninium.

† Vid. Phil. Trans. No. 189. p. 365. Lowth. Abridg. vol. ii. p. 108.

‡ Εὐρατοκίδιον (Agathocles) ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰππε καλεμένην ἀκρὰν, ὡχυρωμένη φυσικῶς τῇ παρακειμένῃ λίμνῃ. Diod. Sic. l. xx.

§ Scipio (expositis apud Promontorium pulchrum copiis) non agros modo circa vastavit, sed urbem etiam proximam Afrorum satis opulentam cepit. Liv. l. xxix. 28.

** Cape Zibeeb, the Promontorium Apollinis of the ancients, makes the western point (as Cape Bon or Ras-addar, the Promontorium Mercurii, at eleven leagues distance, does the eastern) of the *sinus alter* of Zeugitania, as Pliny styles it, or the gulf of Tunis, according to the present name. Zowamoorc, the Zimora of our sea charts, and the Ægimurus of the ancients, lies betwixt these promontories, but nearer the latter, in the very mouth of the gulf*; which, being remarkable for the great depth as well as breadth of it, might very justly be named by Virgil †, *secessus longus*, a long recess. The island Gamelora is a little way from Cape Zibeeb to the east; and four miles to the westward, within the cape, is Porto Farina, called by the inhabitants, from an ancient salt work hard by it, Gar el Mailah, i. e. *the cave of salt*. This place, as well as Bizerta, has been mistaken by several geographers and historians ‡ for Utica; whereas, it seems to be the very port § whither the Carthaginian fleet retired, the night before they engaged with Scipio, near Utica. Livy tells us, that the Africans called it Ruscinona ||, a word doubtless of Phœnician extraction; and, as the first part of it, *Rus* or *Ras*, i. e. the cape, well answers to the situation, so the latter (*annonæ*) may, I presume, be of the like import with the present name, and denoting the great quantity of corn and provisions that were shipped off, as they continue to be, from this place. This port, especially the *Cothon*, or inward part of it, is safe in all accidents of weather, and opens into a large navigable pond, formed by the Me-jerdah, which at present discharges itself through it, in its way to the sea.

The Me-jerda, the Bagrada ¶, or Bagraas, or Brada, so famous in history, is equal to the Isis united with the Cherwell. It continues winding, during its whole course, through a rich and fertile country; and becomes thereby so well saturated with soil**, that it is of the same complexion with the Nile, and has the same property likewise of making encroachments upon the sea. And to this we may attribute, not only the many changes and alterations which appear to have been made, at one time or other, in the channel of it; but likewise that an open creek of the sea, into which the Me-jerdah, no longer than a century ago, discharged itself, is now circumscribed by the mud, and become a large navigable pond, the anti-harbour, as we may call it, to Port Farina.

That the Me-jerdah, in the time of Scipio, lay betwixt Carthage and the Castra Corneliana, and not where we find it at present, appears as well from the circumstance of landing the ambassadors ††, after they departed for Carthage, at the river Bagrada, the nearest place, we may suppose, for that purpose, as from Curio's †† leaving Rebi-

* Liv. l. xxx. § 24.

† Virg. Æn. lib. i. 163.

‡ Utica, hodie Farinz Portus. Thuan. l. vii. p. 605

§ Classis Carthaginiensis sub occasum solis segni navigatione in portum (Ruscinonam Afri vocant) classem appulere. Liv. l. xxx. 10. ראש אנונה s. promontorium Annonæ vel frumenti, ut Annona forsan significet. Vid Buxt. Lex. Rab.

|| Id. ut supra.

¶ Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1189. P. Mela. l. i. c. 7. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

** Bochart deduceth the name from ברכתא *Braṭṭha* a pond. Vid. l. i. c. 24. agreeably to the description of the poet:

Turbidus arentes lento pede sulcat arenas
Bagrada, non ullo Libycis in finibus amne
Victus limosas extendere latius undas,
Et *flagnante vado* patulos involvere campos.

Sil. It. l. vi. 140.

†† Legati petierunt a magistratibus, ut naves mitterent, quæ se prosequerent. Data triremesduæ cum ad Bagradam flumen pervenissent, unde Romana castra conspiciebantur, Carthaginem redire. Liv. l. xxx. 25.

‡‡ Bidui iter progressus (Curio. sc. ex Aquilaria) ad flumen Bagradam pervenit: ibi C. Caninium Rebi- lum legatum cum legionibus relinquit: ipse cum equitatu antecedit ad castra exploranda. Corneliana. Cæs. de bell. civ. l. ii. 24.

lus at the same river, whilst he himself is said to have advanced farther to view the *Castra Corneliana*. Agreeably to these accounts, Ptolemy places the mouth of it 10' only to the westward of Carthage; a situation which falls in with the sanctuary of Seedy Ammer Bucktewah, where there is the ancient bed of a river, with a large mountain (perhaps one of those taken notice of by Polybius*) that ends in a precipice above it. And it may be farther observed, that in travelling from this sanctuary to Gellah, we see the interjacent plains dispersed all over with pine apples, trunks of trees, and other tokens of large inundations. Besides the ancient channel just now mentioned, we pass over others, which, to all appearance, must have been, at one time or other, either the natural or the occasional beds of this river. For as the whole extent of the sea shore, from Carthage to Port Farina, is very little higher than the ordinary level of the sea, and thereby lies exposed to the ravages of the E. and N. E. winds, it is possible that the mouth of the Me-jerdah, as well as of other rivers in the like situation, might from time to time be stopped up; as we find indeed it actually was, in the time of Polybius†. Being therefore forced, under such circumstances, to find out one new channel after another, as each of them in its turn was filled up, or the communication with it cut off, the Me-jerdah, I say, might at last gradually retire under cape Zibeeb, where those winds could give it no disturbance. Yet, even in the present situation, there is room enough to apprehend, that in a few years the channel will return again to the southward. For the navigable pond which I have mentioned, continues to be every day more and more choaked up with mud and slime; whilst the mouth, or *bar*, in the mariner's stile, of the river, which, till of late, admitted vessels of the greatest burthen, is now too shallow to receive one of their small cruisers, unless it be discharged of its lumber and ballast.

Such revolutions having happened to the Bagra, the famous city Utica, which we learn ‡ was situated to the northward of it, is now to be inquired after to the southward, as will appear from the following considerations. For, laying aside the authority of Ptolemy, who very erroneously places it 20' to the eastward, instead of so many nearly, as it should be, to the westward of the Promontorium Apollinis, let us examine the other geographical and historical circumstances that are left us of this place.

As then all of them agree that Utica was a maritime city, situated betwixt Carthage and the Promontory of Apollo, we are to search for it upon the interjacent sea coast. But here are no ruins at all to be met with in this situation; there is no eminence §, under which Utica is said to have been built; there is no promontory ||, which lay at a small distance to the E. or N. E. and formed the harbour. On the contrary, the whole extent of the sea shore, from Carthage to the Me-jerdah, lies in a semicircular form, and the land, for some miles behind it, very smooth and level. Utica therefore cannot be found upon the sea coast, according to the present shape and fashion of it, by any of those tokens and characteristics that are left us of it by the ancients.

But upon the supposition that the ground, to the breadth of three or four miles from the sea shore, should appear to be an acquisition to the continent, occasioned as above

* Polyb. Hist. l. i. p. 75, 76.

† Id. Ibid.

‡ Vid. Scylac Peripl. p. 46. Strab. l. xvii. p. 1188. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

§ Imminente prope ipsis mœnibus (*Utica*) tumulo. Liv. l. xxix. § 35.

|| Scipio castra hyberna in promontorio, quod tenui jugo continenti adhærens in aliquantum maris spatium extenditur, communit. Id. *ibid.* Id. autem (*castra Corneliana*) est jugum directum, eminens in mare, utraque ex parte præruptum atque asperum; sed paullo tamen leniore fastigio ab ea parte quæ ad *Uticam* vergit. Abs est directo itinere ab *Utica*, paullo amplius passuum mille: sed hoc itinere est fons, quo mare succedit; longe lateque is locus resagnat; quem si quis vitare voluerit, vi millium circuitu in oppidum perveniet. Cat. Bell. Civ. l. ii. 22.

by the easterly winds, and the copious addition of mud that is left at every inundation by the Me-jerdah*, if this river, by frequently shifting its channel, took at last the advantage of the lake † that lay betwixt Utica and the Castra Corneliana, and forced itself, by that way, into the sea; then we may very justly fix Utica at a place called at present Boo-shatter, where, besides the eminence taken notice of by Livy, we have a great variety of old walls, a large aqueduct, cisterns to receive the water and other traces of buildings of great extent and magnificence. These ruins lie about 27 Roman miles from Carthage, as the distance is recorded in the Itinerary; and behind them, towards the S. W. we are entertained with a view of the large fields ‡, which the Romans have made famous by their military exploits. Utica, therefore, or, as Bochart writes, the old name אֶתִיקָא, *Atica*, i. e. *the ancient city*, may in all probability be fixed at these ruins.

Two leagues to the E. of Boo-shatter, is Gellah, the most northern and rugged part of that remarkable promontory, where P. Cornelius Scipio may be supposed to have fixed his winter quarters, called from thence the Castra Cornelia, or Corneliana †. The whole is a narrow neck of land, near two furlongs in breadth, and continuing from one end of it to the other, in a moderate elevation, makes, with the hill that hangs over Boo-shatter, a most beautiful landscape, in the figure or fashion of a theatre, with the Me-jerdah winding itself through the midst of it. The Romans very probably extended their encampments all over this promontory, which is more than a league in length; infomuch, that when Cæsar acquaints us, that the Castra Corneliana were only at a mile's distance from Utica, he might regard that part only of their encampments which lay the nearest to the city. At present, the Me-jerdah runs below the S. W. extremity of this neck of land, as Gellah makes the N. E. and at a little distance from it, on the other side, though seven miles from the sea, are the ruins, as they have been described, of Boo-shatter, or Utica, hitherto wanted in the old geography.

Neither has Carthage §, the next place to be taken notice of, much better supported itself against the united encroachments of the N. E. winds, and the Me-jerdah which have likewise stopped up its ancient harbour, and made it almost as far distant from the sea as Utica. However, the place itself still continues to be called El Merfa, i. e. *the port*, lying to the N. and N. W. and forms, with the lake of Tunis, this peninsula upon which Carthage was built. But, upon the other side of the peninsula, towards the S. E. Carthage has been a loser to the sea; in as much as in that direction, for the space nearly of three furlongs in length, and half a furlong or more in breadth, it lies entirely under water. A little to the northward of these ruins, but to the S. E. of El Merfa, are the traces of a Cothon, scarce a hundred yards square. This was probably the new port ||, which the Carthaginians built, after Scipio had blocked up the old; it might be the same likewise that, in the time of Procopius, was called the Mandracium ¶.

Carthage was built upon three hills or eminences, inferior indeed to those upon which its rival city Rome was erected. Upon that which overlooks the S. E. shore,

* Vid. not. ult.

† Magni campi. Liv. l. xxx. 8.

‡ Inde petit tumulos, exefasque undique rupes
Antæ, quæ regna vocat non vana vetustas, &c.
Sed majora dedit cognomina collibus istis
Scipio.....

Luc. de Bell. Civ. l. iv.

§ קִרְתָּא חֲדָתָא i. e. *civitas nova*. Exc pag. 24. D. unde Καρχηδών, & et § permutatis, quod Sic proprium est, ut notat Salmas. in Solinum, p. 322.

|| Carthaginienſes, portu novo, (quia vetus a Scipione erat obſtructus factus, &c. Liv. Ep. 54)

¶ Procop. l. i. c. 20.

there is the area of a spacious room, with other smaller ones hard by it, some of which have tessellated pavements, though neither the design nor the materials of them are worthy of our notice. The Byrsa * probably had this situation.

In rowing along the sea shore, the common sewers are frequently discovered; which, being well built and cemented together, length of time has not been able to impair. The cisterns are other structures, which have very little suffered; for besides those appertaining to particular houses, which are very numerous, there were two sets of them belonging to the public; the greater whereof, which was the grand reservoir for the famous aqueduct, (a great part whereof is still standing), lay near the western wall of the city, and consisted of more than twenty contiguous cisterns, each of them at least a hundred feet long, and thirty broad. The lesser is in a higher situation, near the Cothon and the Byrsa; being contrived to collect the rain-water which fell as well upon the top of it as upon some adjacent pavements made for that purpose. This reservoir might be repaired with little expence; the small earthen pipes, through which the rain-water was conducted from the roof, wanting only to be cleansed and opened.

Besides these, there are no other tokens left us of the grandeur and magnificence of this famous place. We meet with no triumphal arches, or sumptuous pieces of architecture; here are no granate pillars, or curious entablatures, but the broken walls and structures that remain are either built in the Gothic taste, or according to that of the later inhabitants. The following lines very justly describe the present condition of Carthage:

... ..Qua devictæ Carthaginis arces
Procubere, jacentque, infausto in littore, turres
Everse; quantum illa metus, quantum illa laborum.
Urbs dedit insultans Latio et Laurentibus arvis;
Nunc passim, vix reliquias, vix nomina servans,
Obruitur, propriis non agnoscenda ruinis, &c.

.....Solatia fati
Carthago Mariusque † tulit, pariterque jacentes
Ignovere Deis. *Lucan. de Bell. Civ. l. ii. 91.*

Giace l'alta Carthago, e a pena i sogni
De l'alte sue ruine il lido serba, &c.

Balz. Dissert. xxv. Chrest.

Pliny † seems to make the ancient Carthage much bigger than when it was a Roman colony; which according to Livy §, was 23 miles in circuit. Strabo circumscribes the peninsula, upon which it was built with 360 furlongs, or 45 miles; but assigns no particular number for the extent of the city. According to an estimate made upon the spot, I judge the peninsula to be about thirty miles round, and that the city may have taken up near half that space; and more, I presume, it could never lay claim to. For Livy || tells us, that Carthage was nearly twelve miles from Tunis, which is the

* Strab. Geogr. l. xvii. p. 1189. Liv. l. xxxiv. § 61. Virg. Æn. i. 371. &c. Docti pridem explorerunt, et monuerunt a Græcis Βυρσαν dici pro בִּצְרָא Bofra, ad vitandam κκκρσαν; quia Græcæ linguæ genius non patitur ut S et R continuentur. Tale αλσος nemus pro אֶשְׁלָא Asla. Bofra Hebræis est munimentum, a verbo בָּצַר munire. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

† Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in Tugurio ruinarum Carthaginensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio. Vell. Patere.

‡ Colonia Carthago Magnæ in vestigiis Carthaginis. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

§ Carthago in circuitu viginti tria millia passus patens. Liv. Epit. l. li.

|| Scipio — in Carthaginem intentus occupat relictum fuga custodum Tuneta (abest ab Carthagine quoddecim millia ferme passuum) locus quum operibus, tum suapte natura tutus, et qui et ab Carthagine conspectus præberet ipse prospectum quum ad urbem, tum ad circumfysum mare urbi posset. Id. l. xxx. 9.

same distance that still subsists betwixt that city, and a fragment of the old western wall of Carthage which I have mentioned. And as there are several salt pits, which reach from the neighbourhood of this wall, as far nearly upon the S. E. shore as the Gulletta, Carthage could not have extended any farther to the W. or to the S. unless these pits (which cannot well be supposed) were inclosed within, and made part of the city. Nay, if Polybius * is to be credited, who makes the distance betwixt Tunes and Carthage 15 miles, the boundary this way will be thrown further to the sea; and we may thereby be induced to suspect, that the wall I have mentioned was erected by the Romans, and took in a greater space of the peninsula than might be the original area of the first city. The large morass, or El Merfa, that was formerly the port, continues to be, as it must always have been, the same limit to the N. and N. W. whilst, to the E. and N. E. the whole extent of the capes Carthage and Commart, to the distance of one, sometimes two furlongs from the sea shore, have not the least traces of ruins upon them; and therefore might never have been included in the city. If we may then be permitted to calculate the extent of the ancient Carthage from these circumstances, 15 miles will be sufficient to circumscribe it.

The remains of the celebrated † aqueduct above mentioned, may be traced all along, from the greater set of cisterns, as far as Zow-wan; and from thence to Zung-gar, which is at the distance of at least 50 miles from them. The whole has been a work of extraordinary labour and expence; and that portion of it in particular, which runs along the peninsula, was all of it elegantly built with hewn stone. We see at Arri-ana, a little village, two leagues to the northward of Tunis, a long range of its arches, all of them entire, seventy feet high, supported by columns sixteen feet square. The channel that conveyed the water lies upon these arches, being high and broad enough for a person of an ordinary size to walk in. It is vaulted above, and plastered in the inside with a strong cement; which, by the stream running through it, is discoloured to the height of about three feet. This will sufficiently shew the capacity of the channel; but as there are several breaches in the aqueduct, sometimes for three or four miles together, I had no method to determine the velocity or angle of descent, so as to ascertain the quantity of water that might be daily conveyed through it to Carthage.

Both at Zow-wan and Zung-gar, there was a temple erected over the fountains which supplied this aqueduct with water. That at Zung-gar appears, by the remaining ornaments, to have been of the Corinthian order ‡, where there is a beautiful dome, adorned with three niches, placed immediately over the fountain. These might probably receive so many statues of the deities presiding over water §. Upon the frieze of the portal, we have this broken inscription :

----- RORISII TOTIVSQUE DIVINAE DOMVS
EIVS CIVITAS ZVCCHARA FECIT ET DEDICAVIT.

Leaving Carthage, and passing over the Salinæ, or *salt pits*, that were occasionally mentioned above, we come to Gulletta; as the Italian geographers have translated Ha'ck

* Ο δὲ Τυνησὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὲν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὡς ἑκατὸν ἑκοστὶ σταδίων. Polyb. l. xiv.

† Ἐπομνηστέον τὴν Καρχηδόνος ἀρχαίαν, τοὺς τε ΟΥΧΕΤΟΝ ΛΗΙΟΘΕΑΤΟΝ οὐκ ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτον, ὅς ἐστι τοῦ πολὺν ἡσυχία τοῦ ὕδατος. Procop. B. Vand. l. iv. c. 1.

‡ Veneri, Floræ, Proserpinæ, fontium nymphis, Corinthio genere constitutæ ædes, aptas videbantur habere proprietates, quod his Diis propter teneritatem graciliata, et florida foliis et volutis ornata, opera facta augere videbantur justum decorem. Vitruv. l. i. c. 2.

§ Such as were Hercules, Minerva, and Diana. HERCULI (fontium præfidi) SACRUM. Fabrett. Inscrip. cap. iv. No. 170. Πρὸς δὲ αὐτῇ (ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἱεροῦ) ἐστὶν Ἡρακλίου καλεσμένη ἀρχή, τοῦ ὕδατος (ἐκ τῆς ἱεροῦ ἀρχῆς) ἀναστρέφοντος Ἡρακλίου. Paus. in Corinth. MINERVÆ SACRUM. Fabrett. Inscrip. No. 495. ΔΙΑΝΑΣ (f. p.) SACRUM. Id. No. 496.

el Wed, i. e. *The throat of the river*. This is the channel of communication, as we may call it, betwixt the lake of Tunis and the sea, where there is, on each side, a tolerably strong and well built castle, intended as well for the security of this narrow passage, as of the harbour and anchoring ground that lies before it. This lake was formerly, as Procopius informs us, a deep and extensive ppr*, capacious enough to take in the largest navy; but at present, by receiving all the common sewers from Tunis, the deepest part of it does not exceed six or seven feet, while the rest, for the space of a mile or more within the banks, is generally dry and nauseous. However, the prospect of this large piece of water receives no small beauty from the many flocks of the Flamant, or Phœnicopterus, that sometimes frequent it; and from the castle Shickley which is built within it, and frequently visited by the Tuniseens, and Christian merchants, as a place of pleasure and recreation. Neither is this lake less famous for the number and largeness of its mullets, which are accounted the sweetest upon the coast of Barbary; the roes whereof, after they are pressed and dried, are accounted a great delicacy, and known by the name of Bo-targo †.

Tunis, the Tunes of the ancients, and the capital of this kingdom, is situated upon a rising ground, along the western banks of this lake, in a full prospect (as the ancients have described it ‡) on Carthage †, and the island Ægimurus. Diodorus Siculus calls it ΛΕΥΚΟΝ ΤΥΝΗΤΙΑ, i. e. *White Tunis*, perhaps from the chalky cliffs that lie round about it, when we view it from the sea. The many lakes and marshes that surround it, might probably render the situation less healthy, were not these inconveniences in a great measure corrected by the great quantity of mastic, myrtle, rosemary, and other gummy and aromatic plants, which frequently communicate a sensible fragrantcy to the air, whilst they are heating their ovens and bagnios with them. The want of water is another complaint of the Tuniseens, who, from the brackishness of their well water, and the scarcity of cisterns, are obliged to fetch the greatest part of what they drink from Bardo, Beer el Kelp, and other places at a mile's distance. If we except this inconvenience, no place enjoys a greater plenty of the necessaries of life.

The Tuniseens are the most civilized nation of Barbary. They have very little of that insolent and haughty behaviour which is too common at Algiers. All affairs likewise with the regency are transacted in such a friendly complaisant manner, that it was no small pleasure to attend Mr. Consul Lawrence at his audiences. This nation, which for many years has been more intent upon trade, and the improvement of its manufactures, than upon plunder and cruising, has always had the character and reputation of living, not like their neighbours, in open war or perpetual disputes with the Christian princes, but of cultivating their friendship, and coming readily into their alliances; but the late revolution, and change of government that has been hinted at before, may have introduced a new system of policy among them.

If we take in the Bled el Hadrah, and the Bab el Swaiky, as they call the suburbs, Tunis may be three miles or more in circuit. However, it is not, for the bigness of it, so populous as Algiers, though they boast of more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. Neither are the houses, in general, which are computed to be twelve

* Λιμνη γὰρ ἡ πλεον ἢ μὲν γυνὴς αὐτῆς (Καρχηδόου,) διχοῦντα πρὸς τὴν, ὡς δὲ ΣΤΑΙΝΟΝ καλεῖται, ἀφύλακτον τε πανταπασιὸν οὐκὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαντὰς τοὺς ἰκανὸς τετυκνῆται. Procop. Bell. Vand. l. i. c. 13.

† Botarge sunt ex ovib. cephalis (Latini *mugilem* dicunt) expolitis sc. in duabus velicis, cruore ejusdem piscis et sale adhibito. Recentioribus corrupto verbo Botarcha vocantur, quasi dicas, *ωσπαρχα*, i. e. οὐκὰ λελίτα. G. Panciroll. de nov. rept. tit. ult.

‡ In hoc lacu Tunes est insula ad oblectionem et discutiendum animi mœrorem: verum quoad latus ejus, quoad Tunes spectat, eo sordes et immunditie coacervantur. Abulf. ut supra.

§ Vid. not. § p. 563.

thousand, so lofty and magnificent. Neither have the Tuniseans the like number and variety of country-seats; a few villas at the Manoubah, on one side, and at El Merfa, on the other, being their chief places of diversion and retirement. The vine is likewise less cultivated here than at Algiers; and lately the making of wine has been absolutely prohibited, which has increased the revenue that arises from the duty upon foreign wines, to the sum of fifty thousand dollars, it being computed that the merchants import every year upwards of four thousand hogheads; a quantity very surprising indeed, were we not at the same time to consider the great number of Turks and Moors who drink here to excess, beyond the practice perhaps of any other nation.

Upon a large pillar, brought from the neighbourhood of Carthage, and placed in one of their bagnios, is preserved the following inscription.

IMP. CAESAR
DIVI NERVAE NEPOS
DIVI TRAIANA PARTHICI F.
TRAIANVS HADRIANVS.
AVG. PONT. MAX. TRIB.
POT. VII. COS. III.
VIA A CARTHAGINE
THEVESTEN STRAVIT
PER LEG. III. AVG.
P. METILIO SECVNDO
LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

Two leagues to the E. S. E. of Tunis, and at the like distance to the S.W. of the Gulletta, is the town of Rhades, situated upon a rising ground betwixt the lake of Tunis and the sea. This is the ancient Ades, so much enquired after by Cellarius and others, where M. Regulus defeated the Carthaginians. Hard by it, on the right hand, are those hills, where Hanno (as Polybius observes) very unskilfully placed his elephants to oppose him. As the road from Clypea to Tunes lies through a narrow defile, at a little distance from Ades, the Carthaginian general (pardoning that one mistake) could not have pitched upon a more convenient place for the security of this pass; neither could the Romans have carried it without their usual bravery.

Not far from Rhades is the river Miliaha, the Catada of Ptolemy; and about a league farther is Hammam Leef, a noted hot-bath, very much resorted to by the citizens of Tunis. Behind these baths, on the right hand, is Jibbel Refafs, i. e. *The mountain of lead*, whose mines are plentifully stored with that metal: and two leagues on the left, near the bottom of the gulf, is the small town of Solyman, situated upon the skirts of a fine plain, with a river, at two miles distance on each side of it. This place is chiefly inhabited by Andalusian Moors, who 'being more civilized than their brethren, are very courteous to Christians, and still retain the Spanish language.

Two leagues to the N.E. of Solyman is Moraifah, the Maxula of Ptolemy and other authors. Here are several broken cisterns, besides a small harbour, as Moraifah (corruptly probably for Merfa) may denote. The sea shore, which from the Gulletta, all along by Rhades, Hammam Leef, and Solyman, is low and sandy, begins here to be rugged and mountainous; in which situation, two leagues farther, we fall in the creek of Gurbos, or Hammam Gurbos, the ancient Carpis, where there is a hot bath, and some ruins. These are the Calidæ Aquæ * of Livy, which he very

* Ipse (Cn. Octavius) cum rostratis, per adversos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enixus, Apollinis promontorium tenuit; onerariæ pars maxima ad Aegimurum, — aliæ adversus urbem ipsam ad Calidæ Aquas delatæ sunt. Liv. l. xxx. 24.

justly places over against Carthage; and at the same time acquaints us, that several vessels belonging to the fleet of Octavius, were there ship-wrecked. Three leagues to the N. of Gurbos, we pass by a very high and rugged head-land, the Promontorium *Herculis* of the ancients; within it there is a small bay, where the *Wed el Abejde* discharges itself.

The sanctuary of Seedy Doude, surrounded with the ruins of the ancient *Nisua*, or *Misua*, is five leagues to the E. N. E. of the promontory of Hercules. It is so called in honour of David, or *Dgude*, as they pronounce it, a Moorish saint, whose sepulchre, as they shew it, is five yards long. But this, in reality, is nothing more than a fragment of some Roman prætorium, as we may conjecture from three tessellated or Mosaic pavements, the usual attendants of such places, which lie contiguous to it. The pavements are all wrought with the greatest symmetry and exactness; for besides the general contrast and design, which is executed with all the artful wreathings and variety of colours imaginable, the many figures of horses, birds, fishes, and trees, are therein so judiciously intermixed and curiously inlaid, that they even appear more gay and lively than so many tolerable good paintings. The horse, the insignia of the Carthaginians, is displayed in the same bold, free, and open posture, as it is exhibited upon the African and Sicilian medals. The birds are the hawk and the partridge; the fishes are the gilt head* (called here *Jeraffa*) and the mullet; and the trees are the palm and the olive. The contriver perhaps intended by this choice to point out the strength, the diversions, the fishery, and the plenty of dates and oil, for which this country continues to be, as it was always, remarkable. *Misua* appears, by the ruins, to have been of the same extent with *Hippozarytes*; where likewise there was a capacious harbour very convenient for such vessels to touch at, which could not, on account of contrary winds or distress of weather, reach the ports of Carthage or Utica.

Two leagues to the E. N. E. of Seedy Doude, and a little to the southward of the promontory of Mercury, is *Low-harcab*, the *Aquilaria* of the ancients, where *Curio*† landed those troops that were afterwards defeated‡ by *Sabura*. The situation of this ancient city has been hitherto as much enquired after and wanted as that of *Utica* and *Ades*: where, in like manner, there are several fragments of antiquities, but none of them worthy of our notice. However, from the sea shore to this village, which is at half a mile's distance, the interjacent mountain, from the level of the sea to the height of twenty or thirty feet above it, is according to the disposition of the strata, very artfully hewn and carried away, where small shafts or openings are carried up quite through the surface above for the admission of fresh air; whilst large pillars, (the *μεσοκρίνεις κίονες*, as *Pollux* names them) with their respective arches, as the practice was §, are left standing, at their proper distances below, to support the roof. These are the quarries taken notice of by *Strabo* ||; from whence the buildings, not only of Carthage and Utica, but of other adjacent cities, received their materials. * Moreover, as this mountain is shaded all over with trees; as the arches here described lie open to the sea, having a large cliff on each side, with the Island *Ægimurus* placed over against

* This is the *aurata* of the ancients, which *Leo* mistakes for the *laccia* or *lecby* of the Italians, a fish of the tunny or mackrel kind. "Post mensem Octobrem genus quoddam piscis capitur, quod apud *Africos* *Giarapha* appellatur; eundem piscem esse crediderim, que Romanis *Laccia* appellatur." *J. Leo*, p. 214.

† *Cæs. de Bell. Civ. l. ii. 21.*

‡ *Milites an unum omnes interficiuntur. Id. 38.*

§ *Formice crebro relinquebantur a metallariis montibus sustinendis. Plin. xxxiii. 4.*

|| *Strabo, l. 190.*

them; as there are likewise some fountains perpetually draining from the rocks, and seats very convenient for the weary labourer to rest upon: from such a concurrence of circumstances, so exactly corresponding to the cave which Virgil places somewhere in this gulf, we have little room to doubt of the following description being literally true, notwithstanding some commentators* may have either thought it fictitious, or applicable to another place.

Est in secessu longo locus; Insula portum
Efficit objectu laterum: quibus omnis ab alto
Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unde reductos.
Hinc atque hinc vulturæ rupes, geminique minantur
In cælum scopuli: quorum sub vertice late
Æquora tuta silent: tum sylvis scena cornucis
Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra
Fronte sub adversa scopulis pendentibus antrum:
Intus aquæ dulces; vivoque sedilia saxo.
Nympharum domus, &c. *Virg. Æn. i. 163.*

Cape Bon, the Ras-addar of the Moors, and the promontory of Mercury, or Hermes of the ancients, is situated about a league to the northward of Lowah-reah. I was informed by the neighbours, that, in very fair weather, they could from hence discover the mountains of Sicily, which are more than twenty leagues distant. The two islands Zembræ, or Zowa-moores, as the Tuniseans call them, lie under this promontory; the smaller not far from the shore, the larger at four miles distance. The fruitful tract of land, that reaches from this cape to Nabal and Hamamel, is, from the fashion of it, called Dackhul, i. e. *The Strip* or *Corner*. Five leagues from this cape, to the S. by E. thereof, is Clybea, the Clupia or Clypea of the Latins, and the ΑΣΠΙΣ of the Grecians. It is built upon a small promontory, the Taphitis of Strabo†, which, being in the figure of a shield † or hemisphere, gave occasion to the name. There is nothing standing of this ancient city; for the castle is a modern structure, and what they now call Clybea, is a miserable knot of hovels, at a mile's distance from the old.

A little way from hence to the southward, we cross a large river, where Massinissa was supposed to have been drowned in his flight from Bocchar; who, as Livy tells us, was afraid to ford it, discouraged no doubt by the depth and rapidity of the stream. In the month of January, when no rain had fallen into it for several days, we found the channel very deep and of an uneven bottom, full of large stones, which we had much difficulty to pass over with safety. On the other side lie those open fields, where Bocchar is said to have killed forty-six of the fifty persons who attended Masinissa §.

Gurba, the ancient Curobis, or Curubis, is seven leagues from Clybea. It was formerly a considerable place, though at present the ruins of a large aqueduct, with the cisterns that received the water, are the only antiquities. A little brook runs by

* Est *perobscura*, i. e. fictus secundum poeticam licentiam locus. Ne autem videretur penitus a veritate discedere, Hispaniensis Carthaginis portum descripsit. Cæterum hunc locum in Africa nunquam esse constat. *Serv. in loc.* Fictus hic locus est, et sublatus ab Homero (*Odyss. xiii. 95.*) aliqua ex parte ad formam Ithacensis portus. *Pomp. Sab. ibid.* Mr. Addison (*p. 71.* of his *Travels*) supposeth that Virgil might have taken the plan from the bay of Naples.

† Exc. p. 7. F.

‡ In Clypei speciem curvatis turribus Aspis. *Sil. Ital. l. iii. 243.*

§ Masinissa cum quinquaginta haud amplius equitibus per anfractus montis ignotos sequentibus se eripuit. Tenuit tamen vestigia Bocchar; adeptusque eum patentibus prope Clupeam urbem campis, ita circumvenit, ut, præter quatuor equites, omnes ad unum interfecit — amnis ingens fugientis accepit — is finis Bocchari sequendi fuit, nec ingredi flumen auso, nec, &c. *Liv. l. xxix. 32.*

it to the W. where we have the remains of a stone bridge that was built over it; and at a neighbouring house there is an altar that might have belonged to it, with the following inscription:

PONTI
C. HELVIO C. FARN. HONORA
TO AEDILI II VIR
... CVRAT. ALIMENT. DISTRIB.
OB INSIGNES LIBERALITATES
IN REMPVB. ET IN CIVES
AMOREM VIRO BONQ
COL. FVLVIA CVRVBIS. DL. PP.

Leaving Gurba we come to Nabal, a very thriving and industrious town, much celebrated for its potteries. It is built in a low situation, at a mile's distance from the sea shore; and about a furlong to the westward is the ancient Neapolis, which appears to have been a large city, even exclusive of that part of it which is swallowed up by the sea. Here are a great number of inscriptions upon stones of six feet in length, and three in breadth; but they are either so unfortunately defaced, or filled up with rubbish and mortar, that it required more time than my guides would allow me to copy them. On the banks of the little brook that runs through the old city, we have a block of white marble, with a wolf in basso relievo curiously represented upon it.

Travelling for the space of two leagues through a rugged road, delightfully shaded with olive trees, we arrive at Hamam-et, which Leo informs us (p. 221.) was built about his time, though the flourishing condition of it is of no longer date than the latter end of the last century. The pillars, the blocks of marble, the following inscriptions, and some few other tokens of antiquity that we meet with at Hamam-et, were brought from the neighbouring ruins of Cassit Afeite, the Civitas Siagitana of * the ancients. The name too (which, from some small affinity in sound, might induce Buno, the Sansons, and others to take it for the ancient Adrumetum,) is derived from the Hamam, or *wild pigeons*, that copiously breed in the adjacent cliffs.

I.
VICTORIAE
ARMENIACAE PARTHICAE
MEDICAE AVGVSTORVM A.
SACRVM CIVITAS SIAGI
TANA DD. PP.

II.
IMP. CAES. DIVI SEPTIMI SEVERI
PARTH. ARABICI ADIABENICI
MAX. BRIT. MAX. FIL. DIVI
M. ANTONINI PII GERMANICI
SARMAT. NEPOT. DIVI ANTONINI
PRONEPOTI DIVI AELI HADRIANI
ABNEPOTI DIVI TRAIANI PAR. ET
DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOTI
M. AVRE. LIO ANTONINO PIO FEL.
PAR. MAX. BRIT. MAX. GERM.
MAX. IMP. III. COS. III. P. P. - -
- - CIVITAS SIAGITANORVM DD. PP.

* Bochart. Chan. l. i. c. 24. has preserved another inscription relating to this place.

* Et pro senatu populoque Siagitano Celer Imilaconis Guiliffæ F. Suffes.

.. A little beyond Caffir Afeite, we come into a large plain, that reaches as far as Herkla, which is as remarkable for the many flocks of the Damoiselle, or Otis, that frequent it, as the lake of Tunis is for those of the Phœnicopterus. Within this plain, two leagues from Hamam-et, is the Me-narah, a large mausoleum, near twenty yards in diameter, built in a cylindrical form, with a vault underneath it. Several small altars (supposed by the Moors to have been formerly so many menara, i. e. *lamps*, for the direction of the mariner) are placed upon the cornice, and inscribed with the names of,

L. AEMILIO AFRICANO AVVNCVLO.
C. SVELLIO PONTANO PATRVELI.
VITELLIO QVARTO PATRI.

Near the Menarah are the ruins of a small port or creek, formerly belonging to Faradeefe, an old Roman city, situated at a few miles distance upon the N. W. side of this plain. I was informed, that a century ago, the Faradesians were the greatest cruizers and the most experienced mariners of this country; but that the greater increase of trade, and the more conveniences for navigation at Hamam-et, had, of late years, drawn thither all the inhabitants. This may be the Veneria of Solinus; or rather, from an affinity in name, the ancient Aphrodisium, placed by Ptolemy in the same latitude, but more to the W. than Adrumetum.

Near the middle of the plain, our prospect is a little interrupted by an hemispherical hillock, called Selloome, the seat formerly of some castle or village; probably one of those mentioned by Hirtius *, which Cæsar passed by in sailing towards Adrumetum. Two leagues further, near the shore, there is a large piece of marshy ground, with an adjacent lake, which is perpetually draining through it into the sea. A bridge, or sometimes a causeway only, were formerly built over the whole length of this morass, to the no small conveniency and safety likewise of those who were to pass over it, in their way to Herkla and Sufa. This morass, with the rivulet oozing from it, I take to be the boundary to the seaward betwixt the Zeugitania and Bizachium.

*CHAP. III.—Of the most remarkable inland Places of the Zeugitania, or Summer Circuit.

IF we return then to the westward of the summer circuit, a little to the S.W. of the great lake of Biserta, is Jibbel Ikell, the Mons Cerna of the ancients. Matter, the Oppidum Materense, lies below it, a small village situated in a fruitful plain. The rivulet that runs by it, empties itself into that part of the great lake which was the Sifera Palus, as the other part of it nearer Bizerta was the Hipponites of the old geography.

Not far from the frontiers of the Algerines, about seven leagues from Tabarca, and ten to the S. W. of Matter, is the city Beja or Bay-jah, as it is pronounced at present, which by the name and situation should be the Vacca † of Sallust, the Oppidum Vagense of Pliny, the BATA ‡ of Plutarch, and the Vaccensium Ordo Splendidissimus, as the title runs in the following imperfect inscription. Cellarius § places it very justly

* Cæsar Clupiam classe prætervehitur; inde Neapolin, complura præterea castella et oppida non longe a mari relinquit. Hirt. Bell. Afr. § 2.

† Erat haud longe ab eo itinere quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum, ubi et incolere et mercari consueverunt Italici generis multi mortales. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 50.

‡ Φεργαν δι Βαργαν πολιν μεγαλην, &c. Plut. in Mario, p. 409

§ Vaga a Cirta in ortum æslivum distat. Cell. l. iv. c. 5. p. 114.

towards the N. E. of Cirta, but quotes no authority. However, as it may be presumed, from Sallust's * account, to lie on the right hand, (as Keff or Sicca Veneria did to the left, in travelling from Carthage or Utica, to Numidia, such a situation will be highly agreeable to this description of it. Moreover, after Vacca revolted, Metellus† is said to have departed from his winter quarters in the evening, and to have arrived before it, about the third hour of the following day; which journey, considering the expedition wherewith it was performed, will very well agree with the distance of fifty miles, that lies betwixt Bayjah and Utica, where Metellus was then stationed. I am not acquainted with any other circumstance in ancient history, that further informs us concerning the situation of Vacca; for Ptolemy's Vaga, as it lies among the Cirtesi, cannot be the place: and the reason perhaps why it is not taken notice of in the Itinerary, or in Peutinger's tables, may be accounted for from its lying quite out of the great road that was carried from Carthage either to Numidia or Bizacium.

Bayjah keeps up the character that Sallust gives his Vacca, of being a town of great trade, the chief mart indeed of the whole kingdom, particularly for corn, from which all other commodities are estimated; and in the plains of Bufdera, which lie below it along the banks of the Mejerdah, there is kept every summer a public fair, frequented by the most distant Arabian tribes, who resort hither with their flocks, their manufactories, and families. The present city is built upon the declivity of a hill, with the conveniency of being well watered; and upon the highest part of it is the citadel, which is of no great strength. Upon the walls, which are raised out of the ancient materials, we have the following inscription that has been referred to above:

M. IVLIO M. TILIRB - - - - -
 DECVRIONI - - - - -
 FAC. ANN. XXI. PRAEFECTVS
 VR. DEC. II VIR - - - QQ - - - -
 V. CVM ORDO SPLENDIDISSIMVS
 OB MERITA SVA STATVAM
 P. P. FIERI DECREVIT.

In the same parallel nearly with Baijah, upon the banks of the Mejerdah, is Tuburbo, a small town inhabited at present by Andalusian Moors. This should be the Tuburbum Minus of the ancients; as the Majus (where, according to Peutinger's table, there was a remarkable temple or edifice) lies at too great a distance towards the S. to be taken for it. Mahamet, a late bey of this kingdom, planted a great number and variety of fruit-trees in the neighbourhood of it, which were ranged in so particular a method, that each species was confined to one grove, and thereby removed from the influence of another. Thus the orange-trees were all placed by themselves, without the admission of the lime or citron; and where the pear or apple was gathered, there was no encouragement to look for the peach or apricot. In the adjacent valley, where the Mejerdah conveys its stream, the same curious and generous prince erected, out of the ruins of a neighbouring amphitheatre, a large massy bridge or damm, with proper sluices and flood-gates, to raise the river to a convenient height, for watering and refreshing these plantations. But this, which was too laudable an invention to subsist long in Barbary, is now entirely broken down and destroyed.

* Sal. Bell. Jug. 60.

† Metellus, postquam de rebus Vaccæ actis comperit — legionem, cum qua hiemabat, et quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit; et postera die, circiter horam tertiam, pervenit in quandam plautiæm — docet oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille passuum abesse. *Id.* 71.

Below Tuburhp, on the same side of the Mejerdah, is the little village Tuccaber, the same perhaps that is taken notice of by St. Cyprian (in Concil.) and St. Austin (and Donat.) under the name of Tuccabori or Thuccabori. Simler* therefore must be mistaken in taking it for the Tucca Terebinthina, which lay 60 miles only from Sufetula; whereas Tuccaber lies nearly at twice that distance.

On the other side of the Mejerdah, ten leagues to the S. of Tuccaber, is Tuberfoke, a small city walled round, and situated upon the declivity of an eminence. In the centre of it, there is a very clear and plentiful fountain, with the ruins of a small temple or dome that was formerly built over it. It lies nearly in the same parallel with Tuberfoke, though at above 50 miles distance, and cannot therefore be one and the same city, as some authors quoted by Cellarius (l. xiv. c. 4.) have imagined. Upon the walls, which are made with the old materials, we have the two following inscriptions; by the first of which, we find this city was called Thiburficumbure, the same probably with the Tuburficuburensis of the Notitia. Now, as this was a sec of the Provincia Proconsularis, we shall be at a loss for the Thiburficca of Ptolemy, which the same Notitia places in Numidia, a quite different province. The second instructs us, that the title of Christianissimus, which a few centuries ago was given by the Bishop of Rome to the French kings, was a compliment paid, many ages before, to Justin and Sofia.

I.
VRBI ROMAE AETERNAE AVG.
RESP. MVNICIPI SEVERIANI ANTO
NINIANI LIBERI THIBVRSICENSIVM
BVRE.

II.
SALVIS DOMINIS NOSTRIS CHRISTIANISSIMIS ET
INVICTISSIMIS IMPERATORIBVS IVSTINO ET SOFIAE
AVGVSTIS HANC MVNITIONEM THOMAS † EXCELLENTISSIMVS
PRAEFECTVS FELICITER AEDIFICAVIT.

Lorbus, called sometimes Lerba, the ancient Laribus Colonia, lies in the same parallel with Tuberfoke, at three leagues distance to the W. It has a fine situation upon an eminence, from whence Leo and Marmol very injudiciously deduce the river of Tabarca.

Below Lorbus and Tuberfoke, at near equal distances from them both, is Musti ‡, called at present Seedy Abdel Abbis, where we have the remains of a beautiful triumphal arch; and upon a stone that might formerly belong to it, there is the following inscription:

INVICTISSIMO FELICISSIMOQVE IMPERATOI
AVGVSTO CAESARI ORBIS PACATORI
----- MYSTICENSIVM DD.

Vibius Sequester † has been misinformed, in placing Musti near the river Bagrada, which is, in the nearest part of it, four leagues from it to the N. E. The author of the Itinerary makes this noted city to lie 34 Roman miles (Peutinger's tables only 32) from Sicca Veneria, 92 from Sufetula, 86 from Carthage, and 199 (by Tipasa) to Cirta; all which distances, considering the roads are frequently indirect, and several interjacent places are to be frequently touched at, will very well correspond with the situation of Seedy Abdelabbis.

* Annot. in Itener. Cellar. l. iv. c. 5. 116.

† Et Thomas Libycæ nutantis dextera terræ. Corrip. Afr. de laud. Just. Min. l. i.

‡ Bagrada Africa juxta oppidum Musti, &c.

Keff, the Sicca or Sicca Veneria * of the ancients, lies about 15 miles from Lorbuss, and 72 miles from Tunis. It is a frontier town, and the third for riches and strength in the whole kingdom.

In the late civil wars, the greatest part of the citadel was blown up, which has since been rebuilt with greater strength and beauty. In levelling an adjacent mount, to find materials for this building, they found an entire statue of Venus; which was no sooner found than it was broken to pieces by these Iconoclastics. This statue may not a little authorize and illustrate the appellation of Veneria that was attributed to Sicca. There was an equestrian statue dug up at the same time, dedicated to MARCVS ANTONIVS RVFVS, which suffered the same fate. The situation of Keff, as the name itself imports, is upon the declivity of a hill, with a plentiful source of water near the centre of it. Besides what has been already mentioned, the two following inscriptions are the only surviving antiquities of this noted place :

I.
VICTORI
CENTVRIONI
LEGIONARIO
EX EQVITE
ROMANO
OB MANIFI
CENTIAM ORDO
SICCENSIVM
-----CIVI
ET CONDECVRIONI
DD. PP.

II.
HERCVLI SACRVM
M. TITACIVS PROCVLVS PROCV
RATOR AVGVSTI SVA
PECVNIA FECIT

Tuber-noke, the Oppidum Tuburnicense of Pliny, is situated in the Dakhul, at about seven leagues to the S. of Tunis, and near the half way betwixt Solyman and Cassir Afeite. It is built in the form of a crescent, between two ridges of a very verdant mountain (a part probably of the Mons Balbus of Livy †) which diversifies itself, in this neighbourhood, in the like variety of windings and narrow defiles as are mentioned by that author. A large pair of stag's horns are well delineated in basso relievo; upon the gate of a large edifice, which is indeed the only surviving antiquity. Tuber-noke answers well enough in name to the Tubernicensis of the Notitia; yet it will be difficult to account for the placing of it, no less than of Tubercine above mentioned, among the episcopal sees of Numidia; the nearest of which lies at so considerable a distance to the westward, that we may well suspect there is some great mistake in the Notitia ‡, with regard to both those places.

Zow-an or Zag-wan, in the same meridian with, and at twelve leagues distance from Tunis, is a small flourishing town, built upon the N. E. extremity of a conspicuous

* Summi viri, Jo. Seldenus, De Diis Syris Syntagma ii. c. 7. et Ger. Jo. Vossius, Theol. Gentil. l. ii. cap. 22. nomen Sicce Veneriæ erudite deducunt ex Assyriorum numine vel religione Succot Benot, cujus 2 Reg. xvii. fit mentio, quasi tabernacula filiarum five mulierum dicantur, seu cultus Veneris Assyriæ, quam Herodotus l. i. c. 99. et Strabo, l. xvi. describunt. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. l. iv. c. 5. p. 117. Sicce enim Fanum est Veneris, in quod se matronæ conferebant; atque inde procedentes ad quæstum, dotes corporis injuria contrahabant, honesta nimirum tam inhonesto vinculo conjugia juncturæ. V. Max. l. ii. c. 6. § 15.

† Masinissa cum paucis equitibus ex acie in montem (Balbum incolæ vocant) perfugit. Liv. l. xxix. § 31. Bocchar digressum jugis Masinissam persequentis in valle arcta, faucibus utrimque obsessis, inclusit. Id. § 32.

‡ Vid. Tertul. lib. 6. ad Scapulam. Baron. Annual. in ann. c. 195.

mountain of the same name, the Mons Ziguensis probably of Victor*. It is in great repute for the dying of scarlet caps, and the bleaching of linen; great quantities of both being daily brought thither for that purpose from Tunis, Sufa, and other places. The stream which is employed at present for this use, was formerly, together with the river of Zungler, conveyed to Carthage; and over the fountains of it there was, in like manner as at Zungar, which has been already described, a temple erected, the ruins of which continue likewise to this day. Upon an ancient gate which regards the S. E. there is a ram's head, armed, in basso relievo, with AVXILIO, in large letters below it. This may perhaps instruct us, that Zowan, or whatever was its former name, was under the immediate influence and protection of Jupiter Ammon†.

If we could be assured, that the least traces of Zeugis, mentioned above, or Zeugitana, were preserved in the present name of this city or mountain, there would be no small reason to imagine, that the name of this province was denominated from it. Solinus seems to advance something in favour of this supposition; by acquainting us, that Africa (particularly so called, as we are perhaps to understand him) commenced, a pede ‡ Zeugitano, i. e. *from the foot* (as I would interpret it) *of the mountain Zowwan*, the Mons Ziguensis probably of Victor; or, in other words, that Africa was that space of ground which lay to the northward of the parallel of this mountain. It is certain, that we have from this eminence a most delightful and extensive prospect; which might therefore be the very place from whence Agathocles § was entertained with the view both of the country of the Adrumetines and Carthaginians. The Zygantes of Herodotus, who were remarkable for their honey, seem to have had this situation.

The following inscriptions relate to places of lesser note in the old geography; at each of which there are several rudiments of old cisterns, pillars, capitals, fragments of large walls, porticoes, &c. which it would have been too tedious to enumerate on every occasion.

• Upon a ruined Triumphal Arch at Bazilbab, on the Banks of the Migardab, 30 miles to the W. of Tunis.

SALVIS ET PROPITIIS DDD. NNN. GRATIA
NO VALENTINIANO THEODOSIO INVICTISSIMIS PRINCI
PIBVS DE PACE EX MORE CONDIT. DECRET

At Tesbure, six miles from Bazilbab.

I
D. N. IMP. VALERIO LVCINIA
NO LICINIO AVG. MAX.
SARMATICO MAX. GERMA
NICO MAX. TRIBVNITIA POTES

* Cresconius Presbyter Myzentinx civitatis, in spelunca Ziguensis montis reerutus est, putrescente jam solutus cadavere. Viét. Uic. de Persecut. Vand. l. iii.

† The image of Jupiter Ammon is called Κρητοπρωτων by Herodotus, l. ii. § 42. From whence the poet,

Tortis cornibus Ammon..... *Lucan.* l. ix. p. 519.

In one of the coins of Gallienus, there is a ram with this legend, IOVI CONSERVATORI; in one of Saloninus, AMMONI CONSERVATORI.

‡ Ποδας μιν γὰρ λογισθαι ὑπορίας, κινυθῆαι δὲ τα ἀκρα τῶν ὄρων. *Strab.* l. x. p. 326.

§ Αγαθοκλῆς προσήλθεν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦτον ὁρίῳ, ἵδεν ὄρασθαι δύνατον ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀδρυμητίνων καὶ τῶν Χαρχηδονίων τῶν Τυνήτα πολιορκουμένων χερσὶν. *Diod Sic. lib. xx. p. 741.*

TATE

TATE X. COS. V. IMP. X. PATRI PATRIAE
PROCONS. COL. BISICA LVCANA DEVOTA
NVMINIBVS MAIESTATIQVE EIVS.

II.

FORTISSIMO IMP.
ET PACATORI ORBIS
M. CLAUDIO
TACITO.
PIO FELICI AVG.

At Tugga, betwixt Testure and Tubersfoke.

C. MEMMIO FELICI
FLAMINI AVG. PERP.
VTRIVSQVE PARTIS
CIVITATIS THIGNICEN
SIS. C. MEMMIVS
FORTUNATVS FLAM
AVG. PERP. VTRI
VSQVE PARTIS CIVI
TATIS THIGNICENCIS
PROPTER EXIMIAM
PIETATEM ET AFFECTI
ONEM FRATERNAM QVAM
--- LIBER EXHIBIT.

At Al Alcab, half way betwixt Bizerta and Port Farina.

----- REIPVBLICAE SPLENDI
DISSIMAE COTVZAE SACRAE
VALERIVS IANVARIVS -----

At Slougeah, betwixt Testoure and Bazilbab, on the Banks of the Mejerdah.

IMP. CAES. DIVI M. ----
ANTONINI PII GE ----
NEP. DIVI HADRIANI
PRONEP. DIVI
TRAIANI PART. AB
---- DIVI NERVAE
--- SEPTIMIO SEVERO
PERTINACI AVG. ARAB.
N. PP. PONT. MAX. TRIB.
POTEST. IMP. VII. COS. II.
----- HIDIBELENS.

At Dugga, near Tubersfoke.

I.

IMP. CAES. DIVI ANTONINI ---
MARC. AVRELIO SEVERO ALEXANDRO .
PONTIFICI MAX. TRIBVNITIA POT.
ET CASTR. ET SENATVS ET PA
--- VM LIBERVM * THVGGA.

* MVNICIPIVM LIBERVM THVGGA apud Sponii Miscell. *Фергюв тѣмѣ*, Procop. l. 6. c. 5. De
A. d. i. c.

II.

CLAVDIO CAESARI AVG ----
MAXIMO TRIBVNITIA POT. --
R. CRASSVS AEDIL. ORNAM --
TI VIR AVGVR II VIR QVINQVE
C. FAR. PERPETVVS SACERIVS
PAGI THVGGENSIS NOM ----
ET PERPETVI -----

III.

IMP. CAES. DIVI
NERVAE NEPOTI
TRAIANI DACICI
PARTHICI FIL.
TRAIANO HADRIANO AVG.
PONT. MAX. TRIBVN.
POTEST. COS. II. PP.
CIVITAS THVGGA DD. PP.

IV.

TIRINVS FORTV
NATVS VIR. ARMIS
INGENIO ET ANIMO
MAXIMO QVICVM
- - - - NIS ET GRAECIS
- - - TIMIS H. I. T. P.
- - - - -
VIXITQVE IACTOS DVOS
ZOZIMOS IOVIS P. V. XXXIV.

At Masbera, near Dugga.

SATVRNO AVG. SACRVM
CIVITAS II TVGGENSIS
DEDICAVIT DECRETO
DECVRIONVM.

At Beiffons, betwixt Tubersfke and Dugga.

I.

MAGNIS ET INVICTIS DDDD. NNNN. DIOCLETIANO
ET MAXIMIANO PERPETVIS AVGG. ET
CONSTANTIO ET MAXIMIANO NOBB. CAESARIBVS
RESPVBLICA MVNICIPII ACBIENSIVM DEDICA - - -
M. IVL. - - PROCOS - - MAIESTAQVE EORVM DIC. - -

II.

PRO SALVTE IMP. M. ANTONINI. AVG. PII
LIBERORVMQVE EIVS
CINTIVS C. F. R. N. VICTORVM AD TVENDAM
REMPVBLICAM CONSENSV DECVRIO
NVN OMNIVM IAM PRIDEM PATRONVS
FACTVS ET TVTOR CVM - - RERVN VETVS
TATE CONSUM - - - - - A SOLO
- - - - -
MVNICIPI CIVILIS ACBIENSIVM ET
VNIVERSIS CVRIIS. DD. PP.

At Boufsha, 18 miles to the S.W. of Tunis.

CATIO ALCIMO FELICIANO PV. - - - - -
VICE PRAEF. PRET. PRAEF. ANNO - - - - -
NAE VICE PRAEF. VIGILVM. MAG. - - - - -
SVMMAE PRIVATAE MAGIST. - - - - -
VM RATIONVM CVRATORI OPER - - - - -
TRI. PROC. HEREDITATVM - - - - -
SACRAE MONEFAE PER - - - - -
PROV. NARBONENS. PROC. PRIV. PER SALARIAM - -
TIBVRTINAM VALERIAM TVSCIAM PROC. PER - -
FLAMINIAM VMBRIAM PICENVN ITEM VICE - - -
PROC. QVADRIG. GALLIARVM PROC. ALIMENT. PER -
TRANSPADVN HISTRIAM TITVRNIAM - - - - -

FISCI PROVINCIAE. XI OB EXIMIVM AMOREM IN.
PATRIAM SPENDIDISSIMVS ORDO TVRCET. PATRONO DD.

At Meßberga, nine miles to the E. of Boufda.

I.

PII IMP. V. COS. I. -
PROCOS. MVNICIPI
VM. GIVF DEVOTVM
NVMINI MAIESTATI
QVE EIVS DD. PP.

II.

LVCINIAE SATVR
NINAE AVRELI
DIONISI PATRO
NI CONIVGI
MVNICIPES
MVNICIPI AVRE
LI ALEXANDRIA
NI AVGVSTI
MAGNI GIVFITANI.

III.

AGENTI.

IV.

APOLLINI AVG. SACR.
DEVNDANIVS PAPRIMIANVS FVNDANI
FELICIS AEDELICI FIL. FVNDANI PRIMI FL. P. NEPOTIS
AEDILIS OB HONOREM AEDILITATESQVE MET. ORDO
SVVS SVFFRAGIO DECREVIT HANC STATVAM IMITA
TVS PATRIS EXEMPLVM H.S. VIII MILLIBVS N SVA LI
BERALITATE NVMERATA PRIVS A SE REIPVBLICAE
SVMMMA HONORARIA POSVIT EANDEMQUE DEDICA
VIT ET OB DEDICATIONEM SIMVL CVM MANNIO MEMI
ANO COLLEGA SVO LVDS SCAENICOS ET GIMNASI
VM POPVLO AEPVLAS DECVRIONIBVS DEDIT. DDD.

V.

D. M. S.

PALLONIVS FELIX PIVS
VIXIT AN. XLI. D. IIII.
AMORE DVCTVS
PELAGI MERCIB.
INSISTEBAM
SVCCIDIS AETER
NOQVE SILENTIO
MAVRIS SVM.

VI.

PESCENNIA QVOD VVLT DEVS
H. M. F. BONIS NATALIBVS
NATA MATRONALITER
NVPTA VXOR CASTA
MATER PIA GENVIT FILIOS
III. ET FILIAS II. VIXIT
ANNIS XXX. VICTORINA
VIXIT ANNIS VII.
SVNNIVS VIXIT ANNIS
III. MARCVS VIXIT
ANNIS II. MARCEL
LVS VIXIT ANNO I.

SHAW'S TRAVELS IN BARBARY.

FORTVNATA VIXIT ANNIS
 XIII. M. VIII. MARCELLVS
 PROCOS - - CIV.
 SED ET FILIIS ET
 FILIABVS NOSTRIS ME VI
 VO MEMORIAM FECI
 • OMNIBVS ESSE PEREMNEM.

At Mansonse, near Youseph.

D. M. S.
 - - - VSVRVS PONICINNVS
 - - - VERECVNDIA INCOM
 PARABILIS - - -
 - - - ET INGENIO CLARVS
 OMNI SIMPLICITATE
 IVCVNDVS.

CHAP. IV. — *Of the most remarkable Places upon the Sea Coast of the ancient Bizacium or Winter Circuit.*

THE many parts which I have seen of the ancient Bizacium, or Winter Circuit, fall vastly short in fertility of the character which has been attributed to them by the ancients. For such as are adjacent to the sea coast are generally of a dry sandy nature, with no great depth of soil in the very best portion of them. This is called the *sahul*, and is planted for the most part with olive trees, which flourish here in the greatest perfection. Neither is the inland country in a much better condition. For, if we except the plains which are watered by the rivers Defailah, Derb, and Hat-taab, we have mountainous and woody tracts only, all along from Zun-ghar by Ufe-let, Truzza, Spaitla, Casareen, and so forward, (in turning to the N.W. by the sanctuary of Seedy Boogannin) as far as Hydrah, and the frontiers of the Algerines. The country round about Keirwan is low and marshy, with lakes and shibkahs dispersed all over it, especially in the winter season. Near Gilma, Jemmc, and so on to the river Accroude, there is an interchange indeed of hills and vallies, but which differ very little in the quality of their soil from that of the sea-coast. Beyond the mountains of Casareen, till we arrive at Ferre-anah and the skirts of the Sahara, we travel a great many miles over a barren plain, with a ridge of eminences at some distance on each side of us. The country continues in the same lonesome and barren condition from thence to Capsa, and so forward to the Jcreed, our prospect on each hand being all the way bounded with high mountains; the S. E. ridge whereof stretches towards Jibbel Hadeffa and the *lake of marks*; the other, which may be taken for the continuation of Mount Atlas, runs in a S.W. direction, by Sbekkah, as far as the eye can conduct us. Such is the general plan and map of this province.

Among the more remarkable places, where the ancient geography is principally concerned, we may begin with the description of Herkla. Herkla, the Heraclea of the lower empire, the Justiniana of the middle, and the Adrumetum* of the earlier ages. It was built, as Clypea was, on an hemispherical promontory, two leagues to the S. E. of the Morafs, the boundary, as I suppose, betwixt the Zeugitana and this province. It appears to have been little more than a mile in circuit; and, if we may judge of its former grandeur by the remaining ruins, we should rather take it for a

* Αδρυμντον, *Arrian*. Αδρυμνα, *Polyb*. Αδρυμνσις, *Ptolem*.

place of importance, than to have been of any great beauty or extent. That part of the promontory, which stretched to the northward, and formed the port, seems to have been walled in quite down to the sea shore; but the rest of it, to the distance of a furlong from thence, does not discover the least traces of ruins. Cæsar then might have all imaginable conveniency to observe the strength and situation of this city*; especially as the inhabitants declined all hostilities at that time.

The Cothon was to the W. and S.W. of this promontory; which, as Cæsar in his pursuit of Varus† was not able to double, he was obliged to lay at anchor before it; i. e. as I conjecture, to the eastward of it. Now, as it may be presumed that Cæsar directed his course from Leptis, or Lempta, no other than a southerly or westerly wind could have brought him hither. It is certain that an easterly wind would, from the very situation of this port and promontory, have easily conducted him within them both. Hamam-et, therefore, as some pretend, could not have been the Adrumetum; because, as that place lies nearly in the same direction with Lempta and Herkla, the same wind which brought Cæsar to the promontory of Hamam-et, would have conducted him within the port that was formed by it. Neither could Cæsar, from the ruggedness of the situation of Hamam-et on one side, and being washed by the sea on the other, have made a tower round about it, as he did round about Adrumetum, as hath been already observed. Neither have we a view either from Hamam-et, or the bay before it, of the coast of Clybea, a circumstance which agrees with the situation of Herkla‡.

Besides, Varus§ is said to have left Adrumetum in the second watch of the night, and to have arrived at Leptis early in the morning. No considerable distance, therefore, could have been betwixt Leptis and Adrumetum. It appears likewise that Cæsar marched with his army from Adrumetum to Leptis in two days, and returned the third to Ruspina||, where he had lodged the first night. Now, if Hamam-et was the Adrumetum, and Ruspina the half way (as may be supposed) to Leptis, these marches must have been nearly 40 Roman miles a day; too much even for the hardiest veterans of Cæsar's army to accomplish, much more for such unexperienced¶ troops as he had then with him, who were scarce recovered from their sea sickness, who had likewise a variety of skirmishes and difficulties to retard their marches**. Neither indeed was this a season for long journies; the days, at this time, consisting only of about nine or ten hours. Nay, further, as Ruspina lay within six miles of Leptis, the first day's march (upon a supposition that Hamam-et was the Adrumetum) must have been near 70

* Cæsar circum oppidum vectus, natura loci perspecta, redit ad castra. Hirt. de Bell. Afric. § 3.

† Varus celeritate Cæsar's audaciaque motus, cum universa classe, conversis navibus, Adrumetum versus fugere contendit. Quem Cæsar in millibus passuum iv consecutus — triremem hostium proximam — cepit: reliquæ naves hostium promontorium superarunt, atque Adrumetum in Cothonem se universæ contulerunt. Cæsar eodem vento promontorium superare non potuit; atque in solo in ancoris ea nocte commoratus, &c. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 56.

‡ A Clupea secundum oram maritimam cum equitatu Adrumeti, Cn. Piso cum Maurorum circiter 111 millibus apparuit. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 3.

§ Varus, vigilia secunda Adrumeto ex Cothone egressus, primo mane Leptim universa classe vectus, &c. *Id.* § 55.

|| Eo die castra posuit ad oppidum Ruspina, kalendis Januar. (§ 5.) inde movit et pervenit ad oppidum Leptin. (§ 6.) ad 111 non. Jan. castra movet; Leptique vi cohortium præsidio cum Salserna relicto, ipse rursus, unde pridie venerat, Ruspina cum reliquis copiis convertit. (§ 8.)

¶ Ad oppidum oppugnandum non satis copiarum habebat, et eas tironum. § 5. *ibid.*

** Itaque castra quum movere vellet, subito ex oppido erupit multitudo — et ejus agmen extremum insequi cœperunt — quod cum sæpius facerent; et modo insequerentur, modo rursus ab equitibus in oppidum repellerentur, &c. *Id. ibid.*

miles, which is altogether impossible. Nay, further, the Itinerary places Adrumetum 440 furlongs (i. e. 55 miles) from Neapolis, and 85 miles from Carthage. Provided then Hamam-et was the Adrumetum, Neapolis or Nabal would be situated 50 miles too near to it in the one case, as Carthage would be 30 miles too near it in the other.

Another argument why Herkla should be the Adrumetum rather than Hamam-et, or any other place, may be drawn from the alteration that might have been made more than once in its name. For as it was usual both with the Greeks and Romans, to change the old names of their cities in honour of their emperors; so it was no less common for one emperor, upon doing some signal good offices to a favourite city, to have his own name substituted in the place of his predecessor's. Thus Procopius, *de Edificiis*, cap. vi., tells us, that Adrumetum was called in his time Justiniana, in respect to the Emperor Justinian; as for the same reason it might afterwards have been changed into Heraclea, out of the like sentiments of gratitude to his distant successor Heraclius.

Adrumetum being thus restored to the ancient geography, let us now proceed to Sufa, the next remarkable place upon the coast, at about five leagues to the S. E. It is the chief mart of this kingdom for oil and linen, and may be reckoned one of the most considerable and wealthy cities of the Tuniseens. Here are several vaults, granite pillars, and other tokens of its having been formerly a place of some repute; probably one of those towns * which submitted to Cæsar in his march to Ruspina. For Sufa is built upon the northern extremity of a long range of eminences, which, as Hirtius † has well described them, reach as far as Surfeff, the ancient Sarfura. Behind it, all along to Sahaleel, we have a view of that extensive plain, which is taken notice of likewise by the same author. But as there are no traces of a port either at this place, or for several miles on each side of it; as it is situated likewise too near the sea ‡, and at too great a distance from Leptis, Sufa does not seem to agree with the ancient Ruspina, to which Hirtius has ascribed all or most of those circumstances.

A league and a half from Sufa, we pass over a valley, with a brisk transparent rivulet running through it, and emptying itself afterwards into the sea. Half a league further, under the same chain of eminences with Sufa, is Sahaleel, where we have likewise some remains of antiquities. This village is situated at a good mile's distance from the sea, and therefore bids fairer to be the ancient Ruspina than Sufa; especially as the sea before it not only forms itself into a bay, but has also a communication with a small lake, which was probably the port mentioned by Hirtius. Sahaleel, having no other water than what is drawn from wells, may very well account for the necessity that Cæsar lay under of being supplied from another place; which, from the many difficulties he met with in the way to it §, occasioned by Scipio's army being possessed of all this country to the northward, seems to have been from the rivulet just now described.

* In itinere (ex Adrumeto) ex oppidis et castellis legationes venire: polliceri frumentum; paratosque esse, quæ imperasset, facere. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 5.

† Hic campus (pone Ruspina) mirabili planitie patet millia passuum xv; quem jugum ingens a mari ortum, neque ita præaltum, veluti theatri efficit speciem. In hoc jugo colles sunt excelsi pauci, &c. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 34. Scipio interim, cognito Cæsar's discessu, (a castris prope Ruspina) cum universis copiis per jugum Cæsa'rem subsequi cepit. § 58. Scipio confestim Cæsa'rem per superiora loca consecutus, nullum passuum viii a Thapso hinc castris confedit. § 68. Labienus per jugum summum collis, dextrorsus procul milites subsequi non desistit. § 63.

‡ Portus (Ruspina) abest ab oppido millia passuum ii. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 9.

§ Cæsar vallum ab oppido Ruspina usque ad mare deducere et a castris alterum eodem — Equitatus eorum (Scipionis, &c.) circum Cæsar's munitiones vagari; atque eos, qui pabulandi aut aquandi gratia extra vallum progressi essent, excipere. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 19. et 22.

Five miles over against Sahaleel, upon the extremity of a small cape, is Monasteer, a neat thriving city, walled round like Sufa. Large pieces of marble, and other the like ancient materials, are not commonly met with at this place. However, from its situation, and the command it would have thereby of the two bays of Sahaleel and Leptis, we may suspect it to have been of Carthaginian or Roman extraction, though the present name is off too modern a date to lay claim to either.

Two leagues to the southward of Monasteer is Lempta *, which denotes a port or station for vessels. This was the Leptis, or Leptis Parva of the ancients; the other Leptis being in the kingdom of Tripoli, several leagues to the southward. Lempta has been a mile or more in circuit; but at present nothing of it remains besides the ruins of a castle, with a low shelf of rocks, that probably made the northern mound of the ancient Cothon. Buno acquaints us, that leptis is what we now call Aracca; perhaps he meant Herkla, as there is no other village of the like found upon the sea coast.

A few miles to the westward of Lempta are the ruins of Agar, another of Cæsar's stations; which Hirtius tells us was 16 miles from Thapsus. The rocky situation, with the quantity likewise of stones and ruins that are seen at this place, might induce the Arabs, according to their facility of invention, to alter a little the old name, and call it, as they do at present, Boo Hadjar, or *The father of a stone*; i. e. *The stony city*.

Between Boo Hadjar and Demafs, within four miles of the latter, there is a large lake of salt water, which reaches within half a league of Tobulba. This is the lake taken notice of by Hirtius †, as Tobulba, a small maritime village, may lie near the place where Cæsar erected a fort to prevent Scipio's sending in succours by this narrow passage to Thapsus.

Demafs, the ancient Thapsus, is situated upon a low neck of land, three miles to the eastward of To-bulba. By the great extent of its ruins, it appears to have been the most considerable city on this side Carthage; though, by the taxation ‡ in Cæsar's time, it should have been much smaller than Adrumetum. The walls, castles, and houses of better fashion, at Sufa and Monasteer, have received large contributions from these ruins and those of Herkla.

There is still remaining, in defiance of time and the sea, a great part of the Cothon, which was built in frames, in the same manner as I have described the walls of Tlem-fan. The composition likewise is made up of small pebbles and mortar, so well cemented and knit together, that a solid rock cannot be more hard and durable. It is very probable that, in submarine works of this nature, the Romans might mix and temper this mortar with the earth of Puteoli, which has a surprising property of hardening under water.

The capes of Demafs and Monasteer form the bay of Lempta, which must have afforded a variety of ports and stations for vessels in former times; for an island, from Demafs almost as far as To-bulba, runs parallel with the southern shore. There is

Viz. אברהם quod punice stationem significat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24. See Lucan Bell. Civ. l. ix. 951.

Proxima Leptis erat, cujus statione quæta
Exegere hiemem.

† Erat stagnum salinarum, inter quod et mare angustia quædam non amplius mille et quingentos passus intererant; quas Scipio intrare, et Thapsitanis auxilium ferre, conabatur. § 62.

‡ Thapsitanis HS xx millia, conventui eorum xxx millia; Adrumetanis HS xxx, conventui eorum HS l millia, multæ nomine, imponit. § 15. Exc. p. 8. B.

likewise another, which reaches from Monasteer, the half way nearly to Lempta; whilst the Jowries, the Tarichizæ as they seem to be of Strabo, lie over against Lempta and To-bulba. Cæsar was so well apprized of the importance of the Tarichizæ, (and there are no other islands to the northward) that he thought fit to appoint several stationary vessels * to secure them.

El Medea, called likewise Africa by the moderns, is situated upon a peninsula five miles to the S. of Demass, and appears to have been formerly a place of great strength and importance. The port, which was an area nearly of a hundred yards square, lies within the very walls of the city, with its mouth opening towards Cap-oudia; but is not capable at present to receive the smallest vessel. Leo † says that it was founded (it might have been possibly rebuilt) by Mahdi, the first patriarch of Kair-wan, and therefore assumed his name; but there is something too polite and regular in several of the remaining capitals, entablatures, and other pieces of the ancient masonry, even defaced as they are at this time, to suspect the founder of them to have been an Arabian. Thuanus ‡ has given us a just description of this place, at the same time he has mistaken it for the ancient Aphrodisium; which was more probably at Faradeese, a small village and port in the plains of Hamam-et.

Five miles to the southward of El Medea is Salecto, the Sullekti or Sublecte of the middle age, where we meet with the ruins of a very large castle, little inferior in extent to the Tower of London. It seems to have been erected for the security of a small creek, or port, that lies below it to the S.W. This place, or El Medea § should be the tower, or Rus Urbanum, as Justin calls it, of Hannibal; from whence he is said to have embarked after his flight from Carthage.

Elalia, a large extent of ruins, is situated upon the borders of a fertile plain, which reaches from Salecto to within a few miles of Sbe-ah. Besides such ruins as it has in common with other places, we have here several cisterns with large paved areas built over them, in order to receive the rain water that, in the rainy season, was to fill and replenish them. Several conveniences of the like nature are dispersed all over this dry country, which, according to tradition, were made by Sultan Ben Eglib, a prince who, for his public spirit and warlike exploits, is very justly had in the greatest veneration and remembrance. Elalia seems to be the Acola or Acilla of the ancients, which Ptolemy has accordingly fixed in this situation; i. e. betwixt Thapsus and Ruspæ. In Peutinger's *Tables* likewise we see Anolla, corruptly no doubt for Achola, placed to the S. of Sullekti, and six miles to the N. of Ruspæ. As Sbe-ah, therefore, from the name and situation of it, appears to be the ancient Ruspæ, Achola, by lying at six miles distance to the N. of it, may, with the greatest exactness, be fixed at this place.

* Classe, circum insulas protusque disposuit; quo tutius com meatus supportari posset. § 20.

† El Mahdia oppidum nostris fere temporibus a Mahdi primo Cairaon pontifice conditum; ad mare Mediterraneum exstructum: muris, turribus, atque portis munitissimis, ornatum; portum habet frequentissimum. J. Leo, p. 222.

‡ Ea urbs (Aphrodisium) in humili ac plano saxo fundata majorem partem mari alluitur, eoque plerumque vado, ut triremes ad eam commodè accedere non possent, qua parte terram attingit cccxx tantum passuum spatio; valido muro crebris per intervalla turribus et propugnaculis distincto: vallata urbi collis imminet acclivi a septentrione descensu, sed a turgo undique præruptus, qui a præsidariis Turcis tenebatur. Thuan. Hist. l. vii.

§ Quum equi, quo in loco jussi erant, præsto fuissent, nocte via cita regionem quandam agri Vocani transgressus (Hannibal) postero die mane inter Acillam et Thapsum ad suam turrim pervenit; ibi cum parata instructaque remigio excepit navis. Eo die in Circinam insulam trajecit. Liv. l. xxxiii, § 34. Vide Justin. Hist. l. xxxi.

A little way from Sbe-ah is Ca-poudia, the Caput Vada of Procopius, the Ammonis Promontorium of Strabo, and the Promontorium Brachodes of Ptolemy, a low narrow strip of land, which stretches itself a great way into the sea. Upon the very point of it we have the ruins of the city that was built there by Justinian*, where there is likewise a high round watch tower. We meet with two more of the like kind betwixt this place and Sfax; all of them proper and necessary guides to mariners, who cannot be too cautious in approaching this low and dangerous coast.

The two flat and contiguous islands of the Querkinels are situated to the S. E. of Ca-poudia, at the distance of five leagues. These are the Cercina and Circinitis of the old geography, though inaccurately placed by Agathemer†, over against Thena; from whence they lie at nearly ten leagues distance, towards the N. E.

Agathemer, Strabo, and other ancient geographers, fix the beginning of the Lesser Syrtis at these islands; though, from the following circumstances, it should rather commence at Ca-poudia. For from this cape to the island Jerba, we have a succession of small flat islands, banks of sand, oozy bottoms, and small depths of water, which redound to the no small advantage of the neighbouring inhabitants, who, by wading a mile or two into the sea, and fixing several hurdles of reeds in various windings and directions all the way as they go along, they thereby enclose a number of fishes. Something like this has been taken notice of by Strabo‡.

The easterly winds were too violent whilst I travelled along the coast of the Lesser Syrtis, to observe the flux and reflux of it§, from whence some authors have derived the name ||. However, I was informed, agreeably to the account which Agathemer¶ has left us, that, at Jerba particularly, the sea rises twice in twenty-four hours a fathom or more above its usual height. The like has been observed in the Gulf of Venice, which ranges along with it in the same meridian, and therefore is equally subject to the like pressure or attraction.

Sfax, Asfax, or El Sfakufs, is a neat thriving city, about 20 miles to the S. W. of the Querkinels. It is walled round like Sufa and Monastecr; where, likewise, by the same extraordinary indulgence of their Kaide, the inhabitants enjoy the fruits of their industry, carry on a good trade in oil and linen, and know little of that oppression which is severely practised in many other places of Barbary. Buno** makes Sfax to be the Taphræ of Cluver; but it is more probably of modern extraction, taking its name from the quantity of fakoufe or cucumbers that grow in the neighbourhood.

Thainee, the Thena, Θηνη, Θεινα, or Thenæ of the ancients, is ten miles to the S. W. of Sfax. It has been built upon a low and rocky piece of ground near two miles in circuit; but as the ancient materials have been all of them employed in the building of Sfax, there is scarce one piece of marble or hewn stone to be met with. This maritime city, so famous in the old geography, is not only badly situate; but seems never to have had either port or Cothon††. The adjacent country likewise is dry and barren, with neither fountain nor rivulet to refresh it nearer than at five miles distance to the S. W. Here we cross a pretty large brook, called Wel Thainee, or *the River of Thainee*; which, indeed, provided Marius in his expedition against Capfa, con-

* Vid. Procop. de Edificiis Dn. Justiniani, c. vi.

† Strab. l. xiii. p. 1188.

‡ Solin. c. vi. Dion. Perieg. l. 198.

¶ Viz. a σῦμα, *trabo*, quod in accessu et recessu arenam et cœnum ad se trahit et congerit. Vid. Eustath. Comm.

** Μρυαλαὶ δ' ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν (S. Meninx. S. Jerba.) καλλίστην. Geogr. l. i. c. 5.

†† Cluv. Geogr. cum notis Bun. &c. p. 394.

tinued his marches not through the inland country, but along the sea coast of Bizacium, this, or the Tarff, a few leagues further to the S. should be the Tanais, where, as Sallust* informs us, the Romans took in their provision of water.

Maha-refs, with the ruins of an old castle, is four leagues to the S. W. of Thainea. This was probably the ancient Macodama, or Macomadibus, as it is called in the Itinerary; and a little way from it is the river Tarff, which has its fountains near the ruins of Tarfowah, probably the ancient Taphrura or Taparura, four leagues to the westward. The castle of Ungha, surrounded with morasses, and without any anchoring ground before it, is two leagues from Maharefs. It does not appear for what intent the founder, Sultan Ben Eglib, made choice of this situation, unless it was to secure some wells of good water that are dug near it. At Ellamaite, four leagues further, we meet with a number of sepulchres, without either beauty or inscriptions; and then passing by Seedy Meddub, a Moorish sanctuary, and crossing the dry channel of Auronde, we come to Woodriff, and other date villages of lesser note; each of them watered by rivulets.

Gabs lies three leagues from Woodriff, and twelve from Ellamaite. This was the Epichus of Scylax †, and the Tacape of other ancient geographers ‡, where we have a heap of ruins, with some beautiful granate pillars still standing. These are all of them square, and about twelve feet long and such as I have not met with in any other part of Africa. The old city, where we see these ruins, was built upon a rising ground at half a mile's distance from the new, having been formerly washed by the sea, which formed itself here into a bay of near half a mile in diameter. But at present the greatest part of this bay is filled up, and gained from the sea; which, from the great shallowness of it, and the daily reception of mud and roots from the river, will easily submit to such alterations and encroachments.

At Gabs, there are several large plantations of palm trees, though the dates are much inferior, both in size and taste, to those of the Jireed. But the chief branch of trade, for which this emporium, as Strabo § calls it, is famous at present, arises from the Al-hennah, which is plentifully cultivated in all their gardens. This beautiful odoriferous plant, if it is not annually cut, and kept low, as it is usually in other places, grows ten or twelve feet high, putting out its little flowers in clusters, which yield a most grateful smell, like camphor; and may therefore be alluded to, Cant. i. 14. where it is said, "My beloved is to me as a cluster (חֶכְרֵם) of Cypres (or Al-hennah) in the vineyards (or gardens) of Engedi." The leaves of this plant, after they are dried and powdered, are disposed of to good advantage in all the markets of this kingdom. For with this, all the African ladies that can purchase it, tinge their lips, hair, hands, and feet, rendering them thereby of a tawny saffron colour, which, with them, is reckoned a great beauty. The alhennah, no less than the palm, requires to be frequently watered; for which purpose, the river that runs through these plantations is cantoned out, as it seems to have been in the time of Pliny ||, into a number of channels.

* Cum ad flumen [Tanaim al. Tanaim] ventum est, maxima vis utriusque effecta. Ibi — jubet, omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et iumenta onerare. Dein — noctem totam itinere facto, confedit: idem proxima facit. Dein tertia, multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumultuosum, ab Capia non amplius duum millium intervallo. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 96.

† Scyl. Perip. p. 46.

§ Strab. l. xvii. p. 1188.

‡ Ptol. l. iv. c. 3. Plin. l. v. c. 4.

|| Tacape, felici super omne miraculum riguo solo: ternis fere mill. pass. in omnem partem fons abundat, largus quidem, sed certis horarum spatiis dispensatur inter incolas. Plin. lib. xviii. cap. 22. Tacape a תַּקֵּפֶה, locus humidus et irriguus. Boet. Chan. lib. i. cap. 25.

This river, the Triton of the ancients, falls into the sea to the northward of the old city, and forms the ground upon which it was situated into a peninsula. Its sources lie no farther than three or four leagues to the southward of Gabs, though it becomes at once like many other rivers of these southern and hotter climates, a considerable stream. And may not the refreshing abundance of water in these rivers, which are more constantly as well as more commonly so, than in the northern climates, account in some measure for Psalm cxxvi. 4. where the return of the captives from Babylon, is desired to be as copious and numerous as their rivers were copious and redundant? Two long chains of mountains, called the Jibbelleah, which reach from El Hammah to Maggs, and are continued from thence to the sea coast over against the island Jerba, will neither admit of the length, nor of that succession of lakes which have been attributed to this river by ancient as well as modern geographers. It is impossible likewise, that it should have its origin in the mountain of Vasaletus, according to Ptolemy. For if this be the same, as the name seems to insinuate, with the present Use-let, it will lie at far too great a distance. And, indeed, if we except that small piece of ground which is refreshed by the springs of El Hammah, all the rest of the country, in this direction, is parched up for want of water. If then the river of Gabs is the river Triton, as cannot, I presume, be disputed, geographers have hitherto been greatly mistaken in their descriptions of it.

The little village To-bulba is three miles from Gabs; and ten leagues further, is the island Gerba, or Jerba, as the Tuniscens pronounce it, the most southern territory of this kingdom. Jerba appears to be the Brachion of Scylax, and the Meninx* of Strabo and others; though Ptolemy makes Mininx to be a city only of Lotophagitis, as he calls this island. The fruit of the Lotus, which will be hereafter described, grows plentifully all along this coast.

CHAP V.—Of the most remarkable Places and Inhabitants in the inland Country of the ancient Bizacium, or Winter Circuit; together with the corresponding Part of the Sahara.

BEFORE I give a particular description of the more remarkable places of this province, it may be observed in general, that, for want of a sufficient number of geographical circumstances, it will be difficult to fix the ancient names of Zowateen, Youseph, Nabhana, Kisser, Sbeebah, Jelloulah, Tuffanah, and many others of lesser note, at all which places there are considerable heaps of ruins. However, among these, Kisser, from its situation with regard to Keff, the Sicca Veneria, and to Seedy Abdel Abbas, or Musti, viz. 20 miles from the former, according to Ptolemy, and 30 from the latter, according to the Itinerary; from these circumstances, I say, it appears probable, that Kisser might have been the ancient Assurus, or Assuras†. Sbeebah likewise, from its situation with respect to Kisser, may have been the Tucca Terebinthina; as Jeloulah from lying below the mountains of Use-let, the Mons Vasaletus of Ptolemy, may lay in the like claim to be the Oppidum Usalitanum of Pliny.

To begin then with Kair-wan, which is a walled city, and the next in rank after Tunis for trade and the number of its inhabitants. It is situated in a barren sandy plain, eight leagues to the westward of Sufa, and about the same distance to the S. W. of Herkla. At half a furlong from the city, there is a capacious pond and cistern,

* Fallor an *meninx* *Punice* scribebatur מנין *me-niks*, quasi dixeris aquas defectus, i. e. deficientes, vel מנין *me-nics*, quasi dixeris aquas recedens, i. e. recedentes. Boch. Chan. lib. i. cap. 25.

† Cell. Geogr. Antiq. lib. iv. c. 4. p. 106. et c. v. p. 118.

built for the reception of rain-water; but the pond, (which is the chief provision for their cattle and ordinary uses, as the other, the Elmawahel of Abulfeda *, is for their own drinking,) being either dried up, or else beginning to putrify about the middle of the summer season, it frequently occasions agues, fevers, and various other distempers.

We have at Kairwan several fragments of ancient architecture; and the great mosque, which is accounted to be the most magnificent as well as the most sacred in Barbary, is supported by an almost incredible number of granite pillars. The inhabitants told me, (for a Christian is not permitted in Barbary to enter the mosques of the Mahometans,) that there were no fewer than five hundred. Yet among the great variety of columns, and other ancient materials that were employed in this large and beautiful structure, I could not be informed of one single inscription. The inscriptions likewise which I found in other places, were either so much filled up with cement, or otherwise defaced, that the ancient name was not to be found upon any of the surviving antiquities. However, as Kairwan is situated betwixt Tifdrus and Adrumetum, though nearer the latter, by the due distance of it likewise from the river Mergaleel, the Aquis Regiis (as we may suppose them to be) of the ancients, it was probably the Vico Augusti of the Itinerary. As for the present name, it seems to be the same with Caravan †; and might therefore originally signify the place where the Arabs had their principal station ‡ in conquering this part of Africa.

To the westward of Kairwan, are the high and extensive mountains of Uselett, the Mons Ufalanus of the ancients, celebrated for the number of its warlike inhabitants. Below them, to the southward, are those of Truzza, watered by the Mergaleel and Defilah. Coming near the sea coast, and passing by six miles distance from Sahaleel, Menzil, and Menzil Hyre, (this the Vacca, the other the Zeta of Hirtius §), we arrive at Jimmel, the Tegæa likewise, as it probably was, of the same author ||. All these villages lie in an open champaign country, diversified, as they have been already described, by large plantations of olive trees.

Below them, six miles from Medea, is Surseff, the Sarfura of Hirtius. It is situated below a ridge of hills, which reach, with few intermissions, from Jimmel to Salecto; and seem to be the same that are taken notice of by Hirtius ¶, particularly when

* Incolæ Urbis Kairwan bibunt aquam pluvialem quæ hiemali tempore colligitur in piscina magna, dicta *Elmawahel*, i. e. Cisterna. Abulf. ut supra.

† Calipha Africæ Caruani fivi Curubi, urbe ab Occuba Nafici F. ante cc annos in Cyrenaica condita, post unam et alteram de Christianis reportatam ab Arabibus Victoriam id enim nomen sonat, sedem habuit: eumque urbs confluentis ad habitandum multitudinis capax non esset, juxta eam et altera civitas extructa est, Raqueda dicta. Thuan. l. vii. Curubis quæ et Carvenna. *Ibid.*

‡ Cairaoan conditorem habuit Hucba, qui universi exercitus dux ex Arabia deserta ab Hutmeno Pontifice tertio missus fuerat; neque aliam ob causam conditum fuisse dicunt, quam ut in eo exercitus cum omni præde Barbaris atque Numidis adempta, secure se continere possent. Eo tempore quo Elagabalus regno potitus est, anno Hejiare 184. A. D. 800. tam incolis quam ædificiis auctum. J. Leo, p. 233. Marmol. Hist. Afr. c. xxiv.

§ Uzita (Zeta Sall.) quam describit Ptolemæus sub Adrumeto et parva Lepti nomen habet a זית *Zait*, i. e. oliva vel oliveto. Hirtius enim prope Uzitam oliveti meminit. Prius, inquit, necesse vallem olivetumque transgredi. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.

|| Cæsar interim, * castris incensis, * pervenit ad oppidum Agar*. Scipio interim, cognito Cæsaris discessu, cum universis copiis per jugum Cæsarem subsequi cepit; atque ab ejus castris millia passuum vi longe, trinis castris dispartitis copiis, confedit. Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 58.

Oppidum erat Zeta; quod aberat a Scipione millia passuum xi ad ejus regionem et partem castrorum collocatum; a Cæsare autem diversum ac remotum, quod erat ab eo longe millia passuum xvi. *Id.* § 59. Oppidum Vacca, quod finitimum fuit Zetæ. *Id.* § 62.

Erat oppidum infra castra Scipionis, nomine Tegæa. *Id.* § 67.

¶ Cæsar ad oppidum Sarfuram ire contendit.—Labienus per jugum summum collis dextrorsus procul milites subsequi non desistit. Hirt. ut supra, § 63.

he describes the opposition that Cæsar met with from Labienus in the taking of Sarfura.

From Sarfura, Cæsar * continued his marches the next day to Tifdra, Tifdrus, or Thyfdrus, or Thyfdrum, or Tifdro, as it was differently called. It is now known by the name of Jemme, and lies about ~~five~~ leagues to the S.S.W. of Surfeff, and five to the E. by S. of Elalia, in the very situation that Ptolemy has laid down betwixt Thyfdrus and Achola. The Itinerary has likewise placed Tifdro 33 miles from Leptiminus or Lempta; which may be a further confirmation of this geographical fact, viz. that Jemme and Tifdro were the same. Here we have several antiquities; as altars with defaced inscriptions, a variety of columns, a great many trunks and arms of marble statues; one of which is of the Coloss kind, in armour; another is of a naked Venus, in the posture and dimensions of the Medicean; both of them by good masters, but the heads are wanting.

But Jemme is the most remarkably distinguished by the beautiful remains of a spacious amphitheatre, which consisted originally of sixty-four arches, and four orders of columns placed one above another. The upper order, which was perhaps an Attic building, is most of it tumbled down. Mahomet Bey likewise, in a late revolt of the Arabs, who used it as a fortress, blew up four of its arches from top to bottom; otherwise, as to the outside at least, nothing can be more entire and magnificent. In the inside likewise, the platform of the seats, with the galleries and Vomitoria leading up to them, are still remaining. The Arena is nearly circular; and in the centre of it, there is a deep pit or well of hewn stone, where the pillar that might support the Velum was probably fixed. By comparing this with other structures at Spaitla, Cassereen, and Hydrah, it seems to have been built near the time of the Antonines, agreeing exactly in proportion and workmanship with the buildings of that age. And as the elder Gordian was proclaimed Emperor at this city, it is not improbable, that, in gratitude to the place where he received the purple, he might have been the founder of it. Upon one of the medals of the younger Gordian, we have an amphitheatre, not hitherto accounted for by the medalists; but it may be too peremptory perhaps to fix it here at Tifdra.

As Kairwan and Jemme are the most remarkable places on the eastern side of this province, Hydrah, a little below Gellah at Snaan, near the frontiers of the Algerines, is the most considerable to the westward. It is situated in a narrow valley, with a rivulet running by it, and appears to be one of the most considerable places of this country for extent of ruins. For we have here the walls of several houses, the pavement of a whole street entire, with a variety likewise of altars and Mausolea. A great number of the latter are very well preserved; some of which lie open to the air, and are built in a round hexagonal or octagonal figure, supported by four, six, or eight columns; whilst others are square, compact, and covered buildings, with niches in one or other of the fascades, or else with wide open places, like so many balconies upon their tops. But the inscriptions which belonged as well to these as to a number of other antiquities, are either defaced by time or the malice of the Arabs. Upon a triumphal arch, more remarkable for its largeness than beauty, we have the following inscription; wherein not the least notice is taken, as it was usual in other places of the city, or of the people that erected it.

IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMIO SEVERO PERTINACI AVG.
P. M. TRIB. POT. III. IMP. V. COS. II. PP. PARTHICO ARABICO.
ET PARTHICO ADIABENICO† DD. PP.

* Cæsar ad oppidum Sarfura venit— postero die ad oppidum Tifdrum pervenit. § 64.

† In my journal I had copied it AZIABENICO, though I know not how justly.

Provided the least tradition of the former name was preserved in the present, we might suspect it to be the Tynidrum or Thunudronum of the ancients, which, as it is placed by Ptolemy more than 2° to the westward of Sicca, will not be far distant from this situation.

Leaving the lofty mountains of Elboulejiah on the left hand, with the sanctuary of Seedy Boogannim, the Wîd al Ha-taab, or *River of Wood*, together with the fine plains of Fufanah on the right, we come to Spaitla, the ancient Sufetula. This city lies about twelve leagues to the south of Keff, and is one of the most remarkable places in Barbary for the extent and magnificence of its ruins. For there is first of all a sumptuous triumphal arch of the Corinthian order, consisting of one large arch, with a lesser one on each side of it, with these few words of the dedication remaining upon the architrave.

IMP CAESAR AVG. - - - -
- - - - ONIN - - - -

- - SVFFETVLENTIVM - -
- - HANC EDIFICAVRVNT
ET DD. PP.

From this arch, all along to the city, there is a pavement like that at Hydrach, of large black stones, with a parapet wall, raised breast high on each side of it, intended perhaps to hinder the populace from incommoding the Emperor in his triumphant entrance into the city. Near the end of this pavement, we pass through a beautiful portico, built in the same style and manner with the triumphal arch, which conducts us afterwards into a spacious court. Here we have the ruins of three contiguous temples, whose several roofs, porticos, and facades, indeed are broken down, but the rest of the fabric, with its respective columns, pediments, and entablatures, remain perfect and entire. There is in each of these temples a nich, fronting the portico; and behind that of the middlemost, we have a small chamber, which might have served for the vestry.

Spaitla is pleasantly situated upon a rising ground, shaded all over with juniper trees. A little brook glides along the N.E. side of it, which afterwards, in directing its course towards Gilma, loses itself in the sand. This circumstance, which is very common to several other rivers which I have seen, and on which occasion they are said to be *Rashig*, i. e. *to run no more*, seems to be alluded to, Jer. xv. 18. "Wilt thou be altogether unto me as a liar, and as waters that fail?" Job vi. 15. "My brethren have dealt deceitfully as brooks, and as the stream of brooks they pass away."

Gilma is the ancient Cilma, or Oppidum Chilmanense. It lies six leagues to the E. of Sufetula, and appears to have been a large city, with the area of a temple still remaining.

Cassareen, the Colonia Scillitana, memorable for the martyrdom of its citizens, is situated upon an eminence, six leagues to the W. S. W. of Spaitla. The river Derb runs winding below it; and upon a precipice that hangs immediately over this river, there is a triumphal arch, more remarkable for the quantity and goodness of the materials, than for the beauty and elegance of the design. It consists of one large arch, with an attic structure above it, having likewise some rude Corinthian-like ornaments bestowed upon the entablature; though the pilasters themselves are entire Gothic. Yet, notwithstanding the rudeness of the workmanship, and the oddness and peculiarity of the situation, we find the founder of it very gratefully commemorated in the following inscription:

COLONIAE

COLONIAE SCILLITANAE

Q. MANLIVS FELIX C. FILIVS PAPIRIA RECEP
TVS POST ALIA ARCV M QVOQVE CVM INSIGNIBVS
COLONIAE SOLITA IN PATRIAM LIBERALITATE
EREXIT OB CVIVS DEDICATIONEM
DECVRIONIBVS SPORTVLAS CVRVIS EPVLAS ---

Below this inscription, just above the key-stone of the arch, there is another in lesser characters ; but the only words I could trace out were, *

INSIGNIA CVRANTE M. CELIO AN. CV.

If this part of Africa then was made a Roman province upon the younger Scipio's destroying Carthage, viz. A. U. C. 608, ante Christum 146, then the æra here mentioned, viz. 105. will be 41 years before Christ, or in the second year of the reign of Augustus.

In the plains below Cassareen we are entertained with the like variety of Mausolea that have been described at Hydrach, where we have likewise the following inscriptions.

Upon the Facade of a tower-like Mausoleum, with a Balcony on the top of it.

M. FLAVIVS SE.
CVNDVS FILIVS.
FECIT.
I. FLAVIO SECVN
DO PATRITIO
VIXIT ANN. CXII. H. S. E.
FLAVIAE VRBANAE
MATRI PIAE. VIX.
ANN. CV. H. S. E.

Upon the lower part of the same Mausoleum, we have an elegy in smaller characters, which begins with hexameter verse, and concludes alternately with them and pentameters.

A few lines of it will be a sufficient specimen of the poetical genius of the Scillitanians at that time.

SINT LICET EXIGVAE FVGIENTIA TEMPORA VITAE
PARVAQVE RAPTORVM CITO TRANSEAT HORA DIERVM
MERGAT ET ELISIIS MORTALIA CORPORA TERRIS
ASSIDVE RAPTO LACHESIS MALE CONSCIA PENSO, &c.

Upon the Facade of a square Mausoleum, with Corinthian Pilasters.

MILITAVIT L. ANNIS IV. IN LEG. II.
LIB. TESSER. OPTIO. SIGNIFER.
FACTVS EX SVFFRAGIO LEG. E.
7. LEG. I. M. 7 LEG. X. GEM.
7. LEG. III. AVG. 7. LEG. XXX. VIP.
7 LEG. VI. VIC. 7. LEG. III. CYR. 7. LEG. XV. APOL.
7. LEG. II. PAR. 7. LEG. I. ADIVTRICIS.
CONSECVTVS OB VIRTVTEM IN EXPEDITIONEM
PARTHICAM CORONAM MVRALEM VALLAREM
TORQVES ET PHALARES EGIT IN
DIEM OPERIS PERFECTI ANNOS LXXX.
SIBI ET
CLAVDIAE MARCIAE CAPITOLINAE.
KONIVGI KARISSIMAE QVAE EGIT
IN DIEM OPERIS PERFECTI
ANNOS LXV ET

M. PETRONIO

M. PETRONIO FORTVNATO FILIO - - - - -
 MILITAVIT ANNIS VI. 7. LEG. XVIII. PRIMIG.
 LEG. II. AVG. - - - - - VIXIT ANN. XXXV. - - - - -
 CVI FORTVNATVS ET MARCIA PARENTES
 CARISSIMO MEMORIAM FECERVNT.

Cassareen seems to have received its present name from the Mausolea ; which, at a distance, appear like so many cassareen, i. e. *towers or fortresses*.

Seven leagues from Cassareen to the S. S. W. is Ferre-anah, which appears to have been the largest city of Bizacium, notwithstanding the remains of its ancient grandeur, consist in a few granate and other pillars, which, by some extraordinary chance or benevolence of the Arabs, are left standing upon their pedestals. It has been exceedingly well watered ; for, besides a plentiful brook that runs under the walls, there have been several wells within the city, each of them surrounded with a corridore, or gallery, and vaulted over with cupolas. Yet this, and a good air, are the only benefits and conveniences that Ferre-anah can urge in favour of its situation. For, if we except a small spot of ground towards the S. which the inhabitants cultivate, by refreshing it at proper times with the rivulet, all the rest of the circumjacent country is dry, barren, and inhospitable, for want of water. The prospect likewise (which is the only one it enjoys) to the westward, terminates, for the most part, upon some naked precipices ; or else, where the eye has liberty to wander over some broken cliff, or through some narrow rugged valley, we are entertained with no other view than of a desert, scorched up with perpetual drought, and glowing with the sun-beams.

This lonesome situation, and the great scarcity of water in the adjacent country, may induce us to take Ferre-anah for the ancient Thala. For Sallust * informs us, that Thala was of great extent, situated like Capsa in the midst of mountains and deserts ; and that there were some fountains without the city ; all which circumstances agree exactly with the situation of Ferre-anah. It is recorded likewise, that Jugurtha †, after he was defeated by Metellus, fled to the desert, and from thence directed his flight to Thala. Thala then must have lain somewhere to the eastward of the place from whence he fled ; for, had it belonged to the western parts of the deserts of Numidia, Jugurtha ‡, as it is related in another place, would not have had that exceedingly long journey, through a succession of deserts, to the Gætuli, in as much as their country lay immediately behind the Mauritanæ. Sallust acquaints us further, that the nearest river to Thala was at fifty miles distance § ; and that Metellus, in his pursuit of Jugurtha, took in there a provision of water for his journey over the interjacent desert. Now, whether Metellus, according as the late defeat happened near Cirta or Vacca, i. e. Bayjau (for it is uncertain at which place), directed this his pursuit after Jugurtha to Thala by Tipasa, if the battle was near Cirta, or by Sufetula if it was at Vacca, because several narrow defiles and rugged mountains will not permit an army to pass conveniently by Cassareen, where there is likewise a river, we have either the river Hataab,

* Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa : cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur, ** Metellus Thalami magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm, munitumque : nisi quod apud Thalam non longe a mœnibus aliqui fontes erant. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 94.

† Ea fuga Jugurtha impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum per fugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit. *Id.* § 73.

‡ Jugurtha postquam, amissa Thala, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines, cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos. *Id.* § 82.

§ Inter Thalam flumenque proximum, in spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat (Metellus). Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levare jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem : ceterum utres modo et alia aquæ idonea portare, &c. *Id.* § 78.

or else the river of Sufetula, that will very well answer to this geographical circumstance. Whereas, had Thala been situated in the Sahara, to the westward or southward of Numidia, there would have been no necessity for making this provision of water; in as much as, in those parts of Gætulia and Numidia, there is no scarcity at all both of rivulets and fountains. Neither indeed can we suppose Thala to have been a city of the Beni Mezzab, or of the country of Wadrag, the only remaining districts that can lay claim to it; because the nearest river to any of these places is at much more than fifty miles distance, not to mention the want there will still be of other geographical circumstances, which correspond exactly with Ferre-anah. Ferre-anah, therefore, for these reasons, may be well taken for the ancient Thala, that has been so much inquired after by the modern geographers.

Ferre-anah differs very little in sound from Feraditana, of which name there were two episcopal sees in the middle age.

What is related also concerning the situation of Telepte, agrees likewise with this place; and as Thala perhaps is not mentioned in history by any author later than Tacitus*, (for Florus† seems to speak of it as in the time of Metellus), or Telepte by any other earlier than St. Cyprian‡, there may be some room to conjecture that Thala and Telepte were the same. Procopius moreover describes Telepte, as a frontier town§ of this province; such as we find Ferre-anah to have been. The author likewise of the Itinerary, according to the annotations of Cellarius||, places Tacape and Telepte in the same direction with Capse, and at equal distances, or 70 Roman miles from it. Now the first of these circumstances agrees well enough with Ferre-anah, in as much as it lies in a N. W. and S. E. direction nearly with Tacape and Capse, *i. e.* Gabs and Gafsa, according to their present names. But the other circumstance indeed, of their being equi-distant from Capse, can be admitted only with some restriction; because Gafsa lies 90 miles from Gabs, and 45 only from Ferre-anah. However, the whole distance betwixt Gabs, by the way of Gafsa to Ferre-anah, is actually 135 miles, which are not much short of the 141 miles that are laid down betwixt Telepte, Capse, and Tacape, by the Itinerary.

Twelve leagues to the S. E. by E. of Ferre-anah, is Gafsa, the ancient Capsa or Capse, another of the strong cities of Jugurtha. It is built upon a rising ground in the like melancholy situation with Ferre-anah; with this difference only, that here the landscape is somewhat more gay and verdant, by the prospect we have from it of the palm, the olive, the pistachio, and other fruit trees. But this agreeable scene is of small extent, and serves merely to refresh the eye in the view it is to have afterwards of an interchange only of barren hills¶ and vallies. The water which refreshes these plantations arises from two fountains; the one within the citadel, the other in the centre of the city. The latter, which was probably the Jugis Aquæ of Sallust**, as it might be likewise the Tarmid†† of Edrisi, was formerly covered with a cupola. It is

* Præsidium, cui Thala nomen. Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 31.

† Thalam, gravem armis, Thesaurumque regis, deripuit (Metellus). L. Flor. l. iii. cap. 1.

‡ Donatianus Teleptensis primæ sedis episcopus Prov. Byzacenæ. Donatianus Teleptensis primus Con-
cil. Carthag.

§ *Ἐν ὁρίσει τῆς γῆρας*. De Ædif. c. 6.

|| Ex mediis ** sola Capse nota est ex Ptolemæo, per quam si a Tacapis ducas lineam et simul millaria attendas quæ inter Capsem sunt et Telepten, in plagam et locum ubi Telepte fuit, linea perducet. Cell.
Geogr. Antiq. l. iv. c. 4.

¶ Ebræi enim עֲפָרָה est constringere. Hinc merito עֲפָרָה Capsa dicitur, quam undique premebant et
in arctum cogebant vastæ solitudines, ut et montes. Bochart. l. iv. c. 24.

** Capenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum Jugis aquæ, cetera pluvia utebantur. Sall. Bell. Jug. § 94.

†† Urbs Capsa pulchra est: habet mœnia, et fluvium excurrentem, cujus aqua præstantior est aqua
Castiliæ: habet etiam intra se fontem, qui vocatur Al Tarmid. Geogr. Nub. p. 86.

still walled round, and discharges itself into a large basin, designed originally to bathe in. This fountain and the other unite before they leave the city, and form a pretty large brook, which from the quantity of the water, and the rapidity of the stream, might continue its course to a great distance, were it not constantly employed and drunk up in the uses above mentioned.

In the walls of some private houses, and particularly of the citadel, a weak modern building that faces the Jereed, there is a great confusion of altars, granite pillars, entablatures, &c. which when entire, and in their proper situations, must have been great ornaments to the city. But the following imperfect inscriptions are all that fell in my way; in the first of which is preserved the ancient name, as it may be presumed, of this city. And from this circumstance, together with the Jugis Aqua, so particularly described by Sallust, and appropriated to Capsa, we may receive sufficient proof that the Capsa of Sallust and Ptolemy were the same; notwithstanding what Bochart * and Cellarius † have supposed to the contrary.

Upon a square Stone.

--- ORTVM NOSTRORVM ---
 --- MAGISTRVM MILIT' ---
 ----- TINIANE CAPSE -----

Upon a Pillar.

IMPERATOR M. AVRELIVS ANTONINVS PIVS
 AVGVSTVS PART. MAX. BRIT. MAX. TRIB. POT.
 COS. - - - - - FEST.

Gorbata lies four leagues to the S.S.W. of Gafsa, with a brook of brackish water running by it; which notwithstanding, by digging pits and letting it percolate into them through the interjacent banks of sand, becomes thereby tolerably palatable. It is built upon one of those hemispherical hillocks that lie in great variety round about it; affording a prospect particular and delightful enough at a distance. Gorbata should be the ancient Orbita, which, together with Capsa, are placed by Ptolemy among the eastern cities of Adrumetum; the shape and fashion perhaps of these little eminences might have given occasion to the name.

After Gorbata, we enter upon that part of the Sahara which is called, Al Jeridde, or El Jereed, i. e. *The dry Country*, being of the very same nature and quality with those parts of Gætulia which have been already described. Here the villages are built in the same manner, with mud walls, and rafters of palm trees; so that very little more will be required in the description of this, than to give an account of the Lake of Marks; and to enumerate the principal villages, formerly the seats of the Cinethia, Machlyes, Aufes, and Maxyes of the old geography.

We are to observe, therefore, that there are few or no antiquities, nor indeed any thing worthy of our notice at Shekkah, the Cerbica of Ptolemy, eighteen leagues to the S. W. by W. of Gafsa; at Te-gewse, the Tichafa, twelve leagues to the S. W. by S.; at Ebba, the Thabba, in the neighbourhood of Te-gewse; at Tozer, the Tifurus, four leagues to the S. W. of Te-gewse; at Nefta, the Negeta, five leagues to the S. W. of Tozer. In crossing the Lake of Marks into the district of Nifzowah, the like remark may be made at Telemeen, the Almanna, ten leagues to the E.S.E. of Te-gewse; at Ebillee, the Vepillum, two

* Chan. l. i. c. 24.

† Antiq. l. iv. c. 4. p. 91.

leagues to the S. E. of Telemeen; and at the many other villages of the Jereed; though, by several pieces of granite and other marble, by the almost surprising preservation of their old names, by a word or two likewise of some ancient inscription, the Romans may be traced out through most of these villages. The trade and interest of them all lie altogether in dates; which they exchange for wheat, barley, linen, and other commodities that are brought hither from all parts of this and of the neighbouring kingdoms. At Tozer particularly, whose dates are the most esteemed, and which is become thereby the principal mart, there is a great traffic carried on by several merchants, who travel once a year as far as the Niger, and bring with them from thence a number of black slaves, whom they usually exchange for dates, at the rate of one black for two or three quintals of that fruit.

The Shibkah El Low-deah, or *Lake of Marks*, divides the villages in the neighbourhood of Tozer from those in the province of Nif-zowah. It is so called from a number of trunks of palm trees that are placed at proper distances to direct the caravans in their marches over it. Without such assistances, travelling here would be both dangerous and difficult, as well from the variety of pits and quick-sands, that could not otherwise be avoided, as because the opposite shore (as we may properly call it), either in passing from Te-gewse to the province of Nifzowah, or from hence to Te-gewse, has no other tokens to be known by besides their date trees. And as these are rarely seen at above five hours distance, or sixteen miles at the most, great mistakes, without such convenient marks and directions, might be committed in passing over a plain of this extent, where the horizon is as proper for astronomical observations as the sea itself.

This lake reaches near twenty leagues from E. to W., and the breadth, where I passed it, was about six. Yet it is not all of it a collection of water; there being several dry places interspersed all over it that look like so many islands, to which they have been very properly compared by the ancients. To the eastward especially, in the same meridian with Telemeen, there is one of these islands, which, though uninhabited yet is very large, and well stocked with date trees. The Arabs tell us, that the Egyptians, in one of their invasions of this country, halted here for some time; and that this plantation originally sprung from the stones of those dates which they brought along with them for their provisions. And, probably, from this account and tradition, the adjacent portion of the circumambient lake might have been called Bahyre Pharaoune, i. e. *The Plains of Pharaoh*.

The situation of this lake, with regard to the sea, the Syrtes, and the river Triton, should induce us to take it for the Palus Tritonis of the ancients; and that the island I have mentioned is the Chersonesus of the Sicilian historian*, and the Phla of Herodotus. Pallas† likewise, who, with the Libyan women, attended Ishtar in his Asiatic expedition, and was supposed to owe her origin to this lake, might have made this island the chief place of her residence. Mela places the Palus Tritonis near, or upon the sea coast; and Callimachus, as he is quoted by Pliny‡, on this, (i. e. on the Cyrenaic) side of the lesser Syrtis; both which circumstances agree with the present topography of this lake. But we shall still be at a loss to account for the river Triton, which, according to Ptolemy and other ancient geographers, is made to pass through

* Ταῖς δ' ἐν Ἀμαζονίᾳ ** κτιστὰν ἡ. ὡς ἡ μεγάλην ἐντὸς τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀνομασθαι Χερσόνησον. Diod. Sic. Hist. l. iii. p. 130.

† Τὴν Ἀθηναίαν μίχρον πρὸς τῶν τῶν χρόνων γήγησιν [γέγενημένην] φανίσταν ἐπὶ τῇ Τριτωνίᾳ ποταμῷ δι' ἣν καὶ Τριτωνίδα προσηγορεύσθαι. Id. *ibid.* l. iii. p. 142.

‡ Plin. l. v. c. 4.

this lake, in its course to the sea. For the river, (and there is no other at a very great distance) which falls into the sea at Gabs, the ancient Tacape, must undoubtedly be the Triton; yet, as I have already observed, it has not the least communication with this lake. And besides, the water both of this river and of the brook of El Hammah, which lies nearer to the lake, is very sweet and wholesome: whereas that of the lake, (and indeed of most others that I have tasted in Africa) has a saltness not inferior to sea water; a circumstance which alone may be a sufficient proof, notwithstanding the concurrent accounts of the old geography, too much followed by the modern, that there could be no communication betwixt them. This circumstance, however, may be a proof that the Lake of Marks, or the Palus Tritonis, was likewise the Lacus Salinarum of Æthicus and Isidore.

Leaving Ebillee and Mags, we travel near 30 miles through a lonesome uncomfortable desert, the resort of cut-throats and robbers, where we saw the recent blood of a Turkish gentleman, who, with three of his servants, had been murdered two days before by these assassins. Here we were likewise ready to be attacked by five of these Hammehs, who were mounted upon black horses, and clothed, to be the less discerned, with burnouses (i. e. *cloaks*) of the like colour. But finding us prepared to receive them, they came up peaceably to us, and gave us the *aslemmah*. Through all this dreary space we meet with neither herbage nor water till we arrive within a few miles of El Hammah.

El Hammah lies four leagues to the westward of Gabs, being one of the frontier towns of the Tuniseens, where they have a small castle and garrison. The old city is at a little distance, still preserving some tokens of antiquity, though nothing considerable. The inscriptions, particularly, which are mentioned by Dapper* and Leo, no longer subsist; having undergone the like fate with the other ancient monuments and structures of this place.

El Hammah, to distinguish it from other cities of the like name, is generally called El Hammah of Gabs, i. e. *The Baths of Gabs* or *Tacape*; the same with the Aquas Tacapitanas, which might be its ancient name. For the 17 or 18 miles in the Itinerary, which is the distance betwixt Tacape and the Aquas Tacapitanas, is the very same that lies betwixt Gabs and El Hammah. These baths are sheltered from the weather by low thatched hovels; and their basins, which, like those at Mereega, are about twelve feet square, and four in depth, have, a little below the surface of the water, some benches of stone for the bathers to sit upon. One of these baths is called The Bath of the Lepers; and below it the water stagnates and forms a pool, the same perhaps with the Lake of Lepers mentioned by Leo. A small rivulet is formed by the water which flows from these baths; which, after it has been conducted in a number and variety of subdivisions through the adjacent gardens, is again united; and in directing its course towards the Lake of Marks, becomes *rafbig*, and loses itself in the sand. And probably this circumstance, together with the vicinity of the sources of the Triton to this rivulet, (though they have not the least communication with each other) might give occasion to the above-mentioned error in the ancient geographers, of deducing the Triton from the Palus Tritonis, or *Lake of Marks*. And this may be the more plausible, as few or no curious persons have hitherto had the hardiness to traverse over these deserts, the abode and resort, as I have observed, of cut-throats and assassins, and consequently where there could have been no opportunity to rectify the mistake.

* *Atl. Geogr.* vol. vi. p. 164. J. Leo, p. 225.

The principle Arabs of this Winter Circuit are the various subdivisions of the Farasheefe and Welled Seide, the most considerable and numerous tribes of this kingdom. The latter extend themselves chiefly along those districts that have been described under the names of Sahul and Dackul; but the Farasheefe, who possess the midland country, are more frequently met with near Spaitla and Fuffanah. The Nememshah, another very powerful clan, rarely pay any homage to the Tuniseens, and rove uncontrollably to the westward of the Farasheefe and of the Welled Seedy Boogannim, as far as Gellah and Tipafa, even to the very *douuars* of the Henneishah. Welled Seedy Boogannim, with their sanctuary, lie to the northward of the plains of Fuffanah, as far as the mountains of Ellouleejah and Hydrah; and to the eastward of them, near Sbeebah and Kisser, are the encampments of the Welled Omran. The Welled Matthie cultivate the rich country near Yousef and Zowareen; neither do the Welled Ya-goube enjoy a less fertile situation near the walls of Keff. The Bedoweens upon the frontiers are the Welled Booguff, who frequently dispute the passage of the Serratt, with the Woorgah, a formidable clan under the jurisdiction of the Algerines.

PART III.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BARBARY: PARTICULARLY OF THE KINGDOMS OF ALGIERS AND TUNIS.

CHAP. I. — *Of their Husbandry, &c.*

§ 1. — *Of the Air, Winds, Weather, Seasons, &c.*

THE Tell, or cultivated parts of these kingdoms, lying betwixt 34° and 37° N. lat. enjoy a very wholesome and temperate air, neither too hot and sultry in summer, nor too sharp and cold in winter. During the space of twelve years that I attended the factory of Algiers, I found the thermometer twice only contracted to the freezing point, and then the whole country, which was very unusual, was covered with snow; nor ever knew it rise to sultry weather, unless the winds blew from the Sahara. The seasons of the year insensibly fall into one another; and the great equability in the temperature of this climate appears further from this circumstance, that the barometer shews us all the revolutions of the weather in the space of one inch and $\frac{1}{2}$, or from 29 inches and $\frac{1}{2}$ to 30 inches $\frac{1}{2}$.

The winds are generally from the sea; *i. e.* from the W. by the N. to the E. Those from the east are common at Algiers from May to September; and then the westerly winds take place and become the most frequent. Sometimes also, particularly about the equinoxes, we very sensibly experience that force and impetuosity which the ancients have ascribed to the Africus*, or S. W. wind, called La-betch by these mariners.

* Africus furibundus ac ruens ab occidente hiberno. Senec. Nat. Quæst. 5.

Una Euræque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus. Virg. Æn. i. 89.

Luçantem Icaris fluctibus Africum
Mercator metuens. Flor. Carm. l. i. od. 1.

730, to Spring 1731.

	Inches.
Feb. 1	0 .85
17	0 .80
19	0 .25
22	0 .33
25	0 .60
26	0 .80
28	0 .20
March 1	0 .20
29	0 .25
April 1	0 .80
10	0 .25
13	0 .15
15	2 .03
24	0 .13
	<hr/>
30	.68

From Autumn 1732, to Spring 1733.

	Inches.
11	1 .10
13	0 .90
19	0 .40
March 5	2 .30
6	0 .95
7	1 .00
8	0 .30
12	0 .90
13	0 .90
14	1 .85
15	0 .65
19	0 .30
April 1	0 .80
4	0 .55
9	0 .75
16	1 .00
17	0 .35
30	0 .30
May 2	0 .50
	<hr/>
44	.27

The ordinary quantity of rain which falls yearly at Algiers is, at a medium, twenty-seven or twenty-eight inches. In the years 1723-4, and 1724-5, which were looked upon as dry years, there only fell about twenty-four inches; whereas, in 1730-1, which may be placed among the wet years, the quantity was upwards of thirty. The rains were still more copious *an.* 1732-3, amounting to more than forty inches; but this was so extraordinary, that the like had rarely happened. The showers, particularly Oct. 15. and Nov. 11. were so remarkably heavy and frequent, that the pipes contrived to convey the rain water from their terraces, as they call the tops of their flat roofed houses, were not wide enough to receive it. Whilst I was at Tunis in February and March 1727-8, it rained forty days successively; but I have not known the like at Algiers, where it seldom rains above two or three days together, after which, there is usually a week, a fortnight, or more, of fair and good weather.

Little or no rain falls in this climate during the summer season; and in most parts of the Sahara, particularly in the Jereede, they have seldom any rain at all. It was likewise the same in the Holy Land, Prov. xxvi. 1. where rain is accounted an unusual thing in harvest. 2 Sam. xxi. 10. where it is also mentioned, "from harvest, till rain dropped on them;" i. e. their rainy season fell out, as in Barbary, in the autumnal and winter months; the latter end of the ninth month, which answers to our January, being described particularly (Ezra x. 9. 13.) to be a time of much rain. Babylon is also described by Strabo, l. xv. p. 506. to have been in the like condition with Tozer, and the villages of the Jereede: Κεραμω δ' ε χειρνται εδε γαρ κατομβρευνται, says that curious author.

When I was at Tozer in December, A.D. 1727, we had a small drizzling shower that continued for the space of two hours; and so little provision was made against accidents of this kind, that several of the houses, which are built only as usual (p. 42. 138.) with palm branches, mud, and tiles baked in the sun, corresponding perhaps to, and explanatory of, the untempered mortar, Ezek. xiii. 11. fell down by imbibing the moisture of the shower. Nay, provided the drops had been either larger, or the shower of a longer continuance, or *overflowing*, in the prophet's expression, the whole city

city would have undoubtedly dissolved and dropt to pieces. The like also, to compare great things with small, might have happened, upon the same occasion, even to such of the Egyptian pyramids as are made of brick; the composition whereof, being only a mixture of clay, mud, and (Exod. v. 7.) straw*, slightly blended and kneaded together, and afterwards baked in the sun, would have made as little resistance. The straw which keeps these bricks together, and still preserves its original colour, seems to be a proof that these bricks were never burnt, or made in kilns.

§ 2. — *Of their Husbandry and Products.*

THE first rains fall here some years in September, in others a month later; after which, the Arabs break up their ground, in order to sow wheat and plant beans. This commonly falls out about the middle of October; but the sowing of barley, and the planting of lentils and garvancos, as they call the cicer or chick pea, is a fortnight or three weeks later, or not till the end of November. If the latter rains fall as usual in the middle of April, (in the Holy Land we find they were a month sooner, Joel ii. 23.) the crop is reckoned secure; the harvest coming on in the latter end of May, or in the beginning of June, according to the heat and quality of the preceding seasons.

Two bushels and an half of wheat or barley are sufficient to sow as much ground as a pair of beeves will plow in one day; which is, a little more or less, equal to one of our acres. I could never learn that Barbary afforded yearly more than one crop; one bushel yielding ordinarily from eight to twelve, though some districts may perhaps afford a much greater increase, for it is common to see one grain produce ten or fifteen stalks. Even some grains of the Murwaany wheat, which I brought with me to Oxford, and sowed in the physic garden, threw out each of them fifty. But Muze-ratty, one of the late kaleefas, or viceroys of the province of Tlemsan, brought once with him to Algiers a root that yielded fourscore; telling us, that, in consequence of a dispute concerning the respective fruitfulness of Egypt and Barbary, the Emeer Hadge, or prince of the western pilgrims, lent once to the bashaw of Cairo, one that yielded sixscore. Pliny † mentions some that bore three or four hundred. It likewise happens, that one of these stalks will sometimes bear two ears, whilst each of these ears will as often shoot out into a number of lesser ones, thereby affording a most plentiful increase. And may not these large prolific ears, when seven are said to come up upon one stalk, Gen. xli. 5. explain what is further mentioned, ver. 47. of the seven fruitful years in Egypt, viz. that "the earth brought *them* forth by HANDFULS?"

But there is one kind only of wheat and barley which is generally cultivated; and these are each of them produced in such plenty, that whilst Oran was in the possession of the Algerines, our English merchants usually shipped off from thence every year seven or eight thousand ton, even of what could well be spared by the inhabitants. However, they both of them differ in quality, according to the ground whereon they are sown. For what grows upon the plains of Busdeerah is accounted the best in the kingdom of Tunis; whilst at Algiers, the corn of Tefailah and Zeidoure, and espe-

* *Paleis coherent lateres.* Phil. Jud. in vita Moſis.

† *Tritico nihil eſt fertilius: hoc ei natura tribuit, quoniam ea maxime aliat hominem: utpote cum e modio, ſi ſit aptum ſolum, quale in Byzacio Africæ campo, centeni quinquageni (centum ſolum alibi memorantur) modii reddantur. Miſit ex eo loco Divo Auguſto procurator ejus ex uno grano (vix credibile dictu) quadringenta paucis minus germina, extantque de ea re epiſtolæ. Miſit et Neroni ſimiliter cccxl ſipulas ex uno grano.* Plin. l. xviii. c. 10.

cially the Murwaany, as they call a larger sort of wheat at Medea, keep up the greatest reputation.

Near the Sikke and Habrah, in the Mattijiah, upon the banks of the Hamah below Constantina, and all along the Mejardah, in all which places they have a great command of water during the whole summer, the inhabitants cultivate rice, Indian corn, and particularly a white sort of millet, called Drah*, which they prefer to barley, in fattening their cattle. The sparrows, which in the open country build upon trees only, the linnets, goldfinches, and other little birds, are so fond of this grain, that, when it grows ripe, they are obliged to watch it, and hinder them from settling upon it, by making all the day long a perpetual screaming and noise. The extemporary booths which they make with branches of trees, reeds, and bulrushes, to shelter themselves, at these times, from the violent heat of the sun, and are entirely neglected and forsaken in the other seasons, may be the same, and for the like purpose, *with the cottage in a vineyard, and with the lodge in a garden of cucumbers*, mentioned, Isa. i. 8. as emblems of the disconsolate state of Jerusalem.

Oats are not cultivated at all by the Arabs, the horses of this country (ἵππος ἀκονισσας, Hem. Il. 2. 506.) feeding altogether upon barley and straw, the latter of which, as their grafs is never made into hay, is the usual fodder in the Holy Land. This we learn from 1 Kings iv. 24. where it is said, *they brought barley and straw for the horses and dromedaries.*—*Like an ox that eateth hay*, Plal. cvi. should be, *like a beeve that eateth grafs*.

These nations continue to tread out their corn after the primitive custom of the East. Instead of beeves, they frequently make use of mules and horses, by tying in like manner by the neck three or four of them together, and whipping them afterwards round about the Nedders†, as they call the treading floors, (the *Libyæ aræ*, Hor.) where the sheaves lie open and expanded, in the same manner as they are placed and prepared with us for threshing. This indeed is a much quicker way than ours, though less cleanly. For as it is performed in the open air, Hof. xiii. 3. upon any round level plat of ground, daubed over with cow's dung, to prevent, as much as possible, the earth, sand, or gravel from rising; a great quantity of them all, notwithstanding this precaution, must unavoidably be taken up with the grain. At the same time, the straw, which has been taken notice of as their chier and only fodder, is hereby flattered to pieces; a circumstance very pertinently alluded to, 2 Kings xiii. 7. where the King of Syria is said *to have made the Israelites like the dust by threshing*.

After the grain is trodden out, they winnow it by throwing it up against the wind with a shovel; the το πλυνον, Matt. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17. there rendered *a fan*, too cumbersome a machine to be thought of. Whereas, the text should rather run, *whose shovel, or fork*, the σφρανον οδοντικον, as my learned friend, Mr. Merrick, rather takes it to be, which is a portable instrument, *is in his hand*, agreeable to the practice that is recorded, Isa. xxx. 24. where both the shovel and the fan are mentioned, as *the chaff* that is thereby *carried away before the wind*, is often alluded to, Job xxi. 18. Plal. i. 4. Isa. xxix. 5. and xxxv. 5. Hof. xiii. 3. The broken pieces of Nebuchadnezzar's image particularly are very beautifully compared, Dan. ii. 25. to *the chaff of the summer threshing floor carried away by the wind*.

* The Draba Arabum of the botanists, though a quite different plant, unquestionably comes from this, the former being a species of Thlaspi, with which millet has no manner of affinity.

† This figure and use of the Nedder seems to be implied, 1. In the Hebrew name גָּרָן *garan*, from whence perhaps the Greek γυρος, and the Latin gyros: 2. In the Greek appellation ἀλυν: and, 3. In the Ethiopic, *awdy*; viz. from whipping the cattle that tread out the corn round about or in a circle.

After the grain is winnowed, they lodge it in *mattamores*, or subterraneous magazines, as the custom was formerly of other nations *, two or three hundred of which are sometimes together, the smallest holding four hundred bushels. Hirtius† acquaints us, that the Africans made use of these pits for the greater security of their provisions from an enemy. It is more probable, that they were contrived in those earlier ages, as they continue to be to this day, for the greater ease and convenience of the inhabitants. For it cannot be supposed that either the ancient Nomades, or the present Arabs, would be at the expence of erecting store-houses of stone, when they could, at a much cheaper rate, and at every station where they encamped to gather in their harvest, be served with these.

Beans, lentils, kidney beans, and garvancos are the chiefest of their pulse kind. Pease, which till of late were known in the gardens only of the several Christian merchants, are sown with the first rains, and blossom in the latter end of February, or in the beginning of March. Beans are usually full podded at that time, and continue during the whole spring; which, after they are boiled and stewed with oil and garlic, are the principal food of persons of all distinctions. After them, lentils, kidney beans, and garvancos begin to be gathered; the first of which are dressed in the same manner, with beans, dissolving easily into a mass, and making a pottage of a chocolate colour. This we find was the red pottage which Esau from thence called Edom, exchanged for his birth-right‡. But garvancos are prepared in a different manner, neither do they grow soft, like other pulse, by boiling; and therefore never constitute a dish by themselves, but are strowed singly as a garnish over cuscaſowe, pillowe, and other dishes. They are besides in the greatest repute, after they are parched in pans and ovens; then assuming the name of leblebby. This seems to be of the greatest antiquity, for Plautus§ speaks of it as a thing very common in his time; the like observation we meet with in Aristophanes||: neither is there, as far as I have been informed, any other pulse prepared in this manner. The leblebby therefore of these times may probably be the (קלי *kali*) parched pulse¶ of the Holy Scriptures, as Cassianus supposes them to be the *τρωγᾶλια* of the Greek authors**. They have likewise been taken†† for the pigeons' dung mentioned at the siege of Samaria. And, indeed, as the cicer is pointed at one end, and acquires an ash colour in parching, the first of which circumstances answers to the figure, the other to the usual colour of pigeons' dung, the supposition is by no means to be disregarded.

After their corn and pulse, we are to take notice of the roots, pot-herbs, and fruit, of which there is not only great plenty and variety, but a continuance or succession, at least of one kind or other, throughout the whole year. To give therefore a specimen of the kitchen and fruit gardens of Barbary, we are to observe, that turnips, carrots, and cabbages, are equally good and common in most seasons. The *list el hashoure*, a small parsnip-like turnip, with fibrous roots, has a taste so agreeably pungent, that it is held in the highest esteem, and sold by weight. A turnip like this is sometimes brought from Hamburgh, lettuce, or chofs, according to the generical

* Utilissime servantur (frumenta) in scrobibus, quos Siros, (Σιρως, Var. l. i. c. 57.) vocant, ut in Cappadocia et in Thracia. In Hispania et Africa, ante omnia, ut sicco solo fiant, curant: mox ut palca subternatur. Præterea cum spica sua conduntur, [non ita hodie mos Africæ est]. Ita frumenta si nullus spiritus penetret, certum est nihil maleficum nasci. Plin. l. xviii. c. 30.

† Hirt. Bell. Afric. § 57.

‡ Gen. xxv. 30. and 34.

§ Tam frictum ego illum reddam, quam frictum est cicer. Plaut. in Bacch. iv. v. ver. 7.

|| Ἀδρακίτων τρωγῶνδον. Aristoph. in Pace.

¶ 2 Sam. xvii. 28. Vid Hieronym. Vers.

** Superintulit canistrum habens cicer frictum, quod illi *τρωγᾶλια* (i. e. Bullaria) vocant. Cassian. Collat. viii.

†† Vid. Boch. Hieroz. par. post. l. i. c. 7.

name. Endive, cress, chervil, spinach, all sorts of beets, with the young shoots of the wild and garden artichoke, are in season from October to June; and then follow, during the rest of the summer, calabash, mellow-keahs*, bedinjanns, and tomatas; each of them in its turn gives a relish to their soups and ragouts. Neither should cazbar or coriander be omitted, as it has always a principal share in the Moorish cookery. Sellery and colliflowers arrive here to great perfection. They are sown in July, and fit for gathering the February or March following. I have seen several colliflowers very white, solid, and compact, that measured a yard or more in circumference. They begin to gather musk, and water melons, about the latter end of June; the first of which are little superior in taste to our own, but the latter, for want of a proper heat, have rarely or never been raised to perfection in the northern climates. Doubtless the water melon, or angura, or pistachia, or dillah, as they call it here, is providentially calculated for the southern countries, as it affords a cool refreshing juice, alluages thirst, mitigates feverish disorders, and compensates thereby, in no small degree, for the excessive heats, not so much of these as of the more southern districts.

In speaking of the fruit garden, we are to begin with the palm tree, of which there are several large plantations in the maritime as well as in the inland parts of this country; though such only as grow in the Sahara, viz. in Gætulia and the Jereeda, bring their fruit to perfection. They are propagated chiefly from young shoots, taken from the roots of full grown trees, which, if well transplanted and taken care of, will yield their fruit in their sixth or seventh year; whereas, those that are raised immediately from the kernels, will not bear till about their sixteenth. This method of raising the *caniz*, or *palm*, and (what may be further observed) that, when the old trunk dies, there is never wanting one or other of these offsprings to succeed it, may have given occasion to the fable of the bird † of that name dying, and another arising from it.

It is well known that these trees are male and female, and that the fruit will be dry and insipid without a previous communication with the male. In the month of March, or April therefore, when the sheaths that respectively inclose the young clusters of the male flowers and the female fruit, begin to open, at which time the latter are formed and the first are mealy, they take a sprig or two of the male cluster, and insert it into the sheath of the female; or else they take a whole cluster of the male tree, and sprinkle the meal or farina of it over several clusters of the female ‡. The latter practice is common in Egypt, where they have a number of males; but the trees of Barbary are impregnated by the former method, one male being sufficient to impregnate four or five hundred females §.

The Africans call this operation *Dthuckar*, which we may render the *undating*, or *admission of the male*. The same word is likewise used, instead of the ancient *caprificatio* ||,

* Mellow-keah, or mulookish, מלוקיך, as in the Arabic, is the same with the melochia, or corchorus J. B. H. 982. J. R. H. 259. being a podded species of mallows whose pods are rough, of a glutinous substance, and used in most of their dishes. Mellow-keah appears to be little different in name from מלוקיך, Job xxx. 4. which we render mallows; though some other plant of a more saltish taste, and less nourishing quality (as it is joined with the roots of juniper trees) may be rather intended.

† Vid. Plin. lib. xiii. c. 4. Bochart Hieroz. l. vi. c. 5. part. post. p. 2.

‡ Plin. l. xiii. c. 4. expressed this by, Pulvere tantum interposito feminis.

§ Vid. Phytogr. No. 204.

|| Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. xv. c. 19. Mense Junio, circa solstitium caprificandæ sunt arbores scilicet, id est, suspendendi grossi ex caprifico, lino, velut ferra, perunsi. Pallad. De re rust. l. iv. Caprificari (inquit Sipontinus) est adhibita caprisco, ne fructus propinquæ ficus ante maturitatem decendant providere. Vid. Steph. Thes. in voce.

for the suspending a few figs of the male, or wild fig tree, upon the female, to hinder the fruit from dropping off, or degenerating.

I was informed, that the palm tree arrives to its greatest vigour about thirty years after transplantation, and continues so seventy years afterwards, bearing yearly fifteen or twenty clusters of dates, each of them weighing fifteen or twenty pounds. After this period, it begins gradually to decline, and usually falls about the latter end of its second century. 'Cui placet curas agere sæculorum,' says Palladius, Oct. 12. 'de palmis cogitet conferendis.'

This *φιλυδρον ουτον* requires no other culture and attendance, than to be well watered once in four or five days, and to have a few of the lower boughs lopt off, whenever they begin to droop or wither. These, whose stumps or pollices, in being thus gradually left upon the trunk, serve, like so many rounds of a ladder, to climb up the tree, either to fecundate it, to lop it, or to gather the fruit, are quickly supplied with others, which gradually hang down from the top or crown, contributing not only to the regular and uniform growth of this tall, knotless, beautiful tree, but likewise to its perpetual and most delightful verdure. *To be exalted*, Eccles. xxiv. 14. or, *to flourish like the palm tree*, are as just and proper expressions, suitable to the nature of this plant, as to *spread abroad like a cedar*, Psal. xcii. 11.

It is usual with persons of better fashion, upon a marriage, at the birth or circumcision of a child, or upon any other feast or good day, to entertain their guests with the honey, or *dipse*, as they call it, of the palm tree. This they procure, by cutting off the head or crown (the *επικοπη* of Theophrastus, to which the Hazazon Tamar is supposed to relate) of one of the more vigorous plants, and scouping the top of the trunk into the shape of a basin, where the sap in ascending lodges itself, at the rate of three or four quarts a day, during the first week or fortnight; after which, the quantity daily diminishes, and at the end of six weeks, or two months, the juices are entirely consumed, the tree becomes dry, and serves only for timber or firewood. This liquor, which has a more luscious sweetness than honey, is of the consistence of a thin syrop, but quickly grows tart and ropy, acquiring an intoxicating quality, and giving by distillation an agreeable spirit or *araky*, according to the general name of these people for all hot liquors extracted by the *alembick*.

After the palm, we are to describe the Lotus*, whose fruit is frequently mentioned in history. The Lotoplagi also, a considerable people of these and the adjacent deserts, received their name from eating of it. Herodotus† informs us, that the fruit was sweet like the date; Pliny‡, that it was of the bigness of a bean, and of a saffron colour; and Theophrastus§, that it grew thick, like the fruit of the myrtle tree. From which circumstances, the lotus arbor of the ancients appears to be the same plant with the Seedra of the Arabs. This shrub, which is very common in the Jerade, and other parts of Barbary, has the leaves, prickles, flower, and fruit of the ziziphus, or jujeb; only with this difference, that the fruit is here round, smaller, and more luscious, at the same time the branches, like those of the paliurus, are

* Phyt. No. 165.

† Herod. p. 278. Scyl. Perip. p. 49. Strab. Geogr. l. xvii. p. 1188. Ptol. Geogr. l. iv. c. 3.

‡ Africa insignem arborem Loton gignit ** magnitudo quæ pyro, quasquam Nepos Cornelius brevem tradat. ** Magnitudo hinc tæxæ, color croci, sed ante maturitatem albae atque alius, sicut in uvis. Nascitur densus in ramis myrti modo, non ut in Italia cerasi: tam dulci ibi cibo, ut nomen etiam genti tribuque dedit, ubi's hospitibus advenarum oblivione patriæ, &c. Plin. l. xiii. c. 17.

§ Ο δὲ καρπὸς ἄλλως καλεῖται πικραίνεται δὲ ὥστε, οἱ βοτρυεῖς, μεταβάλλων τὰς χεῖρας. Φύεται δὲ καθάπερ τὰ μυρτα παραλλήλῃ, πικρὸν, ἐπὶ τὰν βλάστην ἰσχυρμένο· δὲ ἐν ταῖς Λατοφάγοις καλεῖται γλῦκος ἢ δὲ καὶ αἰσιν. Theoph. Hist. Plant. lib. iv. c. 4.

neither so much jointed nor crooked. This fruit is still in great repute, tastes something like gingerbread, and is sold in the markets all over the southern districts of these kingdoms. The Arabs call it Aneb enta el Seedra, or *the jujeb of the Seedra*, which Olavus Celsius had so great an opinion of, that he has described it as the Dudain of the S. S.

Most of the other fruit trees of this country are common in Europe; of which the almond, the most early bearer, flowers in January, and gives its fruit in the beginning of April. Apricots are fit to gather in May; but the fashee, or masculine apricot, is somewhat later, though much preferable, as the eating of it is never attended with surfeits. Whereas the common apricot occasions a variety of fevers and dysenteries, and is therefore known in the Frank language by the name of Matza Franca, or the *killer of Christians*. Apricot is a corruption of præcoqua, (in the modern Greek *πρæκοκκω*), on account of its forwardness.

In June, there are two or three sorts of plums and cherries, which are neither plentiful nor delicious. However, the cherry was formerly in so much esteem, that it was called, as it is at present, Hab el melleck, i. e. *The berry of the King*. About this time likewise, is the season for tout or mulberries; but apples and pears are not ripe before July or August, when both of them are in plenty and variety enough; though if the sultan, i. e. the king pear, is excepted, all the rest are greatly inferior to the more ordinary kinds of our climate; neither will any of them keep till the autumn.

The black and white boccore, or early fig*, (the same we have in England, and which in Spain is called breba, quasi breve, as continuing only a short time), is produced in June, though the kermex, or kermouse, the fig properly so called, which they preserve, and make up into cakes†, is rarely ripe before August. I have also seen a long dark-coloured kermouse, that sometimes hangs upon the trees all the winter. For the kermouse, in general, continue a long time upon the tree before they fall off; whereas, the boccores drop as soon as they are ripe, and, according to the beautiful allusion of the prophet Nahum, (iii. 12.) *fall into the mouth of the eater upon being shaken*. We may observe further, that these trees do not properly blossom, or send out flowers, as we render, *הפּרת*, Hab. iii. 17. They may rather be said to *shoot out their fruit*, which they do like so many little buttons, with their flowers, small and imperfect as they are, inclosed within them. But further notice will be taken of the fig-tree, when we speak of the Holy Land.

Nectarines and peaches are ripe towards the middle of July, the former being much larger than ours, and of a better taste; and the latter, besides their excellent flavour, will commonly weigh ten ounces. August produces the first pomegranates; some of which are three or four inches in diameter, and of a pound weight. The pomegranates, or malum Punicum, as originally brought from Phœnicia, was formerly one of the most delicate fruits of the east, Numb. xiii. 23. and xx. 5. Deut. viii. 8. Cant. iv. 13. the orange, the apricot, the peach, or the nectarine, not having made their progress so early to the westward. Neither ought we to omit the prickly pear, or the fruit, as it

* *Bakarib*, Heb. *בכיריב*, *Primus fructus et præcox*. Gol. significat ficum præcoccum, prodromum, five prothericam. Schind. Lex. Jer. xxiv. 2. Hof. ix. 10.

† 1 Sam. xxv. 18. When they are just formed, or not come to maturity, they are the *פְּחִימִים* *phagim*, i. e. the *ακατέληκτα, ὠκεία*, Cant. ii. 13. Apoc. vi. 13. and the *grossi*, Plin. l. xiii. c. 7. which terms may relate also to the immature fruit both of the summer and winter crops. Dried figs were the *carica* or *καρχαδών*, and *גרזניקות*, as *cakes of figs* were called *παλαβή* and *רבליים*. Figs are likewise taken for the *קִיץ*, or *summer fruit*, so often named in scripture. *Kermex* or *kermouse*, the Barbary name for figs, may have relation to *coreus*, the green or scarlet berry, or *kermex*, which gives the crimson dye, these figs being often of a red or violet colour; the *figus violacea*, as the botanists call them.

is commonly thought to be, of the opuntia; called, perhaps from being first brought to them from Spain, *kermes nassarah*, or *the fig of the Christians*. Several families live upon it during the months of August and September, though it is never known to tinge the urine of a bloody colour, as it does in America, from whence this fruit or the *tena* (for that is its proper Indian name, not unlike Heb. תֵּנָה or תֵּנָה *fiens*) originally came.

The wall-nut, and the olive, which only bears copiously every other year, are propagated all over Barbary. In some places also they have the pistachio tree; as also the chesnut, which is smaller, though of as good a relish as those from France or Spain. But the hazel-nut*, the filbert, the strawberry, the gooseberry also, and currant†, are not, as far as I know, the productions of this climate.

The grape ripens towards the latter end of July, and is ready for the vintage in September. The wine of Algiers, before the locusts destroyed the vineyards in the years 1723 and 1724, was not inferior to the best hermitage, either in briskness of taste or flavour. But since that time, it is much degenerated, having not hitherto (1732) recovered its usual qualities; though even with this disadvantage, it may still dispute the preference with the common wines of Spain or Portugal. The lemon and sometimes the Sevil orange tree, is always in a succession of fruit and blossoms; but the China, as it is commonly called, having been transplanted from the country of that name much later, is still considered as a foreigner, and bears only towards the latter end of autumn. I need not mention the quince, the medlar, the jubeb, and service tree, because their fruit is no where in great repute; at the same time, the trees themselves are the least ornaments of the fruit garden. Those plants which more immediately relate to the flower or the physic garden, are ranged together alphabetically in the *Phytographia*.

But we should not leave these gardens, without observing, that there is nothing laid out in them with method, beauty, or design; the whole being a medley only, or confusion of fruit trees, with beds or plantations of cabbages, turnips, beans, garvancos, &c.; nay, sometimes of wheat and barley interspersed. Fine walks, parterres, and flower-plats, would be to these people the loss of so much profitable soil; as planting in order and regularity, the study of soil and composts, or the aiming at any new improvements, would be so many deviations from the practice of their ancestors, whose footsteps they follow with the utmost devotion and reverence.

§ 3.—Of the Soil, Salts, Mineral Waters, Hot Springs, &c.

THE soil, which supports all trees and vegetables, is, for the most part, of such a loose and yielding contexture, that, as I have already observed, an ordinary pair of beeves is sufficient in one day to plow a whole acre of it.

* לֵלֵב Heb. [*Luz*] is interpreted, (Gen xxx. 57.) the *hazel tree*, instead of the *almond tree*, according to the true signification. What is rendered *nut*, likewise, Cant. vi. 12. should have been specified, and called *wall-nuts*; the Heb. אֲזוּזֵה *ajouze*, and the Arabic *jeuz*, being the same. כִּטְמִים also, which we render simply *nuts*, Gen. xliii. 11. should be the *pistachio-nuts*.

† These have attained among the botanists the name *ribes* or *ribesum*, very probably from the *ribes* of the Arabian physicians, though of a different kind; the latter being with a parsnip-like root, with rough leaves, like buglos or echium, but larger and broader, the root and leaves whereof being pounded and squeezed, yield a tart refreshing juice, which is used by the Turks in their sherbets and cooling liquors. As this therefore has a great affinity in taste with the juice of the gooseberry and currant; these, in want or deficiency of the former, might have been substituted in their place, and have assumed the same name. The dock above mentioned is thus described, viz. *Lapathum acetosum orientale maximum et montanum*; Syris, *rebass*. Beith, apud Golum.

In the salt-petre works of Tlemfan, they contract about six ounces of nitre from every quintal of this soil, which is there of a dark colour; and at Doufan, in Gætulia, Kairwan, and some other places, they have the like quantity from a loamy earth, of a colour betwixt red and yellow. In the summer season, the banks of several rivers, to the depth of two or three fathoms, are studded all over with nitrous and saline knobs and exudations, which, besides the depth of the soil, shew us likewise how well it is saturated with these minerals.

For to this grand and inexhaustible fund of salts, we may in a great measure attribute the great fertility for which this country has always been remarkable*, and still continues to be so, without any other manuring, than burning in some few places the weeds and stubble. However, it is somewhat extraordinary, and for which we cannot account, that the province of Bizacium, formerly in so much repute for its fertility, should at present be the most barren and unprofitable part of these kingdoms.

That salt is here the chief and prevailing mineral, appears as well from the several salt springs and mountains of salt, as from the great number of salinæ and shibkas, that we meet with almost in every district. The Wed el Mailah, near the western frontiers of the kingdom of Algiers, and the Serrat upon the eastern; the Hamum Mellwan, nine leagues to the S.S.E. of Algiers; the salt River of the Beni Abbès, which runs through the Beeban; that of the Urbyah, near the Tittery Dosh; that from Jibbel Woolgar, in the neighbourhood of Constantina; the Mailah, that falls into the Shott over against Messelah; the Bareekah, as it passes by Nickowfe; and the river of Gorbata, upon the confines of the Jereed: these, I say, besides several rills and fountains of lesser note, are all of them either very salt or brackish. The water of the river Gorbata, is made very palatable, by letting it percolate through some contiguous banks of sand, into little pits which are occasionally dug for that purpose; but the other rivers, having deeper channels, and running through a richer mould, are not capable of the like filtration.

The salt-pits near Arzew lie surrounded with mountains, and take up an area of about six miles in compass. They appear like a large lake in winter, but are dry in summer, the water being then exhaled, and the salts that are left behind become crystallized. In digging for this salt, they pass through different layers of it, whereof some are an inch, others more in thickness, in proportion to the quantity of the saline particles wherewith the waters were impregnated before their respective concretions. In the like manner we find the Salinæ betwixt Carthage and the Guletta; those of the Shott; and of other places, either bordering upon, or lying within the Sahara.

Jibbel Had-deffa is an entire mountain of salt, situated near the eastern extremity of the Lake of Marks. The salt of it is of a quite different quality and appearance from that of the salinæ, being as hard and solid as stone, and of a reddish or purple colour. Yet what is washed down from these precipices by these dews, attains another colour, becomes as white as snow, and loses that share of bitterness which is in the parent rock salt. It may very properly be said to have lost, if not all, yet a great deal at least of its original flavour. The salt of the mountains near Lwotaiah and Jibbel Minifs, is of a grey or bluish colour; and, without submitting to the like accidental purification, as at Had-deffa, is very agreeable to the palate; the first especially being sold at Algiers

* Non quicquid Libycis terit

Verum area messibus. *Senec. in Thyet.*

Frumenti quantum metit Africa. *Hor. Sat. l. ii. Sat. 3. 87.*

Possideat Libycas messes. *Mart. Epig. l. vi. 86.*

for a penny an ounce, which is a great sum, considering the small value of common salt all over this kingdom.

Of the like quantity and flavour is the salt of the Lake of Marks, and of the other lesser plains of the same nature. These are usually called *sibkah* or *shibkah*, i. e. *saltish plats of ground*; and lie commonly under water in winter, when they appear like so many extensive lakes; but are dry in summer, when they may be taken for so many bowling greens prepared for the turf. Such of the *shibkas* as have a hard and solid bottom, without any mixture of gritty mould, retain the salt that lies crystalized upon them after rain; but others, which are of a more oozy absorbent nature, seldom preserve any saline incrustations upon their surfaces. The chief substratum of the Lake of Marks, is like a tessellated pavement, made up of various little cubes of common salt; but in those *shibkahs* that are of a soft and oozy composition, as near Warran and Kairwan, I could never observe any salt that was concentered; though the earth of them all is very pungent to the tongue, and by a proper solution and management, would undoubtedly yield a copious portion of it.

I have seen some large pieces of salt gem brought from the country of the Beni Mezzab; but salt petre, called *mellah hacc*, or *live salt*, by the Arabs, is never, that I know, found in substance or concentered, being always extracted by art. For which purpose, several troughs of brick or stone are erected, with wooden grates for their bottoms; and after having lined them within with mats made of dwarf palm or spartum, they fill them with salt-petre earth, sprinkling it with water every six or eight hours, for five or six days together. The water by soaking through the earth, engages all the nitrous particles that are lodged in its way; and, draining afterwards through the mats, falls into small cavities, made on purpose to receive it. When they have thus obtained a sufficient quantity of brine, they pour it into caldrons, boil it up and refine it. There are several works of this kind at Tlemcen, Biscara, and Kairwan, besides others that are carried on privately among the Kabyles and Arabs.

The principal use of their salt-petre, is in the composition of *bâ-route*, or gun-powder; whereof the sulphur comes mostly from Europe, whilst the ashes of the *burwak*, or king's spear, or *asphodelus*, are rather chosen than those of charcoal. These people are well enough instructed in the art of graining the gun-powder; though something is still wanting, either in the ingredients themselves, or in the proportions of them, one ounce from our powder mills being equivalent to more than a quarter of a pound of that which is made in these countries.

Besides the several springs and rivulets of salt-water, which I have here enumerated, these countries abound likewise with others that partake of sulphur and other minerals. In which class, besides the Ain Kidran, or *Fountain of Tar*, and the Hamdh, a rich spaw water or acidula near the river Bishbesh, we may place the several Hammams*, or Thermæ. The Ain el Houe, which falls into the Tafna, together with the greatest number of the springs of the Jereed, are somewhat more than lukewarm; whilst those of Seedy Ebly, Warran, below Tlemcen, those of Mellwan, El Hammah of Gabs, and the lower bath at Mereega, are of a more intense heat, and very proper to bathe in. But the Hammam Meskouten, and the upper bath at Mereega, are much too hot for that intention; the former boiling, as I made the experiment, a breast of mutton very tender in a quarter of an hour.

* From whence our Humums.

The Ain El Houe, and the springs of Gafsa and Tozer nourish a number of small fishes, of the mullet and perch kind, both of them of an easy digestion. Of the like quality are the other waters of the Jereed; all of them, after they become cold, being greedily drunk by the inhabitants. That particularly of El Hammah is perfectly clear and transparent, and as soft to the palate as rain water. Unless therefore the sulphureous or other effluvia that it is supposed to be charged with, quickly fly off, all the great virtues ascribed to the bathing in it, consist only in their genial warmth, and in promoting thereby a copious perspiration.

Besides the strong sulphureous steams which issue from the Hammam Mekkouteen, the water is moreover of so intense a heat, that the rocky ground which it runs over, to the distance sometimes of a hundred feet, is calcined by it. When the substance of these rocks is soft, and of an uniform substance and contexture, then the water, by making equal impressions upon them on all sides, leaves them in the shape of cones or hemispheres, which being usually six feet in height and breadth, the Arabs imagine them to be so many tents of their predecessors, turned into stone. But when these rocks, besides their usual soft chalky substance, contain likewise some layers of harder matter, not so easily dissolved or calcined, then according to the figures of these layers, and in proportion to the resistance which the water thereby meets with, we are entertained with a confusion of traces and channels, imagined to be sheep, camels, horses, nay, sometimes men, women, and children, whom they suppose to have undergone the like fate with their tents, of being converted into stone. These fountains, I observed, had been frequently stopped up, or rather, ceasing to run at one place, broke out in others; which circumstance seems not only to account for the number of cones, but for that variety likewise of traces that are continued from one or other of them, quite down to the river Zenati, whose channel is at about the distance of a quarter of a mile.

This place, thus distinguished by these fountains, gives back, in riding over it, the like hollow fallacious sound with the Solfatara, near Naples, and made us not a little afraid of sinking every moment through it. And as, from these circumstances, the ground below was probably hollow, may not the air within these caverns, by escaping through these fountains, afford that mixture of shrill, murmuring, or deep sounds, one or other of which are perpetually issuing out with the water? The Arabs (to quote their strength of imagination once more) affirm these sounds to be the music of the *Jenounes*, or *Jinns*, who are supposed, in a particular manner, to make their abodes at this place, and to be the grand agents in all these extraordinary sounds and appearances.

There are likewise here other natural curiosities, worthy of our notice. For the chalky stone, being calcined or dissolved by the scalding water, into an impalpable powder, and carried down afterwards with the stream, lodges itself upon the lips of the channels; or else by embracing some intervening twigs, straws, or other bodies, immediately hardens; and shooting into a bright fibrous substance like the albestos, forms itself into a variety of glittering figures and beautiful crystallizations.

The river of El Hammah, and others in the Jereed, which are often very large and copious, have their sources, which are sometimes one or two at most, in large extensive plains, far removed from any chain of mountains; and as little or no rain falls into these districts, this circumstance alone seems to be no small testimony in favour of that system, which deduces the origin of fountains from the great abyss. The wells, which I have taken notice of in Wadr eag, seem further to confirm it.

The weight of the water of the Hammam Mereega is to that of rain water, as 836 to 840; that of Wairan, as 837; that of Meskouteen, as 850; and that of Mellwan, as 910. I had no convenience or opportunity of weighing the rest.

§ 4.—Of the Earthquakes.

BESIDES the hot mineral effluvia that are continually discharged by these thermæ, or Hammam, there still remain below the surface, some vast and inexhaustible funds of sulphur, nitre, and other inflammable bodies, of which, the frequency and violence of earthquakes may be a sufficient proof. The earthquakes, *ann.* 1723 and 1724, shook down a number of houses, and stopt the course of several fountains; but by one of those violent concussions, *ann.* 1716, a large piece of ground at Wamre, lying in an easy descent, with a well, a few trees, and a farm house upon it, glided down, all together, for the space of a furlong, till they were one or other of them stopped by the channel of the river Harbeene, that empties itself there into the Shelliff. Several of the breaches, together with some pieces of the house turned upside down, lie at a distance from each other, and are to this day a standing monument of this catastrophe. I was informed, that the like accident happened, at the same time, in some of the mountainous districts of Boujeiah and El Khadarah; literally answering, in some degree at least, to the expression of the Psalmist, that *the mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like young sheep*; or that *the earth shall reel to and fro like a drunkard, and shall be removed like a cottage*, Isa. xxiv. 20. The greatest shock which we perceived at Algiers, (1724) reached from Miliana to Bona, the air being then clear and temperate, and the quicksilver standing at the greatest height; whilst other concussions were found, upon inquiry, to be of small extent. At these times, the barometer was not affected with any sudden alterations, neither was there any occasional change in the air, which was, as at other times, of its usual temperature, without being more calm or windy, hazy or serene.

Earthquakes also have sometimes been felt at sea. In the same year, when I was aboard the *Gazella*, an Algerine cruiser of fifty guns, bound to Bona to relieve the garrison, we felt three prodigious shocks one after another, as if a weight, at each time of twenty or thirty ton, had fallen from a great height upon the ballast. This happened when we were five leagues to the southward of the Seven Capes, and could not reach ground with a line of two hundred fathom. The captain, Hassan Rice, told me, that a few years before, when he was upon a cruise, he felt a much greater, at the distance of forty leagues, as they computed, to the westward of the rock of Lisbon.

The earthquakes, during my stay at Algiers, fell out generally at the end of the summer, or in the autumn, a day or two after great rains*. The cause perhaps may arise from the extraordinary condensation or closeness of the earth's surface at such times, whereby the subterraneous streams will be either sent back or confined; whereas, in summer, the whole country being full of deep chinks and chasms, the inflammable particles have an easier escape.

* The inhabitants of Jamaica expect an earthquake every year, and some of them think they follow their great rains. Sir Han's Sloane's *Introd. to the Hist. of Jamaica*, p. 44. *Phil. Transf.* No. 209. p. 27. *Plin. Hist. Nat.* l. ii. cap. 80. takes notice of the same thing.

§ 5. — *Of their Quarries, Wells, Fossils, Minerals, &c.*

WE cannot trace any of the preceding phenomena, or scarce any other branch of the natural history, much lower than the surface. Those quarries of marble*, which are taken notice of by the ancients, are not known at present; and indeed the small quantity of marble that appears to have been used in the most sumptuous buildings of this country, would induce us to believe, that either there never were such quarries, or that the marble was sent away to other places.

The materials that were used in all the ancient edifices of this country, as Jol Cæsarea, Sitifi, Cirta, Carthage, &c. are not so much different, either in their colour or texture, from the soft and harder kinds of the Heddington stone near Oxford; whereas, the marble of Numidia, as it is described by ancient authors, was of the finest contexture, and used upon the most sumptuous occasions. Solinus calls it *eximium marmor*, cap. xxvi. and Suetonius (in J. Cæsare) mentions a column of it that was erected to Julius Cæsar, with this inscription, *PATRI PATRIAE*. The colour was yellow, with red or purple spots or streaks.

*Sola nitet flavis Nomadum decisa metallis
Purpura.*

Pap. Statius. de Baln. Etr. 369.

Errors, in accounts of this kind, might well be made, from *lapis* and *marmor* being indifferently used for each other.

The wells, except in Wadrag and some other parts of the Sahara, are rarely of any great depth; and, in digging them, I often observed, that after the soil was removed, they passed through some layers of gravel, and sometimes, though rarely, of clay, till they arrived at a soft sleeky stone, the sure indication of water. In several places near Algiers and Bona, this sort of stone lies immediately upon the surface, and is frequently very beautifully gilded all over with gold-like mææ, or spangles; as the sparry matter, which fills up the fissures, glitters with those that imitate silver. I never saw, neither could learn, that agates, or stones of the like beauty, were natives of this country. Even the common flint stone, which most other nations have in plenty, is so rarely found, in some parts of Barbary at least, that our merchant vessels that took in a quantity of them in the Downs for ballast, disposed of them at Algiers for seven shillings the quintal.

Fossils, or such figured stones as are owing to the deluge, will be taken notice of in a catalogue by themselves†. If we begin then with the description of the *selenites*, we may observe, that it will sometimes spread itself over whole acres of the woody and mountainous district. A transparent, striated, yellow, and sometimes flesh coloured talk or gypsum, lies often expanded, in thin cakes, over some rocky parts of the Sahara. A few crystal-like irides are found in the mountains of Boujeiah; as a plenty of dark coloured double coned crystals discover themselves upon those of Ellou-leejah. These, with a variety of cawk and figured spars, are the nearest approaches which the mineral juices of this climate make towards the topaz and the diamond.

Besides the common mould or soil that has been already treated of, there are two or three sorts of pipe and potter's clay; the former of which generally burns red. Cimolia likewise, or fullers earth, is dug in great abundance, as is also the steatites, or soap earth, which is in great esteem and service in their bagnios, for washing and

* *Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 3.* Solinus Polyhist. c. 26. † See this catalogue in the *Collectiones*. (Or. ed.)

softening the skin. *Steinomarga*, or *lac lunæ*, which the Arabs sometimes use as a syptic, lies usually in the Sahara, in the futures of the rocks; whilst a coarse sort, both of umbre and ochre, with a hard species of almagra or Spanish bole, more frequently occurs in the Tell.

The minerals that I have discovered, are still fewer in number than the earths, among which we may reckon a few species of talk, and the gold and silver-like micæ above mentioned. Some of the latter are found in great quantities; and when they occur without any mixture or alloy of talky or selenitical substance, they are used, by the hojiahs or writers of this country; instead of sand, for the absorbing of ink upon paper. In pounding alabaster or gypsum, we often meet with small gold-like nodules, not unlike the regular mathematical bodies; but the gold and silver-like marcasites or pyrites of Ellou-leejah, Medea, and some other places, are in no regular form, being sometimes globular, sometimes in the shape of the mesentery, kidney, and such like figures as they usually assume in other places. I have a good specimen of the *nigricia fabrilis*, or black lead, which was taken up under the walls of Gibraltar, and supposed to have been brought thither by the current, from the coast of Barbary.

Lead and iron are the only metals that have been hitherto discovered. The latter is white and good, though in no great quantity, being chiefly dug and forged by the Kabyles of the mountainous districts of Bou-jeiah; and from thence is brought, in short bars, to the markets of that place and Algiers. They have a great plenty of the ore upon the mountains called Dwee and Zikkar, near Miliana; the latter of which is rich and ponderous, with a mixture sometimes of cinnabar, though no works have been carried on, as far as I could learn, at either of those places. The lead mines at Jibbel Rif-safs, at Wannathreese, and among the Beni Bootaleb, near the Cassir Atture, are all of them very rich; and, provided they were under a better regulation, would produce an infinitely greater quantity of ore, as well as metal. The method of refining is, by putting layers of wood and ore alternately upon each other, and then setting fire to the pile. They frequently extract eighty pounds weight of pure metal from one quintal of the ore.

The silver and copper mines of the Tingitanians are looked upon with an envious eye by the Algerines; though possibly their own mountains, by further searches and experiments, would afford the same. About thirty years ago, the deys of Algiers were encouraged, by some Spanish renegadoes, to search for silver ore in the mountains of Fernan, near Medea. They would probably have succeeded better in trying for copper; as they have here, as well as Tmolga, not far to the westward, several large strata of ponderous stones diversified with green efflorescences. One of the specimens that I brought with me from thence, seems also to shoot into a variety of tin grains. But as none of these ores, if they be really such, have been put to the test, a small share only of such riches as may be called subterraneous can be claimed by these regencies. For the story which they are pleased to tell of Mahomet Bey's plough-shares, is applicable enough to this branch of the natural history that I am now explaining. This prince, whom I have had occasion to mention in *the kingdom of Tunis*, had the misfortune to be dethroned by his subjects; but having the reputation of being acquainted with the *kymia*, as they call the philosopher's stone, Ibrahim Hojiah, then dey of Algiers, engaged to restore him to his former dignity, upon promise of being let into the secret. The conditions were accordingly accepted, and Mahomet was restored; who, to fulfil his part of the covenant, forthwith sent the dey of Algiers, with no small pomp and ceremony, a number of mattocks and plough-shares; thereby emblematically instructing him, that the wealth of his kingdom was to arise from a diligent attendance upon agri-

culture and husbandry, and that the secret of the philosopher's stone, which he had promised to make him acquainted with, was nothing more than THE ART OF CONVERTING A GOOD CROP OF CORN INTO GOLD.

§ 6. — *Of Ras Sem, or the Petrified Village in the Cyrenaica.*

I SHALL conclude this branch of the natural history of Barbary, with some remarks upon the pretended petrified city at Ras Sem, in the province of Darha, in the kingdom of Tripoly. This place then, which lies six days journey to the S. of Bingaze, the ancient Berenice, in the greater Syrtis, has been occasionally taken notice of in the first edition, at p. 383. note 2. where it was observed, "that nothing was to be seen there, besides some petrifications, as might well be accounted for from the deluge; which likewise had been already discovered in other parts of the world." In treating likewise of the violent heat which attends the deserts of Libya and Arabia, I took notice, (p. 379. note 1.) that, at Saibah, a few days journey beyond Ras Sem, towards Egypt, "there is a whole caravan consisting of men, asses, and camels, which, from time immemorial, has been preserved at that place. The greatest part of these bodies still continue perfect and entire, from the heat of the sun and dryness of the climate; and the tradition is, that they were all of them originally surpris'd, suffocated, and dried up, by the hot scorching winds that sometimes frequent these deserts."

The Arabs, who are as little conversant in geography and natural history, as they are artful and ingenious enough in fable and romance, had here a very favourable and lucky opportunity, by jumbling and connecting together the petrifications of Ras Sem, with these preserved bodies at Saibah, to project and invent the plan of the petrified city in all the wild and extravagant dress, wherein it is commonly described. This, I believe, is the true matter of fact, and all that may be depended upon in this story.

It was however a subject much inquired into whilst Cassim Aga, the Tripoly ambassador, resided lately at London. He reported * from a thousand persons, as he said, and particularly from a friend of his of great veracity, who had been upon the spot, that "this scene of petrifications consisted of a large town, in a circular figure †, which had several streets, shops, and a magnificent castle belonging to it.—That this friend of his saw there different sorts of trees, but mostly the olive and the palm; all of them turned into a bluish or cinder-coloured stone.—That there were men also to be seen in different postures and attitudes; some of them exercising their trades and occupations, others holding stufis, others bread, &c. in their hands.—The women likewise were some of them giving suck to their children, others were sitting at their kneading troughs, &c.—That in entering the castle, there was a man lying upon a magnificent bed of stone, with the guards standing at the doors, armed with pikes and spears.—That he saw different sorts of animals, such as camels, oxen, asses, horses, sheep, and birds, (nay, the very dogs, cats, and mice, are enumerated in other accounts), all

* This account, with a great many more relating to the same subject, which will be afterwards taken notice of and examined, were collected and communicated to me by our very worthy president of the Royal Society, Martin Folkes, Esq. LL. D.

† The very learned antiquarian, Dr. Stukely, in an ingenious letter which he wrote to me (174.) upon this subject, supposes Ras Sem to be a patriarchal prophylaxis, or serpentine temple, like Stone Henge, and other the like structures of the Druids. But we have no credible account, nor indeed any account at all, that there is any such like circular buildings at Ras Sem. Neither can Sir Christopher Wren's, or Sir Isaac Newton's opinion, viz. that Ras Sem came from Africa, be better supported. It is much, if there were any models of this kind, that I should not have met with, or at least heard of one or other of them, in those many places and districts of Africa which I have been acquainted with.

of them converted into stone, and of the above mentioned colour. In one of these histories, some of these bodies are said to want their heads, others a leg or an arm: and so far agree with the caravan of preserved (not petrified bodies) above recited. It is further related, that several pieces of petrified money * had been brought from thence; some of which were of the bigness of an English shilling, charged with a horse's head on one side, and with some unknown characters on the other." This is the substance of that variety of reports which have been given and related of this place, at different times, and by different persons †.

Several stories and relations of the like transformation of living creatures into stone, are collected by Aldrovandus, in his *Museum Metallicum*, p. 823. where, amongst others, he gives us the history, and at the same time a groupe of figures, consisting of men, sheep and camels, converted into stone. As Tartary is reported to be the scene of this transformation, it is very probable that this is the same story which is recorded by Anthony Jenkinson ‡, in his map of Tartary, preserved by Ortelius. Kircher § also acquaints us, that he had learned, from some geographers, of a whole horde of men and cattle being turned into stone; where, by using the word *horde*, we may suspect the people to have been Tartars, and that the geographers therefore were no other than A. Jenkinson, and Ortelius. This then appears to be one and the same story.

Another strange account, of a pretended number of men, women, and children being converted into stone, is related by De la Vega, in his History of the Yncas of Peru ||. But both this and the former are of a modern date, and mere trifles too, in comparison with what is related of the wonderful effects that were occasioned by the Gorgon's head or Medusa. Neither are the petrifications themselves, either in Ras Sem, Tartary, or Peru, so copious and extensive, as what were occasioned by her influence. For here they were visible over a whole country :

Passimque per agros
Perque vias vidisse hominum simulachra, ferarumque,
In silicem ex ipsa visa conversa Medusa. *Ovid. Met. lib. iii. v. 718.*

So much then, concerning the more remarkable stories that are recorded by modern and ancient authors, of whole groupes of animals being converted into stone. Instances of single persons being thus metamorphosed are more numerous. Thus we read of Lot's wife becoming a pillar of salt in the sacred history; and of Niobe, and

* Though coins, by lying in sand, earth, &c. where salt is concentered, may acquire such an appearance by some of the sandy and other particles sticking and adhering to them, yet the coins here mentioned, notwithstanding such an alteration in their superficies, could be no other than what have been described at p. 59, 60. of my *Excerpta*. In Mr. Fitton's letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, preserved in the *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 334. the petrified pieces of money are said to be Venetian zecchines.

† Vid. *Merc. Politicus*, ut supra. S^r Clarke's Geographical Description of all the known Kingdoms of the World, 3d edit. p. 193. The Adventures of T. S. an English Merchant, taken prisoner at Algiers, Lon. 1670. p. 140. Capt. Uring's Travels, vol. i. p. 280. Consul Baker's Relation, published amongst Dr. Hook's papers by Mr. Derham, p. 386. Mr. Boyle, in his General Heads for the Natural History of a country, qu. 24. Turkish Spy, vol. v. p. 158. Martini a Baumgarten peregrinatio, &c. Norib. 1594. And in Churchill's Collection of Travels, vol. i. p. 406. Ath. Kircheri *Mundus Subterraneus*, vol. ii. p. 53.

‡ In one of the compartments of this map are the following words: "Hæc saxa hominum, jumentorum, camelorum, pecorumque, cæterarumque rerum formas referentia, horda populi gæges pascantis armentaque fuit; quæ stupenda quadam metamorphosi repente in saxa riguit, priore forma nulla in parte imminuta. Evenit hoc prodigium annis circiter ccc retro elapsis."

§ *Mund. Subter.* ut supra.

|| *Commentaire Royal, ou Histoire des Yncas du Perou, par Garcilasso de la Vega, l. iii. c. i. p. 287.*

others,

others, being turned into stone in the profane. Aristotle, as he is quoted by Laffels*, speaks of some men who were found petrified in a cave, near Pergamus; and Kircher† tells us, that the whole skeleton of a man, converted into stone, was preserved in the Ludovisian palace, at Rome. This is probably the same that still continues to be shewn among the curiosities of that city, and which I myself have seen.

Among the multiplicity of bones that have been found in the caves of Gibraltar, (which are supposed to have been of such persons as hid themselves upon the invasion of the Moors, and afterwards perished with hunger), I have seen several that had received an additional weight and substance, by being pervaded, as we may imagine, by some lapidescent vapour that is constantly circulating in those caves, which are no less cold and chill, than they are remarkably damp and moist. Others were not only become heavier, but incrustrated over, in some parts, with a stalagmatical or sparry substance, that is perpetually dropping from the tops of those caves.

The latter is the case of the skeleton at Rome, the bones of which are not properly petrified, but covered (*cortice lapideo*, in Kircher's phrase) with a coat of stone. It is probable also, from the like situation, and the concurrence of the like circumstances, that the petrified bodies in the cave near Pergamus, were not properly petrified, but inclosed only in such like sparry or stalagmatical incrustations. And I am apt to suspect, that the like pretended petrification of boats, masts, oars, &c. in the Bahar bel oma, or *Sea without water* ‡, betwixt Egypt and Ras Sem, is nothing more than a nitrous incrustation, for these deserts are full of that salt. In the same manner, we see stones and potsherds cruised over and crystallized, by arresting and condensing the saline vapour that arises from the Sulfatara, near Naples. There is nothing extraordinary therefore in these phenomena; in as much as it may be easily accounted for, why these animal, or indeed any other bodies, that lie under, or are more immediately exposed to the influence of a lapidescent vapour or fluid, or, in the latter case, of a saline one, should be subject to, and susceptible of these changes and alterations.

The difficulty will be, to account for such bodies as are pretended to lie exposed, or to stand upright in the open air, without having been ever lodged in any proper beds, or sheltered and influenced by caves and grottos. Here, as it cannot well be imagined that any lapidescent vapour or fluid should have power to exert itself, or indeed be capable of being any way admitted and received into the pores of these, whether animal or other bodies, so neither could the bodies themselves acquire thereby, in their respective textures and compositions, any additional augmentation, or permanent alteration whatsoever. Such a situation, except in the hot sandy deserts, where the sun usually dries up these bodies, would rather occasion them immediately to dissolve, or putrify, than to be converted into stone.

Let us examine then the histories of those bodies that are pretended to lie in this manner, in a variety of postures and attitudes, open and exposed; such as are related of Lot's wife; of the horde in Tartary; of the groupes in Peru, and at Ras Sem; of Niobe, and the extraordinary petrifications occasioned by the Gorgon's head. Now, the two last of these accounts have always been looked upon as fabulous § and allegorical; and, as such, will make nothing at all in proof of the real existence of such

* Vid. Laffel's Voyage into Italy, Par. 1670. 12mo, p. 179. in villa Ludovisiana.

† Ut supra.

‡ Vid. Memoires des Missions de la compagnie de Jesus dans le Levant, tom. ii. p. 73.

§ Vid. Nat. Com. l. vi. c. 13. et l. vii. c. 11, 12.

transmutation. Nay, provided the first * is to be understood according to the literal sense, for a real transmutation, yet it will, by no means, support the credibility of the other alleged instances, at Tartary, Peru, and Ras Sem, unless their histories were well attested, and we had the like infallible proof and testimony of their being miraculous.

With regard then to the Tartarian groupe, (the sole invention, as it appears to have been, of Anthony Jenkinson,) a number of independent rocks, in different heights, and of various colours and figures; or else the constituent stones of some ancient, civil or religious inclosure, by being viewed at a distance, without a nearer and stricter examination; these, I presume, might give occasion for such a report at first, which few persons afterwards could have, or would take an opportunity either to examine or contradict. We find much nearer home, the like romantic interpretation to have been put upon the rocks in Marlborough Downs; which, from some small resemblance they bear to a flock of sheep, are called to this day, the *Marlborough Weathers*. In like manner, the Rollrich stones in Oxfordshire †, the Weddings in Somersetshire, and the Hurlers in Cornwall, were once imagined to be so many men converted into stone. A tradition of the same kind seems to have attended other remarkable stones of the same nature ‡, near Salkeld, in Cumberland. The petrified camp, which I have described, at Hamam Meskouten, in Numidia, is another instance of the fallacy and erroneous reports of common fame. Here the Arabs, (who, like the Cretans, are always liars, or, to use a more favourable expression, great masters of invention) have frequently assured me, with the most solemn asseverations, that they had seen, not only a number of tents, but cattle also of different kinds converted into stone. This encouraged me, whilst I was chaplain at Algiers, to undertake a very tedious and dangerous journey; but when I arrived at the place, I found these reports were all of them idle and fictitious, without the least foundation, unless in the wild and extravagant brains of the Arabs. For, with these and such like credulous persons, the smallest similitude or resemblance will sometimes occasion, in their fertile imaginations, such indulgence and liberty of invention, as to give immediate birth to some strange report and marvellous narration.

Little need be said of the Peruvian groupe, neither doth it require any critical examination. For, as all the figures concerned therein are of the human species, we may very reasonably conclude them to have been artificial, and therefore intended, like the more numerous ones at Elora, in Persia §, for so many pagods. The many structures that are described to be near them, were no doubt the temples, or some way or other designed for the worship or shelter of these pagods.

Neither will the reports concerning the petrified bodies at Ras Sem, deserve any greater regard or credibility, as will appear from the following relation. About forty

* Vatablus, Bodinus, &c. take this in a metaphorical sense; viz. for a perpetual silence in her mourning; and that she become, not a *pillar of salt*, but *as a pillar of salt*. In the same manner, it is observed of Nabal, that after Abigail had made him sensible of the fault he had committed, 1 Sam. xxv. 37. *his heart died within him, and he became as a stone*. Thus again the particle *as* is to be supplied, where Dan is said to be a *lion's whelp*, Deut. xxxiii. 22. Issachar to be a *strong ass*, Gen. xlix. 14. Ishmael *shall be a wild ass's man*, Gen. xvi. 12. and in a variety of other instances.

† Vastos lapides in orbem dispositos, quos Rollrich stones vulgus appellat, hominesque olim fuisse, qui in saxa stupenda metamorphosi riguerunt, somniat. Cambd. Britan. in Oxfordshire.

‡ These are placed in a circle, seventy-seven in number, ten feet high; with a single one before them fifteen feet high. This the common people call *Long Meg*, and the rest *her daughters*. Magn. Britan. vol. i. p. 381.

§ Vid. Thevenot's Travels, l. iii. c. 44.

years ago, when Mr. Le Maire was the French consul at Tripoly, he made great enquiries, by order of the French court, into the truth of this report; and amongst other very curious accounts relating to the same place, he told me a remarkable circumstance, to the great discredit, and even confutation of all that had been so positively advanced, with regard to the petrified bodies of men, children, and other animals.

Some of the janizaries, who, in collecting the tribute, travel over every year one part or other of this district of Ras Sem, promised him, that, as an adult person would be too heavy and cumbersome, they would undertake, for a certain number of dollars, to bring him from thence the body of a little child. After a great many pretended difficulties, delays, and disappointments, they produced at length a little Cupid, which they had found, as he learned afterwards, among the ruins of Leptis; and, to conceal the deceit, they broke off the quiver, and some other of the distinguishing characteristics of that deity. However he paid them for it, according to promise, 1000 dollars, which is about 150 pounds sterling of our money, as a reward for their faithful service, and hazardous undertaking; having run the risk, as they pretended, of being strangled if they should have been discovered, in thus delivering up to an infidel one of those unfortunate Mahometans, as they take them originally to have been.

But notwithstanding this cheat and imposition had made the consul desist from searching after the petrified bodies of men and other animals, yet there was one matter of fact, as he told me, which still very strangely embarrassed him, and even strongly engaged him in favour of the current report and tradition. This was some little loaves of bread, as he called them, which had been brought to him from that place. His reasoning indeed thereupon, provided the pretended matter of fact had been clear and evident, was just and satisfactory; for where we find loaves of bread, there (as he urged) some persons must have been employed in making them, as well as others for whom they were prepared. One of these loaves he had, among other petrifications*, very fortunately brought with him to Cairo; where I saw it, and found it to be an echinites of the discoid kind, of the same fashion with one I had lately found and brought with me from the deserts of Marah, the figure of which I likewise shewed him in the *Lithophylacium† Britannicum*. We may therefore reasonably conclude, that there is nothing to be found at Ras Sem, in as much as nothing else has been brought from thence, unless it be the trunks of trees, echinites, and such petrifications as have been discovered at other places. Because cats, and mice, and birds, had there been really any such things, were as portable, and might have been as easily conveyed and brought away, as branches of the palm trees, or echinites.

M. Lemaire's inquiries, which we find were supported by the promise and performance of great rewards, have brought nothing further to light. He could never learn, after sending a number of persons expressly, and at a great expence, to make discoveries, and bring along with them what curiosities soever they met with, that any traces of walls, or buildings, or animals, or utensils, were ever to be seen within the verge of these pretended petrifications. The like account I had from a Sicilian renegade, who was the janizary that attended me whilst I was in Egypt; and as, in his

* The fragment of a petrified palm tree, was given me by this gentleman. It was broken off from a great lump, and agrees exactly with the wood of the living palm tree, in the order and quality of the fibres, which do not run straight and parallel as in other trees, but are for the most part oblique, or diverging from one another in an angle of about ten degrees. It strikes fire like a flint; and so does a fragment of the petrified wood, which I found upon the isthmus betwixt Cairo and Suez.

† This is called, "*Echinites clypeatus five discum referens, pentaphylloides*," Lich Brit. class. vi. tab. 13. No. 971.

earlier years, he had been a soldier of Tripoly, he assured me that he had been several times at Ras Sem. This I had confirmed again, in my return from the Levant, by the interpreter* of the British factory at Tunis, who was likewise a Sicilian renegado; and being the libertus or freedman of the bashaw of Tripoly, was preferred by him to be the bey or viceroy of the province of Darna †, where Ras Sem was immediately under his jurisdiction. His account was likewise the same; neither had he ever seen, in his frequent journeys over this district, though he had been formerly told to the contrary, any other petrifications than what are above mentioned. So that the petrified city, with its walls, castles, streets, shops, cattle, inhabitants, and their utensils, which have, at one time or other, so much taken up the attention of the curious, were all of them, at first, the mere fables and inventions of the Arabs; and afterwards propagated by such persons, who, like the Tripoly ambassador, and his friend, above mentioned, were credulous enough to believe them.

However, there is one remarkable circumstance relating to Ras Sem, that deserves well to be recorded. When the winds have blown away the billows of sand which frequently cover and conceal these petrifications, (for they are not always visible upon that account), they discover, in some of the lower and more depressed places of this district, several little pools of water, which is usually of so heavy and ponderous a nature, that, upon drinking it, it passes through the body like quicksilver. This, perhaps, may be that petrifying fluid, which has all along contributed to the conversion of the palm-trees, and the echini, above mentioned, into stone. For the formation not only of these, but of petrifications of all kinds, may be entirely owing to their having first of all lodged in a bed of loam, clay, sand, or some other proper nidus or matrix, and afterwards gradually acted upon and pervaded by such a petrifying fluid as we may suppose this to be.

Some curious persons have imagined, that, as the Gorgon's head, with the venomous snakes hanging from it, bears a near resemblance to Ras Sem, (or *the head of poison*, as it is interpreted), we are therefore to look for the Gorgoniæ Domus at this place. But, besides the allegorical construction that has, from the earliest antiquity, been put upon the Gorgon's head, and a much later and more ingenious conjecture †, that we are to understand by it, the wheel or the roller only, which, by pressing the olives, converts them into, or leaves nothing behind it but their stones; I say, besides these, there are two other objections, that Ras Sem, and the Gorgoniæ Domus, cannot be the same.

1. The first is, that both the name and the description of Ras Sem are of no antiquity; neither do we find the least tradition concerning it, before the last or the preceding century §. The classic authors, whether poets, geographers, or historians, have

* The account mentioned above, (in the first edition of this work, p. 379. note 1.) of a whole caravan being surprised and suffocated by a hot wind, was given me by this person; who, upon his disgrace with the bashaw, fled into Egypt, and taking an uncommon road, by Saibah, for fear of being pursued, fell in there with the scene of preserved bodies.

† *Aquis*, or *Aqra*. Vid. Vales. not. in Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 16.

‡ Mr. Pluche, in his *Histoire du Ciel*, vol. i. p. 186, 187. derives the name of *Medusa* from *מדיף* *Dufh*, *to tread out*; and that *Medusa* (מדיף) Isa. xxi. 9. therefore is *the pressing out*. Gorgone in like manner, he makes to be the same with *Gulgal* (גולגל); and that the Arabs call *Medusa*, as delineated upon the sphere or celestial globe, *Algal*, i. e. *the wheel*.

§ As far as I can inform myself, the first relation we have of the petrified city is given by Martin a Bœmgarthen, in his *Peregrinatio*, published in 1594, though he began his travels in 1587, and consequently must have collected his materials a number of years before they were made public. He was informed, as he tells us, that in the road from Tripoly, of Syria, to Mecca, there was a city, whose inhabitants, cattle, and

have not, in the several accounts of the Cyrenaica and the adjacent provinces, taken the least notice, as far as I can learn, of this scene of petrifications. Such a tale, whether real or imaginary, would, in a particular manner, have been highly acceptable, as it was entirely suitable to the poetical invention of Lucan, who appears to have been well acquainted with the natural history of this part of Libya. It is very probable therefore, from the very nature and quality of this portion of the Cyrenaica, whose surface is perpetually changing by the shifting of the sands, that formerly either the palm-trees* and the echini were not sufficiently laid open by the winds, or that the description of them, which can scarce be imagined, was not thought worthy to be transmitted to posterity.

2. It may be objected, in the second place, that the country of the Gorgons was so far from being situated where we find Ras Sem, in or adjacent to the Cyrenaica, that we are to look for it in or beyond the most western and extreme parts of Libya. For Lucan † describes it to lie under Mount Atlas, upon the ocean called therefrom Atlantic; and Pliny ‡, as he is authorized by Xenophon Lampfacenus, places the Gorgons among the islands of Cape Verd, as they are now called, two days sail from the continent. How great affinity soever may be then in their names, (for names do sometimes very strangely agree, though the least reason cannot be assigned for such agreement,) it appears, that the circumstances of the stories themselves (it is of no moment whether they be real or allegorical) are different; and consequently, that neither can the Gorgoniæ Domus and Ras Sem be the same.

and utensils, were turned into stone. But if this petrified city be the same with Ras Sem, then Baumgarten must have mistaken Tripoly in Syria for Tripoly in Barbary; whereby the stories will accord. Yet, if they were the same story, it is much, that so strange and marvellous as it was accounted to have been at that time, i. e. in the beginning of the sixteenth century, it should have lain dormant till about the middle of the last, when it was talked of as a miracle and matter of fact that had lately happened. This we learn from Mr. Fitton's letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, mentioned above; from Kircher's *Mundus Subterr.* ut supra; from S. Clarke's *Description*, &c.

* We have just such another scene, though more dispersed, of petrified branches and trunks of trees, of various sizes, and probably of echini and their prickles too, if they were carefully looked after, upon the isthmus betwixt Cairo and Suez. These too, no less than those at Ras Sem, were no doubt originally covered with sand, their proper matrix, which the winds, in process of time, have blown away and removed: filling up, in all probability, by these depredations from the surface, the Amnis Trajanus, the Fossa Regum, or channel that was cut betwixt the Nile and the Red Sea, and no small part of the northern extremity of the Red Sea itself. The learned author of the *Description of the East*, &c. vol. i. p. 331. has given us the following account of these petrifications: viz. 'I do not know,' says he, 'whether it may be looked upon as a probable conjecture, that the people travelling in these parts, and carrying some wood with them for their use, might leave it behind when they approached towards the great city, and that, having been covered with sand, it might petrify. If the sand be afterwards blown away; though indeed I saw one piece,' (and I may add, there are a great number), 'that seemed to have been a large body of a tree.'

Finibus extremis Libyæ, ubi fervida tellus
Accipit oceanum demisso sole calentem,
Squallebant late Phorcynidos arva Medusæ,
Non nemorum protecta coma, non mollia sulco,
Sed domina vultu conspectis aspera saxa.

Lib. l. ix. c. 2. &c.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 31.

CHAP. II. — *Of the Animals.*§ 1. — *Of the tame and wild Quadrupeds.*

AS the principal riches of the Bedoween Arabs, no less than of the eastern patriarchs* and princes of old, continue to be valued according to the number and quality of their cattle, I shall begin the zoology of these countries with the description of such of them as are tame, and consequently of more general use and service to mankind.

The horse, formerly the glory and distinguishing badge of Numidia, has of late years very much degenerated; or rather, the Arabs have been discouraged from keeping up a fine breed, which the Turkish officers were sure at one time or another to be the masters of. At present, therefore, the Tingitanians and Egyptians have justly the reputation of preserving the best, which no longer than a century ago, they had only in common with their neighbours. Now, a valuable and well-taught Barbary horse is never to lie down. He is to stand still and be quiet, whenever the rider quits him and drops the bridle. He is, besides, to have a long pace, and to stop short, if required, in a full career; the first of which qualities shows the goodness and perfection of the horse; the proper management of the latter shews the dexterity and address of the rider. No other motions are either practised or admired in these countries, where it is accounted very impolite to trot or to amble. But the Egyptian horses have deservedly the preference of all others, both for size and beauty; the smallest being usually sixteen hands high, and shaped, according to their phrase, like the antelope. The usual price of the best Barbary horse, is from three to four hundred dollars, *i. e.* from fifty to sixty or seventy pounds of our money; whereas, in the days of Solomon, as indeed silver was then nothing accounted of, a horse came out of Egypt for 150 shekels, which amount to little more than seventeen pounds.

The afs, the ζῷον ἀντίτρον, and the mule, which deserves the like appellation, are their most hardy and useful creatures, requiring little or no attendance. The first is not so generally trained up for the saddle at Algiers as at Tunis, where they are frequently of a much larger size; but the mule is in general demand at both places, and preferred to the horse for common use and fatigue. It is certainly surer footed, and vastly stronger, in proportion to its bulk. I could never learn that the mule was prolific, which notion Pliny †, and some other authors, seem to have entertained.

To the mule we may join the kumrah, as the Algerines call a little serviceable beast of burden, begot betwixt an afs and a cow. That which I saw at Algiers, where it was not looked upon as a rarity, was single hoofed like the afs, but distinguished from it in having a sleeker skin, with the tail and the head (though without horns) in fashion of the dam's.

* "And Abraham was very rich in cattle," Gen xiii 2. & 5. "And Lot also which went with Abraham, had flocks and herds" "Job's substance was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses," &c Job i. 3 and xlii. 12. *Familie aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis (ea pecunia illis est) persecuti sunt regem,* &c. Liv. l. xix. § 31. De antiquis illustrissimus quisque pastor erat, ut ostendit Græca et Latina lingua, et veteres pictæ, qui alios vocant βοσκῆς (Hom. Il. 2. 104. De Thyeste) alios βοσκότας, alios βοσκοτάς, qui ipsas pecudes, propter caritatem, aureas habuisse pelles tradiderunt; ut Argis Atreus, Colchide Æta, ad cujus gremio pellem profecti regio genere dicuntur Argonautæ; ut in Libya ad Hesperidas, unde surca malis, id est, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, capras et oves (quas) Hercules ex Africa in Græciâ exportavit. Ea enim sua voce Græci appellant βοῆς. M. Varr. l. ii. c. 1. De re rustica.

† Est in annalibus nostris, peperisse iæpe (mulas); verum prodigiosæ habitum. Theophrastus vulga parere in Cappadocia tradit; sed esse id animalibz sui generis. Plin. lib. viii. cap. 44.

Yet all these species are vastly inferior to the camel for labour and fatigue. For this creature travels four * or five days without water; whilst half a gallon of beans and barley, or else a few balls made of the flour, will nourish it for a whole day. Pliny's observation, of their disturbing the water with their feet before they drink it, is very just; and it may be further observed, that they are a long time in drinking, first of all thrusting their heads a great way above their nostrils into the water, and then making several successive draughts in the like manner with pigeons. In travelling over the deserts of Arabia to Mount Sinai, each of our camels carried a burden of at least seven quintals; and what further shews the great strength of this animal, a day's journey consisted sometimes of ten, sometimes of fifteen hours, at the rate of two miles and a half an hour. These extraordinary qualities are, without doubt, sufficient encouragements for the Arabs of all countries that are not rocky or mountainous, to keep up and multiply the breed.

That species of the camel kind, which is known to us by the name of the dromas, or dromedary, is here called maihary †, or ashaary ‡; though it is much rarer in Barbary than in Arabia. It is chiefly remarkable for its prodigious swiftness, (*the swift dromedary*, as the prophet calls it, Jer. ii. 23.) the Arabs affirming, that it will run over as much ground in one day, as one of their best horses will perform in eight or ten; for which reason, those messages which require haste, are, in Gætulia, and the more southern parts, dispatched upon dromedaries, as in Esth. viii. 10. The shekh, who conducted us to Mount Sinai, rode upon a camel of this kind, and would frequently divert us with a token of its great abilities. For he would depart from our caravan, reconnoitre another just in view, and return to us again in less than a quarter of an hour. It differs from the common camel, in being of a finer and rounder shape, and in having upon its back a lesser protuberance. This species (for the former, as rarely deviating from the beaten road, travels with its head at liberty) is governed by a bridle, which being usually fastened to a ring, fixed in its nostrils, may very well illustrate that expression, 2 Kings xix. 28. of *putting a hook in its nose*, as it is recorded of Sennacherib, and may be further applicable to his swift retreat.

The males of the camel kind, from being tame and harmless in other seasons, become unruly in the spring; the usual time when they solicit the females. Their familiarity is generally in the night, in the same manner with creatures of the cat kind, as it has been long ago observed by Aristotle §, though contradicted by Pliny ||. For the sheath of the penis (in these, no less than in other animals which rest a long time together upon their lower belly, and are called *retromingent*) is brought forwards upon these occasions, which, at other times, is thrown backwards for the more convenient

* Sitim et quatrduo tolerant (Cameli); implenturque, cum bibendi casus est, et in præteritum et futurum, obturbata proculcatione prius aqua: aliter potu non gaudent. * Plin. Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 18.

† At the top of the second ventricle (of the dromedary), there were several square holes, which were the orifices of about twenty cavities, made like sacks placed between the two membranes which compose the substance of this ventricle. The view of these sacks made us think that they might well be the reservoirs, where Pliny says that camels do a long time keep the water, which they do drink in great abundance when they meet with it, to supply the wants which they may have thereof in the dry deserts, where they are used to travel." Mémoires for the Natural History of Animals, &c. by the Academy at Paris.

‡ Ashah rapporté que le chameau dit Almahares, ou de Mahrah, est ainsi nommé à cause de Mahrah fils de Hamdan, fondateur d'une tribu. Abulf. de l'Arabie.

§ Ashuary signifies *blind*; from being commonly blind ten days after its birth.

|| At de camelis quatuordecim diebus post partum, perierunt; de ovis quatuordecim diebus post partum, alia quatuordecim diebus post partum. Arist. Hist. Animal. l. x. c. 2.

¶ Aliter, sed male, scribit Plinius, l. x. c. 64. Corbis (inquit) avellus sephantis, camelis, tigrisibus, &c. quibus averis genitalia. Idem dicit Salinus, cap. 40.

discharge of the urine. The females are pregnant near a whole year, or from one spring to the other; and the young dromedaries are blind, like kittens or puppies, several days after their birth. Their future good or bad qualities likewise are prognosticated from the length or shortness of their blindness.

After the beasts of burden, we are to describe the black cattle, which are generally small and slender; the fattest of them, when brought from the stall, rarely weighing above five or six quintals. Neither is their milk in proportion to their size; for, notwithstanding the rich herbage of this country from December to July, a cow rarely gives above a quart of milk at a time, whilst the butter has neither the substance nor richness of taste with what our English dairies afford us in the depth of winter. The Barbary cows have another imperfection, as they lose their calves and their milk together. Here the sheep and the goats contribute also to the dairies, particularly in the making of cheese. Instead of runnet, especially in the summer season, they turn the milk with the flowers of the great headed thistle, or wild artichoke; and putting the curds afterwards into small baskets made with rushes, or with the dwarf palm, they bind them up close, and press them. These cheeses are rarely above two or three pounds in weight, and in shape and size like our penny loaves; such perhaps as David (1 Sam. xvii. 18.) carried to the camp of Saul. Their method of making butter is, by putting the milk or cream into a goat's skin turned inside out; which they suspend from one side of the tent to the other, and then pressing it to and fro in one uniform direction, they quickly occasion the separation of the unctuous and wheyey parts. A great quantity of butter is made in several places of these kingdoms; which, after it is boiled with salt, in order to precipitate the hairs and other nastinesses occasioned in the churning, they put it into jars, and preserve it for use. Fresh butter soon grows sour and rancid.

The goat is the same with that of other countries. But there are two species of sheep not known in Europe; the one, which is common all over the Levant, as well as the kingdom of Tunis, is distinguished by a broad tail, that ends sometimes in a point, sometimes continues broad to the bottom. The flesh of this species tastes generally of the wool; neither has it the tender fibres of the smaller tailed sheep. Yet the tail itself, which is greatly esteemed in their cuscaowes and pilloes, consists of a hard solid fat, not inferior in taste to marrow. The other species, which is bred in the neighbourhood of Gaddemz, Wurglah, and the more distant places of the Melanogætuli and Garamantes, is near as tall as our fallow deer; and excepting the head, differs not much in shape. The heat of the climate, the scarcity of water, joined to the coarseness and dryness of the herbs they feed upon, may be the reason why their flesh is dry to the palate, and why their fleeces likewise are as coarse and hairy as those of the goat.

A gelding among the horses, an ox among the black cattle, or a weather among the sheep, is rarely or ever known among them. For such males of sheep or black cattle as are more than sufficient for the preservation of the species, and are intended for sale or the shambles, have only their testicles squeezed or discomposed, when they are three months old; the Mahometans accounting it an act of great cruelty to castrate creatures of any other species than their own.

Besides this great variety of cattle, we may observe further, that each kind is very numerous and prolific. Several Arabian tribes, who can bring no more than three or four hundred horses into the field, are possessed of more than so many thousand camels, and triple that number of sheep and black cattle. The Arabs rarely diminish their flocks, by using them for food, but live chiefly upon bread, milk, (γαλακτομαζα, as they

they have been called), butter, dates, or what they receive in exchange for their wool. Such cattle likewise as are brought to their fairs, or to the neighbouring towns and villages, are very inconsiderable, when compared with the yearly increase. By proper care therefore and attendance; nay, if these numerous flocks and herds had shelter from the inclemency of the weather during a small part only of the winter season, this whole country, in a few years, would be over-run with cattle.

Among the quadrupeds that are not naturally tame and domesticated, we may reckon those large herds of the neat kind, called bekker el wash*, which have a rounder turn of body, a flatter face, with their horns bending more towards each other than in the tame kind. The bekker el wash then may be well taken for the bubalus of the ancients†, or the bos Africanus of Bellonius; though what this author describes is little bigger than the caprea, or roe-buck, whereas the bekker el wash is nearly of the same size with the red-deer, with which also it agrees in colour. The young calves of this species quickly grow tame, and herd with other cattle.

Bekker el wash is the name likewise given to a species of the deer kind, whose horns are exactly in the fashion of our stag; but the size is only betwixt the red and the fallow deer. Those which I have seen, were caught in the mountains near Skigata, and appeared to be of the same mild and tractable nature with the bekker el wash. The female, for want of horns, is called in derision, fortals, i. e. *the broad scalp, or scalded head*.

The fishtall, called likewise, in some parts, lerwee, is the most timorous species of the goat kind, plunging itself, whenever it is pursued, down rocks and precipices, if there be any in its way. It is of the bigness of an heifer of a year old, but has a rounder turn of body, with a tuft of shagged hair upon the knees and neck; this near a foot, the other above five inches long. It agrees in colour with the bekker el wash, but the horns are wrinkled and turned back like the goat's; from which likewise they differ in being more than a foot long, and divided upon the forehead by a small strip of hair, as in the sheep kind. The fishtall, from its size, shape, and other circumstances seems to be the tragelaphus‡ of the ancients; an animal, we are to imagine such as this is, betwixt a goat and a deer. Pliny indeed observes, that it was peculiar to the banks of the Phasis; a mistake of the same kind with what he relates elsewhere, that there were no stags (cervi) in Africa.

Besides the common gazell or antelope, this country produces another species of the same shape and colour, though of the bigness of the roe-buck, with horns sometimes two feet long. This, which the Africans call lidmee, may be the same with the strepsiceros§ and addace of the ancients. Bochart, from the supposed whiteness of the buttocks, finds a great affinity betwixt *addace* || and [דִּישׁוֹן] *dison*; which, in Deut. xiv. 5. our translation, agreeably to the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, renders the *pygarg*.

* *Bukral washi*, i. e. *Bos Silvestris*. *Wasby* enim ferum, sylvestre animal significat. Gol.

† Vid. Pet. Bellon. Observat. l. ii. c. 50. Insignia boum ferorum genera, jubatos bifontes, excellentique et vi et velocitate uros, quibus imperitum vulgus bubalorum nomen imponit; cum id gignat Africa, vituli potuit cervi quædam similitudine. Plin. l. viii. c. 15. Uros imperitum vulgus vocat bubalos, cum bubali pene ad eandem faciem in Africa procreentur. J. Solin. Polyhist. c. 32.

‡ Eadem est species, (cum cervo &c.) barba tantum et armorum villo distans, quem Tragelaphon vocant, non alibi, quam juxta Phasin amnem, nascens. Cervæ Africa propemodum sola non gignit. Plin. l. viii. c. 33.

§ Cornus erecta, vagaturque ambitu contorta, et in leve fastigium exarata (ut lyras dicentes) Strepsicerosi, quem Addacem Africa spoellat, natura dedit. Plin. l. xi. c. 27.

|| A cinereo nempe colore, qui Hebrais דִּישׁוֹן *dison* dicitur. Bochart. Hierox. l. iii. c. 2.

The bekker el wash and the gazel are gregarious, and have both of them the like habit of stopping on a sudden when they are pursued, and of looking back for a short time upon the pursuers. Their haunts are likewise the same, being for the most part upon the confines of the Tell and the Sahara. Gazell is improperly interpreted by Bochart and others *, the *bart* or the *faun*; that appellation being always given, both in the Levant and in Barbary, to the animal which we call the antelope.

Among the quadrupeds of a less tameable nature, we must give the first place to the lion, and then to the panther; for the tiger is not a native of Barbary. The females of both species have two rows of nipples like a bitch, which give suck to three, sometimes to four or five whelps. Mr. Ray (De Quadr. p. 165.) must have been misinformed in giving two nipples only to the lioness. When the little ones breed their teeth, they are usually seized with fevers which carry off three in four of them; and this is the reason, as the Arabs inform us, why their numbers are so inconsiderable. But whether this is owing to such diseases, or to the great dispersion rather of the Arabs, (Exod. xxiii. 29. Deut. i. 22.) or perhaps to the much easier way of killing them, since the invention of fire arms; whatever, I say, may be the cause, it is certain there would be great difficulty at present to procure a fiftieth part of those lions and panthers which Africa contributed formerly to the diversions of Rome †. I have read in some descriptions of this country, that women can be familiar with lions; and that, upon taking up a stick, and speaking boldly to them, they will immediately lose their fierceness, and leave their prey. Something perhaps of this kind may happen, when they have been well satiated with food; at which time the lions are supposed to lose their courage, and and that they therefore suffer their prey to be seized, and rescued out of their jaws. But these instances are very rare; it oftener falling out, that persons of riper age, as well as children, have been, for want of other food, torn to pieces, and eat up by this devourer ‡, as he is emphatically called in Scripture. Fire is what they are most afraid of; yet, notwithstanding all the precaution of the Arabs in this respect; notwithstanding the barking of their dogs, and their own repeated cries and exclamations during the whole night, when they are suspected to be upon the prey, it frequently happens, that these ravenous beasts, outbraving all these terrors, will leap into the midst of a douwar, where the cattle are enclosed, and drag from thence a sheep or a goat. If these ravages are repeated, then the Arabs dig a pit where they are observed to enter, and covering it over slightly with reeds, or small branches of trees, they frequently decoy and catch them. Pliny has taken notice of the same practice; which is likewise alluded to, Ezek. xix. 8. Psal. ix. 15. and in other places of Scripture. The flesh of the lion is in great esteem, having no small affinity with veal, both in colour, taste, and flavour. The distinction of animals was little known or attended to by the ancient Romans, when, according to an observation of Lipsius §, they called the lion a bear, and the panther a rat of Africa.

The

* Capræ hinnulus Gazal Arabice dicitur (vulgo Gazella) ut Hebraice גזל in Pomario, et Chaldaice גזל inferto, ut passim, et prima gutturali Ajin in Aleph mutato. Bochart. Hieroz. b. c. 18. Nomen Gazel, sive Capræ (equo impositum). Kempf. Amœnit. Exot. Fasc. ii.

† Leonum simul plurimum pugnam Romæ princeps dedit Q. Scaevola P. filius in curuli Edidit. Centum autem jubatorum primus omnium L. Sylla, qui postea Dictator fuit, in Prætorio. Post eum Pompeius Magnus in Circo de. in iis jubatorum cccxv. Cæsar Dictator cccc. Capræ eos. ardui erat quondam operis, sœvique [ut et nunc est] maxime. Plin. l. viii. c. 16. Scaurus Edidit (sua varias s. e. pantheras) centum quinquaginta universas [in Romam] misit: dein Pompeius Magnos quadringentas decem: divus Augustus quadringentas viginti. Id. ibid. c. 17.

‡ Out of the eater (גזל) it should be devourer, same form. Judg. xiv. 14.

§ Peregrina cum ad Romanos advehebantur, sœpebant: et quævis eis dabant non suum, sed obivium aliquod

The *saadh* agrees with the leopard in being spotted, but differs in other respects. For the skin is not only of a deeper colour, but also much coarser; neither is the creature itself of so fierce a nature. However, the Arabs foolishly imagine it to be a spurious offspring betwixt the lion and leopards. It feeds upon carrion, sometimes upon roots and herbs, like the jackall and the dubbah, and must be in great necessity when it ventures upon a sheep or a goat. As the *saadh* then can scarce be taken for the *Sw*; or *lupus cervarius* of the ancients, which is described as a much fiercer creature, the *chamus* * of Pliny seems better to agree with it.

Besides this, there are two other animals that are marked like the leopard; only with this difference, that their spots are generally of a darker colour, as their fur is somewhat longer and softer. The first is of the cat kind, about one-third less than a full grown leopard, and may be taken for the lesser panther of Oppian. The other has a small pointed head, with the teeth, feet, and other characteristics of the weasel kind. The body is about a foot long, round and slender, with a regular succession of black and white ringlets upon the tail. This, as well as the *ichneumon*, searches after poultry; and, provided it was tamer, and somewhat larger (as it is sometimes well scented), we might well take it for the *ginetta* †. This creature has two names; being called by some, *gat el ber-rany*, i. e. *the strange or foreign cat*, and by others, *shib-beardou*; but I should call it, for the reasons above, the lesser *ginetta*.

The dubbah is of the badger kind, near the bigness of a wolf, but has a flatter body, and naturally limps upon the hinder right leg; yet, notwithstanding this imperfection, the dubbah is tolerably swift, and cannot be so easily run down by the hunters of these countries as the wild boar. The neck of it is so remarkably stiff, that in looking behind, or snatching obliquely at any object, it is obliged, in the same manner with the hog, the badger, and crocodile, to move the whole body. It is of a buff or dun colour, inclining to be reddish, with some transverse streaks of a dark brown; whilst the hairs upon the neck are near a span long, which it can occasionally erect, notwithstanding they are much softer than the bristles of a hog. The paws are large and well armed, serving in want of other food, to lay open the *cephaglione*, (i. e. the *medulla*, *cerebrum*, or *εγκεφαλος*) of the *palmeta*, or dwarf palm; to dig up the roots of plants, and sometimes the graves of the dead, which lie among the *Bedoweens*, in the open fields, without being secured by walls, trenches, or inclosures. When the dubbah is taken, the Arabs are very industrious to bury the head, lest the brain, according to their superstition, should be used in sorcery and enchantment; an ancient practice, as appears from the *duræ nodus hyænæ*; an expression in *Lucan*, l. vi. Next to the lion and panther, the dubbah is the fiercest of the wild beasts of *Barbary*; and, from the characteristics of having long hair upon its neck like a mane, moving

aliquod et e vicino suo rure.—Ita pantheras vocarunt mures, ut opinor, Africanos.—Tale in leonibus est. Cum primum visi, non leones externo eos nomine insignierunt, sed noto et domestico. *ursoa*.—Virgilium quidem dum *Acestem* tegit *Pelle Libyfidis* *ursoæ*, certum mihi intellexisse leoninam, &c. Vid. J. Lips. *Elc.* l. ii. c. 4.

* *Pompeii Magni* primum fuit ostenderunt *chaum*, quem Galli *rhapsium* vocabant, effugie lupi, pardorum maculis. *Plin.* l. viii. c. 19. Vid. *Gesn. de Quadrup.* p. 549, 550. *Joult. de Quadrup.* c. 12. *Rai Synops. Animal. Quadrup.* p. 201. Quærendum an genus aliquod sit thæri vel pantheris minoris, quorum meminit *Oppianus*. Conveniunt enim magnitudo, maculæ, ingenium (nam et panthera minorem innominat esse *Oppianus* scribit) et usus pellicum ad vestes pretiosas, et insuper odor suavia. *Gesn. ut supra*.

† *Genetha* vel potius *genotha* aut *ginetta* [*Genocha* apud *Albergoni* *perperam*] est bestia paulo major [minor, *Alber.* et recte] vulpecula, &c. *Id. ibid.*

its neck with difficulty, and disturbing the graves of the dead*, it may lay in a greater claim to the hyæna of the ancients, than the civic cat or the badger, which are lesser animals, and not known, as far as I can learn, in Barbary.

The deeb† is of a darker colour than the fox, though near the same bigness. It yelps every night about the gardens and villages, feeding, as the dubbah does, upon roots, fruit, and carrion. Mr. Ray‡ supposes it to be the *lupus aureus* of the ancients; though what Oppian describes by that name is larger, and of a much fiercer nature§.

The deeb is likewise the same with the jackall, or the chatbal of the more eastern countries, not differing much in sound from the Heb. *לָשׁוּבַל* *shaul*, which is rendered *the fox* in several places of Scripture; and, as we have before observed that this animal feeds upon fruit and dead carcases, we may see the propriety of Psal. lxxiii. 10. where *they that shall fall by the sword* are said to be (to become) *a portion* (or provision) *for the shaalim*; and of Cant. ii. 15. where the little shaalim are described to *spoil the vines*, and, as we may further suppose, to eat the tender grapes.

Bochart|| has made it probable that the jackalls were the *θωες* of the Greeks, the *beni awi* of the Arabians, and the (דִּימ) *ijim* or *im*, Isa. xliii. 12. xxxiii. 14. and Jer. l. 39. which we render *the beasts of the islands*; an appellation very vague and undetermined. Some Jewish commentators make it the plural of דִּימָה, which we render *the kite*, Lev. xi. 14. and Deut. xiv. 13. Of the like nature also is (דִּימָה) *tzim*, or *ziim* (ibid) which we call in general, *the wild beasts of the desert*, instead of some particular well known species, as may be rather supposed, that frequents it. Whereas, by fixing the latter to the black cat, which will be hereafter described, and the *ijim* to the jackall, both of them noted animals, frequenting no less the uncultivated than the cultivated parts of these countries, and making all the night long a perpetual howling, yelping, or squalling noise, we may have a proper notion, as it is there related, of their *meeting together, and crying out in their desolate place*. The jackalls also, as they are creatures by far the most common and familiar, as well as the most numerous of those countries, several of them feeding often together, so we may well perceive the great possibility there was for Samson to take, or cause to be taken, three

* *Hyænam quoque mittit Africa, cui sum spina riget, collum continua unitate flecti nequit, nisi toto corpore circumacta.* Solin. c. 40. Plin. l. viii. c. 30. 'Οι δὲ κελυσὶν οἱ μὲν γλαυκόν, οἱ δὲ ὕαινον· ἐστὶ τὸ μεγάλους καὶ ἐλαττοῖν λύκων, χαλκῶν δ' ἔχουσιν ὡστὶς ἵππου, καὶ ἐπὶ σκληροτέραις καὶ βαθυτέραις ταῖς γριχαῖς, καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς βραχίως — τυμωρεσθῆναι δι, κφιμενον τῆς σαρκοφαγίας τὴν ἀνδραπῶν. Aulst. Hist. Anim. l. viii. c. 5. Vid. Boch. Hieroz. l. iii. c. 11.

† Alcamus, in his *Lexicon*, makes the *Deeb* and the *Tienan* to be the same; and as the latter has a great affinity with *Tannin*, which is commonly rendered *a dragon*, or *dragons*, in Scripture, it is highly probable, that these *tannin* or *tannim* should be sometimes, instead of *dragons*, interpreted *deeb*s, or *jackalls*, as will afterwards be farther taken notice.

‡ Vid. Raii Synops. Animal. p. 174.

§ Οὐ λύκος, ἀλλὰ λύκος προφιγριστός, αὐτοτάτος δὲ. Oppian. Cyneg. l. iii.

However, Bochart deduceth the name from the Heb. (זָאב) *zaab*, *gold*.

|| Hieroz. l. iii. c. 12.

Δαφνοὶ θωες, i. e. πυρρὸι fulvi, ut habet scholiastes, Il. λ.

Θῆρας ὑπερφιάλης λαφὸν περιπομπυσθῆναι

Αγρομενῆς.

Oppian. Halieut. l. ii.

ἰ. εἰ συναθροίζονται, confertes, congregatos. Schol. Il. λ. 574.

Λαφὸν, i. e. ululare seu latrare proprium canis, lupi, et filii αἰω. Alcamus in Lexico.

Utrumque nomen ἵη et ἄψι est ονομαστικόν, ab ululatu.

Θῆρας et δυνυσται sunt conjugata; porro δυνυσται est ὀλακται latrare. Ut supra de αἰω, ex Alcamo, ita

J. Pollux de ὀλακται; Ἀλαπτικὸν καὶ δυνὸν καὶ λυκὸν τὸ ὀλακται.

handed

hundred of them. The fox, properly so called, is rarely met with, neither is it gregarious.

The *gat el khallah*, *siyah ghush*, or *karrah kulak*; i. e. *the black cat*, or *black-eared cat*, as the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish names signify, is of the bigness and shape of a cat of the largest size. The body is of a reddish brown; the belly of a lighter colour, and sometimes spotted; the chops are black, the ears of a deep grey, with the tips of them distinguished by small tufts of black stiff hair as in the lynx. The figure given us of this animal by Charleton *, is not so full in the chops as the Barbary *siyah ghush*; which, together with the jackall, are generally supposed to find out provision or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider. Yet it may be very much doubted, whether there is any such friendly intercourse betwixt them. In the night indeed, *when all the beasts of the forest do move*, Psal. civ. 20 — 22. these, as well as others, are prowling after sustenance; and *when the sun ariseth*, and the lion *getteth himself away to his den*, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing such carcases as the lion is supposed to have fed upon the night before. This and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackall particularly make with the lion, are the only circumstances which I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion. However, this feeding together, and intercourse betwixt the jackall and the black cat, at these seasons, more than what has been observed betwixt any other two of the lesser wild beasts, may further confirm the conjecture of Bochart, that the latter might be the *tziim*, especially as *dziwin*, a name of the same sound in the Arabic, denotes such a creature.

It may be observed of the porcupine, that of the many which I have seen in Africa, I never knew any of them, though very much provoked, that could dart their quills. Their usual method of defence is, to recline themselves on one side, and, upon the enemy's near approach, to rise up quickly, and gore him with the erected prickles upon the other. The flesh of this animal, when fat and young, is very well tasted, and in great esteem. The near analogy also betwixt *kunfood*, the Arabic name of the hedge-hog, which is here very common, and the Hebrew קפד *kephode*, Isa. xxxiv. 11. &c. should induce us to take it for that quadruped, according to the seventy *ἐχινός*, rather than for the bittern, as we translate it.

The *jird* †, and the *jerboa*, or *yerboa*, are two little harmless animals, which burrow in the ground. They chiefly frequent the Sahara, though I have often seen the latter in the plains of Warran. Each of them is of the bigness of a rat, having their bellies white, but the rest of their bodies of a sorrel colour. The ears likewise of them both are round and hollow, in some long, in others short, agreeing with the rabbit in the order of their fore-teeth, and in the bristles of their chops, though they differ in other respects. For the head of the *jird* is somewhat pointed, and covered all over with fur; whereas, the nostrils of the *jerboa* are flat and naked, lying nearly in the same plain with the mouth; wherein also it differs from those which have been brought from Aleppo, and are described by Mr. Haym ‡. All the legs of the *jird* are nearly of the same length, with each of them five toes; whereas the fore-feet of the Barbary *jerboa* are very short, and armed only with three. The hinder feet are nearly of the same length with the body, with each of them four toes, besides two spurs, as we may call the little ones that are placed more than an inch above them. The tail of the *jird*

* Vid. Charl. Exercit. p. 23.

† Bochart (Hieroz. l. ii. p. 249.) renders it the *great mouse*.

‡ Vid. Nic. Hicym. Tesoro Britannico, vol. ii.

though a little shorter than in the common rat, yet is better clothed; whilst that of the jerboa is as long as its body, of a yellowish colour, with a black tuft near or upon the extremity. They are both good to eat; and the latter, notwithstanding the great disproportion betwixt the fore and hinder feet, runs, or rather jumps along with extraordinary swiftness; the tail, which it carries for the most part erect, or occasionally reclined, contributing all the while to the regularity of its motion.

The jerboa has been taken by some authors* for the [שפן] *saphan*† of the Scriptures, though the places where I have seen them burrow have never been among the rocks, but either in a stiff loamy earth, or else, where their haunts usually are, in the loose sand of the Sahara; especially where it is supported by the spreading roots of spartum, spurge-laurel, or other the like plants. Agreeably to this method of their burrowing in the ground, under the roots of plants, some Cyrenaic medals exhibit little animals of this kind, under an umbellated plant, supposed to be the filphium.

That remarkable disproportion betwixt the fore and the hinder legs of the Jerboa or *δινυς*, (though I never saw them run, but only stand or rest themselves upon the latter), may induce us to take it for one of the *διποδες* or two footed γαλαι or rats, which † Herodotus and other authors describe as the inhabitants of these countries; particularly (τὰ Σιλφίω) of the province of Silphium.

Besides the animals above mentioned, Barbary produces the bear, or dabh § (according to their appellation), the ape or sheddy, the ichneumon or tezerda, the fox or thaleb, the ferret or nimse, and the weasel or fert el heise. The mole likewise, the rabbit, the hare, and the wild boar, are every where in great numbers. The last of these, the chief prey and food of the lion, (in Eccclus xii. 19. the onager or wild ass is described to be such), has sometimes been known to defend itself with so much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither side; the carcases of them both having been found lying one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.

§ 2. — Of the oviparous Quadrupeds.

AMONG the oviparous quadrupeds, we are to place the land and water tortoise; the latter of which was a flatter body, though neither of them are peculiar to Barbary. The former, which hides himself during the winter months, is very palatable food. but the latter is very unwholesome. The taitah ||, or bouiah, as they call the chamæleon, may be discovered by a good eye upon every hedge. The tongue is four inches long; and in shape like to a small pestal, which it darts upon flies and insects with a surprising swiftness, and retains them afterwards by a glutinous matter that is excreted from the tip of it. The Moors and Arabs, after they have dried the skin, suspend it upon their bosoms to prevent the influence of an evil eye. The tairah differs little in name from the לטאה *letaa*, which in Lev. xi. 3. is rendered the lizard; and therefore

* Vid. Boch. Hieroz. l. iii. c. 33.

† The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and so are "the stony rocks for the [שפנים] *conies*," Psal. civ. 18. "The *conies* [שפנים, *saphannim*] are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks." Prov. xxx. 26.

‡ Herod. Melp. § 192. Theoph. apud Ælian. Hist. Anim. l. xv. c. 26. Photius, ibid. Arist. de Murib. Egypt

§ דב *Dab. Ursus. Dabiba* enim Arabice est pilosam habere faciem, unde *Dab* faciei pili et villi, &c. Boch. Hieroz. l. iii. c. 9.

|| Vid. Boch. Hieroz. l. iv. c. 4.

the chamæleon, a species indeed of lizard, might, with more propriety, be substituted for it.

The warral, or guaral, according to Leo *, is sometimes thirty inches in length; being usually of a bright reddish colour, with darkish spots. Vansleb † is so weak a philosopher, as very seriously to affirm, that the warral is ingendered from the rotten eggs of the crocodile.

The dhab or dab, another lizard, taken notice of likewise by Leo †, agree nearly in shape, and in the hard pointed annuli or scales of the tail, with the caudiverbera, as it is represented in Gesner § and Johnston. *Tfab* [צב] || therefore, a word of the same sound in the Hebrew, Lev. xi. 29. is translated erroneously, as we may suppose, the *tortoise*, instead of the *sharp scaled tailed lizard*.

The zermoumeah is as frequent in the highways and hedges, as the common green lizard. It is a mighty slender elegant animal, with a long taper tail, of a light brown colour, all over beautifully striated with yellow streaks.

The skink or scincus frequently hides itself under flat stones, or else in the holes of old walls and ruins. In the like situation, (though they often come into our houses, and crawl over our beds), we find the nijc-daimah, or booka-shash, which is of a dark gloomy colour, seven or eight inches long, with a flat head and body, and with the tail like the dab's. I have often observed, that the booka-shash would beat with its tail the walls, floors, or cieling which it rested upon; a circumstance that may induce us to take this for the smaller, and the dab for the greater caudiverbera or uromastix. The warral also, in running upon the ground, uses the like action; whilst the Arabs gravely affirm, that the person who is touched by one of these strokes will become barren and unfruitful.

§ 3. — Of the Serpentine kind.

NOT to mention the slow-worm and the snake, which are common, the most remarkable species of the serpentine kind is the thaibanne, which might well be taken for Lucan's Thebanus ophites, provided Thebanus was an appellative, and not the proper name of the serpent. I have been informed that some of them are three or four yards long; and as it is by far the largest serpent in Barbary, it will so far answer to the hæmorrhous, to which Lucan has given the epithet of ingens; the many others which he describes being probably much smaller, and of the viper size. I have seen purses made of the skin of the thaibanne, which were more than four inches wide.

The zurreike, another serpent of the Sahara, is usually about fifteen inches long. It is of a slender body, and being remarkable, as the name ¶ (from *zurak*, jaculari) insinuates, for darting itself along with great swiftness, may perhaps be one of Lucan's jaculi volucres.

But the most common as well as malignant of this tribe, is the lessah, which, like our viper or adder, is of a less uniform turn of body than the zurreike, and rarely exceeds a foot in length. It is not always of the same colour, but varies a little according to the quality of the earth, sand, or rocks where it is found **. The torrida

* J. Leo. Descript. Africae, l. ix. p. 297.

† Vid. Vansleb's present State of Egypt, p. 47.

‡ Vid. J. Leo, ut supra.

§ Gesn. de Quadruped. ovip. p. 23. Jonst. Hist. Quadruped. Tab. LXXIX.

|| Boeh. Hieroz. l. iv. c. 1.

¶ Vid. note, p. 339.

** This circumstance and quality in the serpent kind has been taken notice of by Pliny. "Vulgatum est," says he, lib. viii. cap. 98. "serpentes plerisque colorem terræ habere, qua occultantur." Vid. etiam Nicand. in Sepe et Sepe donec.

answer very well both to the name and to the quality of the leffah, which is fo called from *leffah*, *arere*, *to burn*.

The Arabs report that there is the same antipathy betwixt the leffah and the taitah, which was long ago assigned * to the chamæleon and the viper; and that a little drop of clammy juice, which the taitah lets fall upon the leffah, will throw it into such violent convulsions as are attended with immediate death.

These, after the most diligent search and inquiry, are the only species of the viper kind that I am acquainted with; and I am persuaded, that the northern parts of Africa do not produce above five or six distinct species among the many that are described by Lucan† and Nicander. For it may be observed, in the first place, that the scytale, so called from *σκυταλη*, *baculus*, which was also the slow or blind worm, the same with the cæcilia or *τυφλινη*, was, in all probability, from the uniform shape of body, the head and the tail being nearly of the like thickness, no other than the amphibæna. The cenchris also, from *κελχρος*, its millet-like spots, and from being of a larger size, according to Nicander, was not different from the thebanus ophites; which, from the name, should be spotted like the granite or serpentine marble. Yet still these spots are no distinguishing characteristics; in as much as they may be attributed, more or less, to all or to the greatest part of the serpentine kind.

With regard also to the aspis, this had a great variety of species or synonyms rather. Ælian (Hist. Anim. l. x. c. 3.) reckons them to be sixteen. “Plures, diversæque sunt aspidum species,” (says Solinus, cap. xxvii.) “verum disparis effectus ad nocendum: Dipsas (from *διψαω*) siti interficit; hypnale (from *ὑπνος*) quod somno necat.” To which we may add the prester and seps; the bite of the former being attended with a fever, as a derivative from *πρηθω*; the bite of the latter being attended with a corruption of the whole mass of blood, (the same poison working differently, according to the habit of body in the wounded person,) as a derivative from *σηπω*. As to the name itself of *aspis*, it might have been generical, from coiling itself up like a shield; *ασπις*, *scutum dicitur, eo quod ad caput tegendum reliquo corpore pro scuto utitur*. So that all the properties and characteristics above mentioned, may be well attributed to one

* Vid. Ælian. Hist. Animal. l. iv. c. 33. Philen. de Propr. Anim. in Chamæleonte. Scalig ad Cardanum de Subtilit. apud Gesn. ut supra.

Hic quæ prima caput movit de pulvere tabes,
Aspida somniferam tumida cervice levavit, &c.
At non stare suum miseris passura cruorem
Squamiferos ingens Hæmorrhois explicat orbes.
Natus et ambigux colore qui Syrtidos arva
Cherfydros, traëtique via sumante Chelydri;
Et semper recto lapsurus limite Cenchris;
Pluribus ille notis variatam pingitur alvum,
Quam parvis tinctus maculis Thebanus Ophites;
Concolor exustis atque indiscretis arenis
Ammodyes; spinaque vagi torquente Cerastræ;
Et Scytale sparsis etiam nunc sola pruinis
Exuvias positura suas; et torrida Dipsas;
Et gravis in geminum surgens caput Amphibæna;
Et natrix violator aquæ, jaculique volucres;
Et contentus iter cauda fulcare Pareas;
Oraque distendens avidus spumantia Prester;
Ossaue dissolvens cum corpore tabificus Seps.
Sibilaque effundens cunctas terrentia pestes,
Ante venena nocens, late sibi submovet omne
Vulgu, et in vacua regnat Basiliscus arena.

and the same animal. Consequently the aspis, the diplas, the uphale, the prester, and seps, might be only one single species of viper, under these different appellations.

The natrix, in like manner, which is the coluber and anguis, was probably the same with the chelydris or chelydrus, from its stinking quality, implied in the expression *via fumente*, or from living and depositing its eggs in dunghills; the viper kind, on the contrary, being all of them sweet, and in smell altogether inoffensive. The same might also be the cherfydros (*χερσος* et *ύδωρ*), from frequenting both the land and water, contrary to the custom of the viper kind, which lives constantly upon land. The pareas too, *παρα τας παρειας μειζες εχειν*, though the whole genus can upon occasion enlarge their jaws, from being sacred to Æsculapius, should be no other than the anguis or natrix. The natrix therefore, the coluber, anguis chelydris or chelydrus, together with the cherfydros and pareas, were likewise one and the same creature.

The ammodytes, from its bright sandy colour, answers exactly to the cerasstes, which is described to be concolor exustis arenis; though it is particular enough, that no notice is taken of the horns (*τα κερατα*) by Lucan, from whence it received its very name. And this circumstance may give us room to suspect, that the poet had a greater regard to apply, at all adventure, such a set of vague indiscriminating phrases as would best suit his poesy, and be applicable to the whole genus, than to assign to each species, like an accurate naturalist, its real and specific signatures and characteristics. And further, Nicander, in giving horns indiscriminately to the aspis, echis, cerasstes, and hæmorrhous, seems to make them one and the same serpent, notwithstanding some small, and perhaps accidental and non-permanent differences in their colours. Neither can any right specific distinction or characteristick be drawn from what that author too often insists upon, *viz.* their straight and direct, or their oblique and sinister motions.

§ 4.—Of the Birds.

IN describing the more curious birds, we may add to the eagle kind the karaburno, which is of the bigness of our buzzard; with a black bill, red iris, yellow short feet, the back of an ash or sordid blue colour, the pinions of the wings black, the belly and tail whitish.

The graab el Sahara, or *crow of the desert*, is somewhat bigger than our raven; and, from the redness of the feet and bill, may demand the title of coracias major, or the larger coracias or pyrrhocorax.

The emseefy, or ox-bird, is as large as the curlew, being all over of a milk white colour, except the bill and the legs, which are of a fine red. It generally feeds after cattle in the meadows, which makes the flesh of it unsavory, and soon to corrupt. It resembles the crow in habit and shape of body.

The boo-onk, or long neck, is of the bittern kind, somewhat less than the lapwing. The neck, the breast, and the belly are of a light yellow; but the back and the upper part of the wings are of a jet black. The tail is short, the feathers of the neck long, and streaked either with white, or with a light yellow. The bill, which is three inches long, is green, in fashion like to the stork's; and the legs, which are short and slender, are of the same colour. In walking and searching for food, it throws out its neck to the length of seven or eight inches, from whence the Arabs call it boo-onk, *the father of the neck*, or the *long neck*.

The burourou, one of the larger species of the horned owls, is spotted like the Norwegian. It generally frequents the desert, like the graab el Sahara; and when it appears to the northward, among the towns and villages, it is fancied to portend some

direful infectious distemper. Whilst the plague raged lately at Algiers, several of these birds were seen to hover about and pitch upon the houses, particularly where the inhabitants were infected; drawn thither, no doubt, by the contagious smell. But as soon as the distemper was over, they disappeared, and retired again into the Sahara.

The yarourou, or *canis sylvestris*, as that Syriac word is commonly interpreted, and particularly taken notice of by Dr. Pocock, in his *Comment* upon Mic. i. 8. is nearly allied in name to the burourou, though we cannot here draw any consequence from it; in as much as the yarourou was not a bird, but a quadruped, viz. the jackall; as tanin, the original word, which we render *dragon*, is there interpreted*.

The shaga-rag is of the bigness and shape of a jay, though with a smaller bill, and shorter legs. The back is brownish; the head, neck and belly of a light green; and upon the wings and tail there are several spots or ringlets of a deep blue. It makes a squalling noise, and builds in the banks of the Shelliff, Booberak, and other rivers. Shagarag, by a small transmutation of letters, is the same name with *sharakrak*, or *shakarak* of the Arabian authors, and with the שרקרק *sharakrak* of the Talmudists; so called from שרק *sharak*, to *squal*. It was probably in conformity to this quality that Buxtorf has interpreted *sharakrak* the *merops* or *bee-cater*, a bird very common all over Barbary and the Levant, which flies in flocks, and, in the heat of the day makes a squalling noise, though not so shrill as the shagarag. Jonathan, the Syriac version, and the Talmudists, explain רחם *racham*, Lev. xi. 18. or רחמה *rachamah*, Deut. xiv. 17. by *sharakrak*, or *sarakreka* in the Syriac; which being more regarded, or supposed perhaps to be better understood by Munster and Deodatus than the original word *rachamah*, induced them to translate it *pica*, (the magpye, or rather the jay,) with which our shagarag has no small affinity, both in voice and plumage. I shall, in another place, take notice of the rachamah, which was so little known to the Jewish writers, that the learned Bochart†, after acknowledging his own ignorance of it, complains likewise of theirs, in this ingenious and just remark: “*Aveni illam, viz. rachamah,*” says he, “*definire non potuerunt viri, tam imperiti rerum naturæ, quam periti vocem interpretes.*”

The houbaaara, or houbaaary, is of the size of a capon, but with a longer body. It feeds upon shrubs and insects, like the graab el Sahara, and frequents, in like manner, the desert; for which reason, perhaps, in the Arabian version ינשוף (or *the owl*, as we render it,) *yanfouph*, Isa. xxxiv. 11. is interpreted the houbary. This bird is of a light dun or yellowish colour, marked all over with little brown taches; whilst the larger feathers of the wing are black, with each of them a white spot near the middle. The feathers of the neck are whitish, with black streaks; but are chiefly remarkable for their length, and for being erected, as in the rough and dung-hill cock, whenever it is attacked or provoked. The bill is flat like the starling's, nearly an inch and a half long; and the legs agree in shape, and in the want of the hinder toe with the bustard's. The gall and the contents of the stomach are in great esteem for sore eyes, and have therefore been sometimes sold at a great price. Nothing surely can be more entertaining than the fight of the houbaaara when it is pursued by the hawk, and to observe the great variety of flights and stratagems which it is obliged to use, in order to escape. The Arabian authors‡ add, that upon these occasions it endeavours to squirt its dung into the hawk's eyes, in order to blind them; but it may drop it rather, as the strunt-bird is known to do, out of fear. Golius and Bochart likewise misinterpret houbaaara in calling it the bustard; which agrees indeed in colour, in habit of body, and number of toes with the houbaaara, but differs in being at least of twice the bigness.

* Boch. Hieroz. l. ii. c. 25.

† Boch. Hieroz. part. post.

The rhaad or saf-saf, which is a granivorous and gregarious bird, wants also the hinder toe. There are two species of it; the smaller being of the size of an ordinary pullet, whereas the larger is near as big as the hoobaara, and differs also from the lesser in having a black head, with a tuft of dark blue feathers immediately below it. The belly of them both is white, the back and the wings are of a buff colour, spotted with brown; the tail is lighter, and marked all along with black transverse streaks. The beak and the legs are stronger than in birds of the partridge kind. Rhaad *, which denotes *thunder* in the language of this country, is supposed to be a name that has been given to it from the noise that it makes in springing from the ground; as saf-saf †, the other name, very naturally expresses the beating of the air, when it is got upon the wing.

The kitawiah, or African lagopus, as we may call it, is another bird of the gregarious and granivorous kind, with short feathered feet, which likewise want the hinder toe. It frequents the most barren, as the rhaad does the more fertile parts of these countries; and is, in size and habit of body, like the dove. The back or upper part of it is of a livid colour, with dark spots; the belly is blackish; and upon the throat there is the figure of a crescent, of a beautiful yellow. Each feather in the tail is tipped with a white spot, whilst that in the middle is long and pointed, as in the merops. The flesh of this beautiful bird is like that of the rhaad, *viz.* red upon the breast, and white in the legs; wherewith it agrees further, in being not only of an agreeable taste, but of an easy digestion.

The Barbary partridge is the same with the greater or red-legged species, that is already known and described by Mr. Ray; and besides the quail, which is common to most countries, there is one here of a lighter colour, that wants the hinder toe. Both of them are birds of passage; as it likewise the woodcock, which makes its first appearance in October, and continues till the March following, as in Europe. The Africans call the latter (from the largeness, I suppose, of its head), *the afs of the partridges*.

Besides such of the web-footed water fowl as are common in England, I have seen several other species, beautifully distinguished by their differently figured bills and plumage, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. They are all of them called by the general name of brak, which word, Golius and others, have made to denote some particular species only of the duck kind, contrary to the received acceptation of it in this country, for the family in general.

Among the lesser birds, we may place a species of the thrush kind, not inferior to the American birds in the richness of its plumage. The head, neck, and back are of a fine light green, the wings of a lark colour, the breast white, and spotted like the thrush, the *uropygium*, or rump, of an elegant yellow, and the extremity of the feathers upon the tail and wings, were tipped with the like colour. If we except the feet, which are shorter and stronger, it agrees in the fashion of the bill, and in the whole habit of the body with the thrush. This bird is not very common, and appears only in the summer months when figs are in season.

To the little thick-billed birds we may add the Caspa sparrow, which is as big as the common house sparrow, and as often seen upon the houses in the date villages, to the westward of the Lake of Marks, as the common sparrow is in other places. It is all over of a lark colour, excepting the breast, which is somewhat lighter, and shines

* Sc. a *rabad*, tonuit.

† *Susuf*, translated *passer* only by Golius, is not unlike in name to the שחף *sachaph* or *sab-haph*, which, Lev. xi. 16. we render *the cuckoo*.

like the pigeon's. This bird has an exceedingly sweet and melodious note, much preferable to that of the Canary bird, or nightingale. Several attempts have been made to bring it to Kairwan, and other places to the northward; but it was always found to be of so delicate and peculiar a nature, that it immediately languished and pined away upon changing the climate,

§ 5.—Of the Insects—particularly the Locust.

INSECTS, and volatiles under that denomination, are more numerous than curious. Butterflies, adderbolts, beetles, &c. are in such a variety of shapes, and luxuriancy of colours, that it would be too tedious to enumerate them all. A species or two of each sort may be sufficient.

The most curious species of the butterfly kind is near four inches from one tip of the wing to the other, being all over very beautifully streaked with murrey and yellow. Yet the edges of the lower wings are to be excepted, which, being indented, and ending in a narrow strip or lappet of an inch long, are very elegantly bordered with yellow. Near the tail there is a spot of a carnation colour.

The rarest species of the libellæ or adderbolts, is one of three inches and a half long, broad tailed, of a rusty colour, with bright spotted wings. There is another of the same size, but of a more cylindrical body, differing little in colour from the common locust.

The least frequent of the beetle kind, is a species with one horn, of the colour and size of a chestnut. The head is notched round, or indented, and the feet are broad like those of the gryllo-talpa's. The lesser nasicornes are every where met with, as also a diversity of elastic beetles.

In the hotter months of the summer, especially from mid-day to the middle of the afternoon, the cicada, *τετλιγξ*, or *grasshopper*, as we falsely translate it, is perpetually stunning our ears with its most excessive shrill and ungrateful noise. It is in this respect the most troublesome and impertinent of insects, perching upon a twig, and squalling sometimes two or three hours without ceasing; thereby too often disturbing the studies or the short repose that is frequently indulged in these hot climates at those hours. The *τετλιγξ* of the Greeks must have had a quite different voice, more soft surely and melodious; otherwise the fine orators of Homer*, who are compared to it, can be looked upon no better than so many loud loquacious scolds.

To that species of locusts, which are called mantes by the naturalists, I am to add one of three inches long, of a brown colour, with the fore legs armed with strong horny claws. There is another of the same size of the cucullated kind, which hath the upper wings streaked with a light green, and the membranaceous ones finely chequered with flesh, brown, and scarlet colours; besides a third species, of two inches long, with elegant green wings. But the chief characteristics of the latter are two antenæ, which project, like a couple of feathers from the forehead.

I never observed the mantes to be gregarious; but the locusts, properly so called, which are so frequently mentioned by sacred as well as profane writers, are sometimes so beyond expression. Those which I saw, *ann.* 1724 and 1725, were much bigger than our common grasshoppers, and had brown spotted wings, with legs and bodies of a bright yellow. Their first appearance was towards the latter end of March, the wind having been for some time from the south. In the middle of April, their numbers were so vastly increased, that in the heat of the day, they formed themselves

into large and numerous swarms, flew in the air like a succession of clouds, and, as the prophet Joel (ii. 10.) expresses it, they *darkened the sun*. When the wind blew briskly, so that these swarms were crowded by others, or thrown one upon another, we had a lively idea of that comparison of the psalmist, (Psa. cix. 23.) of being *tossed up and down as the locust*. In the month of May, when the ovaries of those insects were ripe and turgid, each of these swarms began gradually to disappear, and retired into the Mettujah, and other adjacent plains, where they deposited their eggs. These were no sooner hatched in June, than each of the broods collected itself into a compact body, of a furlong or more in square; and marching afterwards directly forward towards the sea, they let nothing escape them, eating up every thing that was green and juicy; not only the lesser kind of vegetables, but the vine likewise, the fig-tree, the pomegranate, the palm, and the apple tree—even *all the trees of the field*, Joel i. 12. In doing which, *they kept their ranks like men of war*, climbing over, as they advanced, every tree or wall that was in their way; nay, they entered into our very houses and bed-chambers, like *so many thieves*. The inhabitants to stop their progress, made a variety of pits and trenches all over their fields and gardens, which they filled with water; or else they heaped up therein heath, stubble, and such like combustible matter, which were severally set on fire upon the approach of the locusts. But this was all to no purpose; for the trenches were quickly filled up, and the fires extinguished by infinite swarms succeeding one another; whilst the front was regardless of danger, and the rear pressed on so close, that a retreat was altogether impossible. A day or two after one of these broods was in motion, others were already hatched to march and glean after them, gnawing off the very bark and the young branches of such trees as had before escaped with the loss only of their fruit and foliage. So justly have they been compared by the prophet Joel (ii. 3.) to *a great army*; who further observes, that *the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness*.

Having lived near a month in this manner, like a *μοχλοσμον ξίφος**, or *sword with ten thousand edges*, to which they have been compared, upon the ruin and destruction of every vegetable substance that came in their way, they arrived at their full growth, and threw off their nympha-state, by casting their outward skin. To prepare themselves for this change, they clung by their hinder feet to some bush, twig, or corner of a stone; and immediately, by using an undulating motion, their heads would first break out, and then the rest of their bodies. The whole transformation was performed in seven or eight minutes, after which they lay for a small time in a torpid and seemingly in a languishing condition; but as soon as the sun and the air had hardened their wings by drying up the moisture that remained upon them, after casting their sloughs, they re-assumed their former voracity, with an addition both of strength, and agility. Yet they continued not long in this state before they were entirely dispersed, as their parents were before, after they had laid their eggs; and as the direction of the marches and flights of them both was always to the northward, and not having strength, as they have sometimes had, to reach the opposite shores of Italy, France, or Spain, it is probable they perished in the sea; a grave which, according to these people, they have in common with other winged creatures.

The locust, I conjecture, was the *noisome beast*, or the *pernicious destructive animal*, as the original words may be interpreted, which, with the *sword*, the *famine*, and the *pestilence*, made the *four sore judgments* that were threatened against Jerusalem, Ezek. xiv. 21. The Jews were allowed to eat them; and indeed, when sprinkled with

* Pifidas apud Boch. Hieroz. par. ii. p. 441.

salt, and fried, they are not unlike in taste to our fresh water cray-fish. The Acridophagi*, no doubt were fond of eating them; in so much as they received their name from thence. Ludolphus† has endeavoured to prove, that the שליוֹם (*shellowim*, or *quails*, as we render the word), which the Israelites fed upon in the wilderness‡, were a species only of locusts. The same opinion is embraced by the learned Bishop of Clogher§, who urges in defence of it, Wilsd. xvi. 3. where the food of the Israelites, (or the things that were sent, τα επαπεσσυλαμμενα,) there supposed to be referred to, is said to have had εἶδεχθῆεν, an ugly, odious, or disagreeable sight or appearance; an expression, says he, by no means applicable to the quail, which is a beautiful bird, but very much so to a locust. But, not to dispute whether any of God's creatures can be properly called ugly, the ugly sight there recorded refers to the frogs, lice, &c. that were sent among the Egyptians, as will appear by comparing the different cases and afflictions of the Egyptians and Israelites, which are all along described, in contrast with each other, throughout the context; they especially who are spoken of, ver. 3. being no other than the Egyptians. Moreover the *quails* (οἰστρογομπερα, or *land rails*, birds of the finest taste) are particularly mentioned, ver. 2. to have been their food; and also chap. xix. 12. where *quails* (οἰστρογομπερα) are said to have come up unto them from the sea for their contentment, or comfort. And besides, the holy psalmist, in describing this particular food of the Israelites, or the *shellowim*, by calling them *feathered fowls*, (which the locusts certainly are not, having only membranaceous wings), entirely confutes all suppositions of this kind; as indeed the admitting of them would be to confound all Scripture names. It would be to make *arbab* (as the locusts are always called) and *shellowim*, names undoubtedly very different, to be one and the same.

Neither has any authority been hitherto produced for taking ακριδες, according to the Greek appellation, for the fruit of the locust tree, or the tops of plants||; the name itself being rather derived from the desire or appetite which this insect has, in particular, of living upon such food¶. And besides, the ακριδες described by Aristotle**, and other historians, are the locusts I am now speaking of. The LXXII likewise always interpret [אַרְבָּה] *arbab* by the same word; consequently the writers of the New Testament may be supposed to have taken it in the same signification. The ακριδες then, which St. John Baptist fed upon in the wilderness, were properly locusts; and provided they appeared in the Holy Land during the spring as they did in Barbary, it may be presumed that St. John entered upon his mission, and that the day of his shewing himself unto Israel, Luke i. 20. was at that season.

§ 6.—Of the Scorpion and Phalangium.

The ackrab, or scorpion, in consideration of its noxious qualities, may claim the next place after the locust. Some of the species are long and narrow; others are of a rounder shape, and larger, with tails consisting of six joints. I never observed any

* Agatharcides describes these people to be βραχυτεροι των λοιπων, ισχυροι δε τοις ὀφθαλμοις, μελανι; δε ἐξαισιως.

† Viz. in Comment. Hist. Æthiopic, p. 185. &c.

‡ Exod. x. 13. Numb. xi. 31.

§ Chronol. p. 379.

|| In hanc sententiam (sc. quod ακριδες erant ακροδενδρα vel ακρα δρυων vel ακρεμοις, five ακριοματα, i. e. arborum, vel herbarum summitates) propenderunt Athanas. Isid. Euthym. Theophyl. &c. Vid. Pol. Synop. in Matt. iii. 4. et Boch. Hieroz. l. iv. c. 7.

¶ Ακρις παρα το ακρι των αταχων και των φυτων νημισθαι. Etym. Magn. Je-rad, the Arabic name for these insects, is derived from *avussit*, *detrahit*; ut folia de ramis, &c. vid. Gol. in voce.

** Arist. Hist. Animal. l. v. c. 28.

that

that had seven, according to what has been asserted by some ancient authors*. Those to the northward of Mount Atlas are not very hurtful; for, the sting being only attended with a slight fever, the application of a little Venice treacle quickly alluages the pain. But the scorpions of Gætulia, and most other parts of the Sehara, as they are generally larger, and of a darker complexion, so their venom is proportionably malignant, and frequently attended with death. I had once sent me a female scorpion, which, as it is a viviparous animal, had just brought forth her young, about twenty in number, each of them scarce so large as a grain of barley.

Of the same virulent nature with the scorpion, is the bite of the boola-kaz; a phalangium of the Sahara, the rhax probably which Ælian† observes to be an animal of these parts. It is computed that twenty or thirty persons die every year by the hurt received from this animal and the leffah.

The method of curing the bite or sting of these venomous creatures, is either immediately to burn, or to make a deep incision upon the wounded part, or else to cut out the contiguous flesh. Sometimes also the patient lies buried all over, excepting his head, in the hot burning sands, or else in pits dug and heated for the purpose; in order, no doubt, to obtain the like copious perspiration that is excited by dancing‡ in those that are bitten by the tarantula. But when no great danger is apprehended, then they apply hot ashes only, or the powder of alhenna, with two or three thin slices of an onion, by way of cataplasm. I never heard that oil of olive, which they have always at hand, was ever made use of; which, being rubbed warm upon the wound, has been lately accounted a specific remedy, particularly against the bite of the viper. It was one§ of the twenty remarkable edicts that were given out by the Emperor Claudius in one day, that no other remedy should be used in the bite of a viper, than the juice of the yew-tree or taxus.

§ 7. — Of the Fish.

THERE are few species of fish to be met with in these seas or rivers, but what have been long ago described by Rondeletius, and still continue to be taken as well on this as on the other side of the Mediterranean; a catalogue of which is placed among the *Collectanea*. To these we may add a firm and well tasted barbel, which, with the eel, is common to most of those rivers. The barbel has two appendages on the lower jaw. In the warm fountain at Capsa, we find a beautiful little perch, with chequered fins,

* Constat et septena caudæ internodia sæviora esse. Plin. l. xi. c. 25. de scorpionibus. Σα. τιων δὲ, καὶ πῖνων καὶ ἀπτερον λεγεται πληθος, μεγαλυ δὲ ἐπτα σφοδρῶτων. Strab. l. xvii. Καὶ πρὸς ἐπτα ἑξ- ῥονδύλης ἀφθὴ τις. Ælian. Hist. Anim. l. vi. c. 20.

† Lib. iii. c. 136.

‡ Matthiolus, in his Annotations upon Dioscorides, l. ii. c. 77. de Araneo, vouches for the fact, and acquaints us that he had seen it: quod equidem attestari possum. The following air, called the tarentella, is one of those which the Apulians are said to make use of on these occasions.



§ Vid. Scut. in. Claudio.

and a turned-up nose; but this is a coarse fish, of no delicate flavour, though we may consider it as a curiosity, in living so far from the sea, and in being, as far as I could be informed, the only fish appertaining to the many rivulets of these inland parts of Africa. The fishermen find sometimes, in drawing and clearing their nets, the *penna marina* or *sea feather*; which, in the night time particularly, is so remarkably glowing and luminous, as to afford light enough to discover the quantity and size of the fish that are inclosed along with it in the same net. I have seen more than once large shoals of a small circular flat polypus, with a thin semicircular ridge obliquely crossing the back of it. This, which is the *urtica marina soluta*, and the *veletta* of F. Columna, is hung all over with little feet or suckers, and is greedily pursued by the tunny and porpoise. A few years ago, an orca, or toothed whale, sixty feet long, was stranded under the walls of Algiers; which was looked upon as so extraordinary an appearance, that the Algerines were apprehensive it portended some direful event to their polity and government.

Among the fish that are called *crustaceous*, the first place is to be given to the lobster, though it is in no great plenty upon the coast of Barbary; whereas shrimps and prawns, a small thin-shelled crab, like the broad-footed one of Rondeletius, the *locusta*, vulgarly called the long oyster, together with the *squilla lata*, or *sea cray-fish* of the same author, are every day brought to the market. These are preferred to the lobster for firmness and elegance of taste.

The echini, or *sea eggs*, are more remarkable for their number than their variety. I have seen no more than three species; one of which is of the pentaphylloid or spatagus kind, being very beautiful to look upon, but of no use. Each of the others has five sutures, accompanied with several concentric rows of little knobs, supporting so many prickles or aculei. The roe, which lies in the inside of them, between the sutures, and is the only part that is eatable, is turgid and in perfection about the full of the moon. After being tempered and seasoned with pepper and vinegar, it is looked upon as no small dainty; of which I have often tasted.

Neither is there any great plenty or variety of *shell-fish*, as will appear from the catalogue of them, which is inserted among the *Collectanea*. The *exuviae*, indeed, of a few species of whilks and flithers, of the sea-ear, of the spondylus, and of a smooth shallow chama, are what we commonly see lying upon the shore; whilst the greater whilk or buccinum, eight or ten inches long; a long narrow pectunculus; the muscle of Matthiolus; the concha Veneris; a large thin ampullaceous whilk, the eighteenth species of Lister; with the long-nosed muricated one, the twentieth of the same author, may be reckoned among the rarities. But the *solitana*, which, as Varro tells us, (l. xiii. c. 14. *De re Rustica*), contained twelve gallons, would be undoubtedly the greatest curiosity, and the very princess of the testaceous kind, provided it still continued to be a native of these seas.

Tunis was formerly well supplied with oysters, from the haven of Bizerta; but, when I was there, some copious rains*, with the usual torrents consequent thereupon, which fell into it from the neighbouring lake, were supposed, by making the water too fresh, to have diminished the breed. The bottoms likewise, not only of the several coasting vessels of Algiers, but of others that have continued any time in the harbour, were frequently covered with oysters; yet no banks of them could ever be discovered,

* Nimirum tenuitas aquæ non sufficit eorum respirationi. — Atque eadem causa est, quod in Ponto, cujus oræ crebris fluminum ostiis alluuntur, non sunt testacea, nisi quibusdam in locis pauca — Etiam in æstuariis Venetis observatur testacea interire, quando immodicis pluviis palustris salsedo diluitur. J. Grand. de Verit. diluvii, &c. p. 66. C. Langii Method. Testac. p. 7. in præfat.

though they have been carefully sought after. As this coast likewise is no way remarkable for banks of sand, the cockle is a great rarity; but muscles are every where as common, as they are large and good; neither are they attended, as those of our island frequently are, with crabs or cancelli. The submarine rocks of these coasts, particularly near Cape Zibeeb and Port Farina, are sometimes very pregnant with another species of muscle, of a more delicious taste, and cylindrical shape, which is called by some naturalists, *dactylus**, from being in the shape of a finger or date; and by others *pholu*, or *pholis*, from (φωλις) lying hid in the rocks. They are found of different and intermediate sizes, from half an inch to two or three inches in length; lying very near, or within an inch or two of each other, with sometimes a small duct of communication, rarely bigger than a bristle betwixt them. The cavities they lie in, are as exactly fitted to them, as if they had been cast in so many moulds; which they seem likewise to have a power of gradually enlarging, according to the different periods of their growth. But in what manner this is effected, how they are nourished and propagated, with a great many other circumstances relating to their animal economy, remains at present among the secrets of nature.

As the ostrich will be taken notice of in the natural history of Arabia Petraea, these are all the observations which I have to offer, with regard to the animals of these kingdoms. In the course of which, some perhaps might expect to be entertained with the description of strange and wonderful objects, such as Africa has been commonly supposed to produce. But the natural and ordinary course of things is much the same in Barbary as in other places; each species keeping inviolably to itself. For if we except the mule and the kumrah, (procreated from animals under the direction of mankind, and therefore not properly left to themselves), few, I say, if any other instances can be urged in favour of the old observation, THAT AFRICA IS ALWAYS PRODUCING SOMETHING NEW MONSTRIOUS.

CHAP. III.—Of their Arts, Habits, Customs, &c.

§ 1.—Of the State of Learning in Barbary, with the Method of teaching their Children.

THE liberal arts and sciences among the Mahometans continue to be, as they have been for many ages, in a low state and condition. Philosophy, mathematics, and the knowledge of physic and medicine, which, a few centuries ago they had almost entirely to themselves, are at present very little known or studied. The roving and unsettled life of the Arabs, and the perpetual grievances which the Moors meet with from the Turks, will not permit either of them to enjoy that liberty, quiet, and security which have at all times given birth and encouragement to learning. As for the Turks, they are generally of such turbulent and restless dispositions, or else engage themselves too deep in trade and in the improvement of their fortunes, that they have no taste at all for it; being wonderfully astonished, as they have often told me, how the Christians can take delight, or spend so much time and money, in such empty amusements as study and speculation.

* *Dactylus* non a digitorum forma sed a Syriaca voce דקלן vel דגלתא quæ palmam ejusque fructum significat. Vid. Hillen Histoph.

† Ληγεται δε τις περιμεινεν οτι αν φηεν τι λεγει καινον. Mill. Hist. Anim. l. viii. c. 28. Ideo (sc. inopia aquarum ad paucos annos congregantibus se feris) multiformes ibi animalium partus: varie seminis cujusque generis mates aut vi aut voluptate miscente. Unde etiam vulgare Græciæ dictum, SEMPER ALIQUID NOVI AFRICAM AFFLERT. Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

When the Moorish and Turkish boys (for there is little or no education among the Bedaweens) are about six years old, they are sent to school, where they learn to read, to write, and repeat their lessons at the same time. They make no use of paper; but each boy writes upon a thin smooth board, slightly daubed over with whiting, which may be wiped off or renewed at pleasure. Such probably, for the Jewish children use the same, was the *πινυκιδιον*, the *little board* or *writing table* (as we render it, Luke i. 63.) that *was called for by Zacharias*. After they have made some progress in the Koran, which is the principal book that is taught there, they are initiated, with the like care, in the several ceremonies and devotions of their religion; the master receiving from each boy, for his trouble and attendance, about a penny a week. When a boy has laudably acquitted himself in any branch of these instructions, he is forthwith decked out in the most sumptuous apparel, and, being mounted upon a horse richly caparisoned, is conducted through the streets by his school-fellows, with loud acclamations; whilst in the mean time, his friends and relations are met together to congratulate his parents, (*omnes omnia bona dicere*, &c.) and to load the young scholar with gifts. After the boys have been thus employed for three or four years, they learn some trade, or else are inrolled in the army; in attending which occupations there are very few of them who retain what they learned in their youth, except the fanjacktars, i. e. *the secretaries at war*, and those who are employed in collecting the tribute.

If we except the Koran, and some enthusiastic comments upon it, few books are read or inquired after by those few persons of riper years, who have either time or leisure for study and contemplation. At present all that variety of learning which they formerly either invented themselves, or adopted into their own language, may be reduced to a few sheets of blundering geography, or to some tiresome memoirs of the transactions of their own times; for such branches of history as are older than the Mahometan æra, are a medley of romance and confusion.

Upon my arrival at Algiers, I made it my business to get acquainted with such persons as had the character of being learned and curious; and though it is very difficult, (as well from their natural shyness to strangers as from a particular contempt they have for Christians), to cultivate with them any real friendship, yet, in a little time, I could find the chief astronomer; who has the superintendence and regulation of the hours of prayer, had not trigonometry enough to project a sun-dial; that the whole art of navigation, as it is practised by the corsairs of Algiers and Tunis, consisted in nothing more than what is called the pricking of a chart, and distinguishing the eight principal points of the compass. Even chemistry, formerly the favourite science of these people, rises no higher than the making of rose-water. I have rarely conversed with any of their tibecbs, i. e. *physicians*, who were acquainted with Rhazes, Averroes, or others of their compatriots. The Spanish edition of Dioscorides is chiefly studied; though the figures of the plants and animals are more consulted than the descriptions. The Dey's tibecb (the c-mim or *president* of the physicians) once asked me, whether the Christians had such an author as Boo-kratt, i. e. *The father of Kratt*, (so, either out of ignorance or affectation, they call Hippocrates), adding, that he was the first of the Arabian hackeems or *doctors*, and lived a little before Avicenna.

After this general account of the state of learning and education in this country, it cannot be expected that any branch either of speculative or practical knowledge, should be studied properly as an art or science. There are not indeed wanting several persons who prescribe in physic, play upon a variety of musical instruments, and are concerned in other actions and performances, which seem at least to suppose some skill in nature or mathematics. Yet all this is learnt merely by practice, long habit and custom, assisted

assisted for the most part with great strength of memory and quickness of invention. For no objection can be made against the natural parts and abilities of these people, which are certainly subtle and ingenious enough; only time, application and encouragement are wanting to cultivate and improve them.

§ 2. — *Of their Skill in Physic or Medicine.*

IN giving a more particular account of what arts and sciences are still remaining in Barbary, I shall begin with the history of physic or medicine. And here it is to be observed (for the want, no doubt, of proper persons duly and methodically bred up to these arts), that there are few, if any, of the more dangerous cases and distempers, but such as either prove mortal, or of a long continuance. It is to be observed likewise, that few persons will admit either of advice or medicine, believing in strict and absolute predestination; whilst others, who are less superstitious, prevent the assistance of both by their ill conduct and management, leaving all to the strength of nature, or else to *magercab*, as they call charms and incantments. The history therefore of physic, will be expressed in a few lines; for if we except the following remedies, together with the constant resort that is made to the hammams, in distempers of all qualities and complexions, there is little besides of general use and establishment.

To begin then with rheumatic and pleuritic cases, in which it is usual to make several punctures upon the part affected with a red hot iron. This operation is to be repeated according to the strength of the patient, and the violence of the disease.

A decoction of sandegourah, as they name the chamæpitys or ground-pine, or else of the globularia fruticosa, is the ordinary medicine for fevers; though I have known the common scabious of this country, (the scabiosa Africana frutescens, *Par. Bat.*) taken either as a salad or potherb, or else in a strong decoction, to remove violent tertian and quartan agues.

A drachm or two of the root of round birthwort, or borustum, according to their name, is an established remedy for the cholic and other flatulent distempers; as the root of bookoka or arifarum dried and powdered, is for the stone and gravel. I once knew above a pint of a gelatinous substance discharged by a young boy of our interpreter's, upon eating plentifully of the ordinary bread of the bedoweens, made of equal quantities of barley or wheat flour, and of the roots of bookoka, dried in the oven and powdered.

One drachm of a dark coloured drop-stone, or the like quantity of the powder of the orobanche mauritanica, have been used with good success in stopping inveterate diarrhoeas. A decoction of hanzara is esteemed very prevalent in lues venerea, and complaints of that class; which, by the frequent use made of the hammams, or by the warmth of the climate, or both, do not appear so virulent and stubborn here as in Europe.

Little else is observed in the management of the small pox, than to keep the patient moderately warm, and giving him, now and then, six or eight grains of alkermes in honey, to throw out the pustules. They make use of fresh butter to hinder the pitting; and, to prevent the ulcers from falling upon the eyes, they keep the lids constantly tinged with alkahol, or *the powder of lead ore*. Inoculation is performed by making a small wound upon the fleshy part of the hand, betwixt the thumb and the fore-finger. The person who is to undergo the operation receives the infection from some friend or neighbour, who has a favourable kind, and who is intreated to sell two or three of his pustules, for the same number of nuts, comfits, or such like trifles. This they call the purchasing

purchasing of the small pox; and I have been told, that among the Jews, the purchase alone, without inoculation, was a sufficient preparative for the infection. However, inoculation is in no great repute in those parts of Barbary or the Levant where I have been. Most people esteem it to be a tempting of Providence; and a soliciting a distemper before nature may be disposed or prepared to receive it. And accordingly they tell a number of stories to discourage the practice; particularly of a beautiful young lady, who, not to lose too much of her beauty, purchased only a couple of pustules. It happened indeed that she had no more than were paid for; but the misfortune was, that they fell upon her eyes, and she was blind by the experiment.

Clysters are little known or made use of, probably from the too frequent want there would be of proper instruments, not so easily procured in these countries; or rather from some supposed breach of modesty (in which they are very delicate) in applying them. The observation of a Turkish gentleman, who was violently afflicted with the headach, was pertinent enough on this occasion. Upon applying to an English physician, who was then at Algiers, and being ordered a clyster, the patient absolutely refused it, and exclaimed greatly against the ignorance of our English tibeb, who foolishly imagined, that so noble a part as the head could be in the least influenced or corrected by the tail, the most ignoble, and at so great a distance.

The Arabs attempt to heal all simple and gun-shot wounds, by pouring fresh butter, almost boiling hot, into the part affected; and I have been credibly informed, that a great many persons have been cured by this method.

For the assuaging of swellings, bruises, inflammations, and ailings of that kind, the leaves of the prickly pear, roasted a quarter of an hour in the ashes, and applied as hot as possible to the part affected, are, in this climate, found to be very beneficial. They are noted also for suppurating and bringing boils, plague-sores, and such like tumors to maturity. I have likewise known them applied with success, and without the least suspicion of having any repelling quality, in the gout.

In slight wounds, bruises and inflammations, or else in order to harden and consolidate the parts, some persons take the powder of alhenna, and make it up with warm water; into a cataplasm. This, when applied, tinges the skin with a tawny orange colour, which continues for some months; and what is more surprising, the tincture passes quickly into the blood, and in one night's time tinges the urine of a saffron colour.

In green wounds, and some other of the above mentioned cases, the leaves likewise of madramam, as they call the *virga aurea minor foliis glutinosi*, have a good effect; whilst the root of toufailet, or thapsia, roasted and applied hot to the hips, or made up into an ointment, is reckoned a specific remedy in the sciatica.

These are some of the principal medicines, or douwas, as they are called, that are made use of in this country; in the prescribing or taking of which, they observe no uniform practice, nor exact proportion. For those which regard external cases are sometimes applied so sparingly, as if it was indifferent both to the patient and the physician, whether or no any benefit was intended by them; whilst others, in the same case, act quite the contrary, supposing the larger the cataplasm the speedier the cure. Neither is there much more caution used in such medicines as are given inwardly. For a handful at random, whether of dry or green herbs, is the common dose; which, if taken in a decoction, they usually pound first in a mortar, and then pour at a venture, half a pint, a whole pint, or more, of boiling hot water upon it. Compound medicines are very rare. The Moors indeed pretend to have received several of them traditionally from their ancestors; but the few ingredients which the shops of their tibees are furnished

furnished with to answer such prescriptions, the great reservedness likewise which they shew, in conversing with them upon this subject, appear to be strong suspicions that they are no better versed in the *materia medica* than the Arabs. The only prescription of this kind that I have met with, is ascribed to Seedy Mahomet Zerok, a famous Marabbutt, who recommends it in this manner: 'The lives of us all are in the hands of God, and when IT IS WRITTEN, we must die. However, it has pleased God to save many persons from the PLAGUE, by taking every morning, while the infection rages, one pill or two of the following composition; viz. of myrrh, 2 parts; saffron, 1 part; aloes, 2 parts; fyrop of myrtle berries, q. s.'*

§ 3.—Of their Knowledge in Mathematics.

NEITHER are these people much more conversant in any of the branches of *mathematics*. For, in the first place, they are altogether strangers to those that are speculative and abstracted. Even such quadrants, astrolabes, and other mathematical instruments of their ancestors as have escaped the injuries of time, are looked upon rather as curiosities than consulted as useful inventions. Besides several of these quadrants, designed chiefly for taking altitudes, I saw one at Tozer, in what we call *Oughtred's projection*, well executed, and of a foot radius. We are also sometimes favoured with a sight of their kalendars, one of which I have by me, (all of them likewise the works of former ages), wherein the sun's place, the semidiurnal and nocturnal arch, the length of the twilight, with the several hours of prayer for each day in the month, are calculated to a minute, and beautifully inserted in proper columns. But these again are as little consulted as their instruments; for in case the cloudiness of the weather will not permit them to adjust their small and greater hour glasses to some inaccurate meridian lines, made for that purpose, the times of devotion, which should be punctual to a minute, are left entirely to the will and pleasure of their mwezzims or maedins, i. e. to the cryers, no other methods being studied for the mensuration of time; and public clocks, from the great aversion perhaps which the Mahometans have to bells, not being allowed of.

Even the very first operations, either in numeral arithmetic or algebra, are not known to one person in twenty thousand; notwithstanding their forefathers, if we may judge from the name †, seem to have been the inventors of the one, as they have given to all Europe the characters ‡ of the other. However, the merchants, besides being frequently very dextrous in the addition and subtraction of large sums by memory, have a singular method of numeration, by putting their hands into each other's sleeve, and there touching one another with this or that finger, or with such a particular joint of it, each of them denoting a determined sum or number, will transact affairs of the greatest value, without speaking to one another, or letting the standers by into the secret.

* This however was described long before by Razi, and known to all following physicians, under the name of Pil. Rufi ad pestilentiam præcavendam, &c. as a learned physician, among other critical remarks, has lately informed me.

† *Jaber est reductio partium ad totum, seu fractionum ad integritatem. Et hinc Algebra nomen habet.* Gol. My learned friend above mentioned, acquaints me, that Diophantus wrote on Algebra about the beginning of the fourth century; and that his writings were translated afterwards into Arabic by Albugiani, about A.D. 959, as Abulfaragius informs us.

‡ Our numbers, viz. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0. being borrowed from the Arabian ١ ٢ ٣ ٤ ٥ ٦ ٧ ٨ ٩ ٠ which were originally from the Indians. Vid: Bernardi Tab. literat. seriem vii.

Yet of a still much more extraordinary nature, provided we could be equally assured of the truth of it, is the knowledge which the thalebs * are supposed to have in numbers. For they pretend to such a powerful insight into the nature and quality of them, that by differently joining and combining them, they can bring to light a variety of secrets; excite, as well as break the force of charms; and perform a thousand tricks of the like nature. The following diagram, or *net*, (as in my Arabic MS. †) called *haraz, el mabarak*, or *the blessed amulet*, is one among many of these numeral combinations, which, when hung about the neck, is said to procure the favour of princes, to inspire courage, to intimidate an enemy, to prevent distempers, or whatever else may be hurtful and injurious.

ε	9	μ
ς	ε	ν
λ	1	4

i. e. in our cyphers

70	9	2
10	70	7
8	1	6

* Or Thulby's (vid. note, p. 96.) *Studioſi ſapientiz*, from *Tulaba*, quæſivit, *he ſought after (knowledge)*. Vid. Gol.

† The MS. referred to above is a little book, which contains not only this, but a variety of other magic charms and figures; wherein frequent prayer is made to God, after he is invoked by Adam's robe, by Eve's head drefs, by Moſes' rod, by the goſpel of Jeſus, &c. that he would beſtow his influence upon it, and be propitious to the bearer of it. The Mahometans place ſo great confidence in it, and indeed in every part of it, that after they have ſuſpended it upon their boſoms, they are afraid of nothing, and will undertake the moſt dangerous actions. I once ſaw a ſtrolling *derwiſhe* at Algiers armed with this book, who would have allowed us, nay, even provoked us to fire at his head or breaſt a loaded gun or piſtol, which he confidently aſſured us could do him no harm. But as it was not prudent to make the experiment, and as the influence of it would be the ſame, as he aſſirmed, upon any other creature, we ſuſpended it accordingly upon the neck of a ſheep; which indeed, a little to our ſurpriſe at firſt, and to the no ſmall exultation of the *derwiſhe*, ſtood about a minute after it was ſhot, before it fell down dead.

I have called theſe diagrams or nets, numeral combinations, and not for what they might have been originally intended, magic ſquares; ſome of which conſiſt of four places, as this above does of three; wherein the letters ε, ς, ς, (interpreted by my late friend, Mr. Gagnier, 70, 10, 80,) are often combined with the proper Indian or Arabian figures or numbers μ, ν, λ, &c. We may therefore ſuſpect the MS. to be faulty, and that all theſe nets (like thoſe in Parnelius's *Archidox. Mag. lib. vii.* who might borrow them from the Arabians) were originally intended for ſo many magic ſquares; as this particularly by changing the firſt ε into ς 4, and the other into ς 5, and the ς into μ 3, will be

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

ς	9	μ
μ	5	ν
λ	1	4

The following Hebrew letters, which Manaſſeh ben Iſrael inſerts before his treatiſe *De Reſurrectione Mortuorum*, were probably another of theſe charms or magic ſquares:

ת	מ	א
ז	א	מ
מח	ז	ת

§ 4.—Of their Music and Musical Instruments.

IT has been already observed, that these people play upon several instruments of music; but as they do not write down their compositions, nor am at any contrast or variety of parts in the music itself, we cannot consider even this branch of the mathematics as a science among them. For the music of the Bedoweens rarely consists of more than one strain, suitable indeed to their homely instruments, and to their simple invention.

The *arabebbah*, as they call the *bladder and string*, is in the highest vogue, and doubtless of great antiquity among them; as is also the *gaspah*, which is a common reed, open at each end, like the German flute, with three or more holes upon the side, according to the ability of the person who is to touch it; though the compass of their tunes rarely or ever exceeds an octave. Yet, even in this simplicity of harmony, they observe something of method and ceremony. For in their historical *cantatas* especially, they have their preludes and symphonies; each stanza being introduced with a flourish from the *arabebbah*, while the narration itself is accompanied with some soft touches upon the *gaspah*. The strolling Bedoweens and Dervishes, like the ancient ΑΙΟΔΟΙ, or *rhapsodists*, are chiefly conversant in this sort of music; who, after they have got a multitude of people together, and placed them in a circle, begin to chant over the memorable actions of their prophet, &c. or else laying before them the plans of Mecca, Medina, &c. give a flourish at each period of their descriptions with one or other of these instruments.

The *taar*, another of their instruments, is made like a sieve, consisting (as Isidore * describes the tympanum) of a thin rim or hoop of wood, with a skin of parchment stretched over the top of it. This serves for the bass in all their concerts; which they accordingly touch very artfully with their fingers, or with the knuckles or palms † of their hands, as the time and measure require, or as force and softness are to be communicated to the several parts of the performance. The *taar* is undoubtedly the tympanum of the ancients; which appears as well from the general use of it all over Barbary; Egypt, and the Levant, as from the method of playing upon it, and the figure itself of the instrument, which is exactly the same with what we find in the bands of Cybele and the Bacchanals among the basso relievos and statues of the ancients.

But the music of the Moors is more artful and melodious than that of the Bedoweens, for most of their tunes are lively and pleasant; and if the account be true, which I have often heard seriously affirmed, that the flowers ‡ of mullein and mothwort will drop, upon playing the *mismoun*, they have something to boast of which our modern music does not pretend to. They have also a much greater variety of instruments than the Arabs; for besides several sorts of flutes and hautboys. They have the *rebebb*, or *violin of two strings*, played upon with a bow; they have the *a-oude* §, or bass double-stringed lute, bigger than our viol, that is touched with a *plectrum*; besides several smaller *guitars*, or *quetaras* ||, according to their pronunciation, of different sizes, each of them tuned an octave higher than another. They have also improved the *taar* of the Bedoweens, by suspending loosely upon pieces of wire in the rim of it, several pairs of thin hollow brass plates, which, clashing against each other in the several

* Isid. Orig. l. iii. cap. 31.

† Lucret. l. ii. 618.

‡ Ovid. Amor. l. iii. El. vii. 33.

§ *A-oude*, from whence the Spanish *laud* or *laut*, and our *lute*, supposed by Bochart (Hieroz. i. l. iv. 8) to be the *Χαυ*; or *tesludo* of the ancients.

|| The same word and instrument, no doubt, with the ancient cithara.

strokes and vibrations given to the parchment, form a clinking but regular kind of noise, that fills up those little vacancies of sound, which would otherwise be unavoidable. Yet, notwithstanding this multiplicity of instruments; notwithstanding they learn all by the ear, and pass quickly from one measure to another, *hastening the time*, as the musicians term it, in them all, yet the greatest uniformity and exactness is always preserved throughout these performances. I have often observed twenty or thirty persons playing together in this manner, during a whole night, (the usual time of their more solemn entertainments*), without making the least blunder or hesitation.

Neither should I omit the Turkish music, which is inferior indeed to the Moorish in sprightliness, yet is still more compounded than that of the Bedoweens. The Turks have been always a prosperous and thriving nation, who distinguish themselves sometimes by brisk and cheerful tempers; yet there is a certain mournful and melancholy turn, which runs through all their compositions. We may account for it perhaps from that long intercourse and conversation which they have had with their Grecian subjects, whose *airs*, like those of a neighbouring nation, being usually doleful and serious, inspire in the hearer pensiveness and sorrow; which, as they may be supposed to hang perpetually upon the mind, so cannot fail of being communicated to the music of persons in distress and captivity. The Turks chiefly make use of two instruments; whereof the one is like a long-necked lute, or *fiddle*, played upon like the *rebab*; the other, which is in the fashion of our dulcimer, with brass strings, is touched sometimes with the fingers, sometimes with small sticks; or else with a plectrum.

But the want of instruments in the private music of the Turks, is amply made up in that of their beys and bashaws. For here (as in some of the eastern ceremonies of old†) are instruments without number; flutes, hautboys, and trumpets, drums, and kettle-drums, besides a number and variety of cymbals, or hollow plates of brass, which being beat‡, at certain intervals, one against another, thereby render a shrill and jarring, but martial sound; such as the Corybantes in particular, made in the ceremonies of Cybele§. Here the time is more hastened than in the Moorish music; the same note, which, in the beginning, was held out as long as a minim, being in the conclusion as quick as a semi-quaver. I had not art enough to note down any of these dances; but in the opposite plate there are specimens of the other.

§ 5.—Of their Architecture, or Method of Building.

THE art wherein the Moors particularly are the most conversant at present is *architecture*; though, as space and convenience are the only points regarded in their plans, the *mallums* (as they call those persons who are skilled in the designing and executing of them) are to be considered rather as masters of a craft or trade, than of a science or liberal profession. However, the plaster and cement, which they make use of, particularly where any extraordinary compactness or strength is required, appear, upon comparison, to be of the very same consistence and composition with what

* "Ye shall have a song as in the night, when a holy solemnity is kept," Isa. xxx. 29. Πανυχια δαιμονιο was an early practice among the Greeks, as we learn from Homer, Il. ii. 476.

† As in Dan. iii. 5. where we have mentioned the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music.

‡ Auson. ad Paulin. Ep. xxv. l. 20. Lucret. l. ii. 634. Ovid. Fast. l. iv. 182. Horat. Od. xvi. l. i. 7. Stat. Theb. viii. 221. Nonn. in Dionys.

§ Virg. Georg. l. iv. 64. Ovid. Met. l. xiv. 537. Virg. Æn. ix. 619. Plin. apud Strab. l. x. Arat. Phænomen. interp. Germ. p. 2. lib. 15. Eurip. in Bacch. 1290. Arriani lib. rerum Ind. p. 172, 173. edit. Step. 1575.

we meet with in the most ancient fabrics. The cisterns that were built by Sultan Ben Eglib in several parts of the kingdom of Tunis, (and the like may be said of a variety of structures at this time), are of equal solidity with the celebrated ones at Carthage; and continue to this day, unless where they have been designedly broken down, as firm and compact as if they were just finished. The composition is made in this manner: they take one part of sand, two parts of wood ashes, and three of lime; which, after it is well sifted and mixed together, they beat, for three days and nights incessantly with wooden mallets, sprinkling them alternately, and at proper times, with a little oil and water, till they become of a due consistence. This is chiefly used in making arches, cisterns, and the terraces or tops of their houses. But the caduces, as they call the earthen pipes of their aqueducts, are joined together and let into each other, by beating tow and lime together with oil only, without any mixture of water. Both these compositions quickly assume the hardness of stone, and suffer no water to pervade them.

Instead of common glue, the joiners frequently use a preparation of cheese, which is first to be pounded with a little water in a mortar, till the whey matter is entirely washed out. When this is done, they pound it again with a small quantity of fine lime, and then apply it, as quick as possible, to such boards as are to be joined together; which, after the joints are dry, are not to be separated, I am told, even when thrown into water.

Having premised thus much, let us now speak of their method of building; especially as it relates to their dwelling-houses. And as there is a near relation between them, and those that are occasionally mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, a particular account of the structure and contrivance of the one, may not a little contribute to the clearing up such doubts and difficulties as have arisen, from not rightly comprehending the fashion of the other.

Now the general method of building, both in Barbary and the Levant, seems to have continued the same, from the earliest ages down to this time, without the least alteration or improvement. Large doors, spacious chambers, marble pavements, cloystered courts, with fountains sometimes playing in the midst, are certainly conveniences very well adapted to the circumstances of these hotter climates. The jealousy likewise of these people is less apt to be alarmed, whilst, if we except a small latticed window or balcony, which sometimes looks into the street, all the other windows open into their respective courts or quadrangles. It is during the celebration only of some *zeenah* (as they call a public festival), that these houses and their latticed windows or balconies are left open. For this being a time of great liberty, revelling, and extravagance, each family is ambitious of adorning both the inside and the outside of their houses with their richest furniture; whilst crowds of both sexes, dressed out in their best apparel, and laying aside all modesty and restraint, go in and out where they please. The account we have, 2 Kings ix. 30. of Jezebel's *painting her face, and tiring her head, and looking out at a window*, upon Jehu's public entrance into Jezreel, gives us a lively idea of an eastern lady at one of these *zenahs* or *solemnities*.

The streets of these cities, the better to shade them from the sun, are usually narrow, with sometimes a range of shops on each side. If from these we enter into one of the principal houses, we shall first pass through a porch or gate-way, with benches on each side, where the master of the family receives visits and dispatches business; few persons, not even the nearest relations, having further admission, except upon extraordinary occasions. From hence we are received into the court, or quadrangle, which lying open to the weather, is, according to the ability of the owner, paved with

marble, or such materials, as will immediately carry off the water into the common sewers. There is something very analogous betwixt this open space in these buildings, and the impluvium*, or cava ædium of the Romans; both of them being alike exposed to the weather, and giving light to the house. When much people are to be admitted, as upon the celebration of a marriage, the circumcising of a child, or occasions of the like nature, the company is rarely or never received into one of the chambers. The court is the usual place of their reception, which is strewn accordingly with mats and carpets for their more commodious entertainment; and as this is called *el woof*, or *the middle of the house*, literally answering to the *το μεσον* of St. Luke, (v. 19.) it is probable that the place where our Saviour and the apostles were frequently accustomed to give their instructions, might have been in the like situation; i. e. in the area or quadrangle of one of these houses. In the summer season, and upon all occasions, when a large company is to be received, this court is commonly sheltered from the heat or inclemency of the weather, by a velum†, *umbrella* or *veil*; which, being expanded upon ropes from one side of the parapet wall to the other, may be folded or unfolded at pleasure. The Psalmist seems to allude either to the tents of the Bedouens, or to some covering of this kind, in that beautiful expression of *spreading out the heavens like a veil or curtain* ‡.

The court is for the most part surrounded with a cloyster, as the cava ædium of the Romans was with a peristylum or colonnade; over which, when the house has one or more stories, (and I have seen them with two or three), there is a gallery erected, of the same dimensions with the cloyster, having a balustrade, or else a piece of carved or latticed work going round about it, to prevent people falling from it into the court. From the cloysters and galleries, we are conducted into large spacious chambers, of the same length with the court, but seldom or never communicating with one another. One of them frequently serves a whole family, particularly when a father indulges his married children to live with him, or when several persons join in the rent of the same house. From whence it is, that the cities of these countries, which are generally much inferior in bigness to those of Europe, yet are so exceedingly populous, that great numbers of the inhabitants are swept away by the plague, or any other contagious distemper. A mixture of families of this kind seems to be spoken of by Maimonides, as he is quoted by Dr. Lightfoot§ upon 1 Cor. x. 16. In houses of better fashion, these chambers, from the middle of the wall downwards, are covered and adorned with velvet or damask hangings, of *white, blue, red, green*, or other

* Si restitutum erat in medio domus ut lucem caperet, deorsum quo impluebat, impluvium dicitur. Varro de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. § 33. Impluvium locus sine tecto in ædibus, quo impluere imber in domum possit. Ascon. Pedian. not. in Cicer. Orat. i. in Verrem, c. 56. Sub divo, quod impluvium dicitur. Serv. not. in Virg. Æn. xi. 512. Atria ædificii genus tuere, continens mediani aream, in quam ex omni tecto pluvia recipitur, columnis quadifariam per singulos angulos dispositis et epistylis. Alexand. ab Alexandro Genial. D. l. iii. c. 6. Præter vestibula fuere cava ædium et peristylia, in quæ quisque suo jure non vocatos admittebatur. Id. lib. v. c. 24.

† This is the same with the Arab. *Sorwadik*, which is interpreted, Velum, aut quid simile, quod obtenditur atrio domus, cavaedio. Vid. Gol. in voce.

‡ Psal. civ. 2. The same expression we have in the prophet Isaiah, xl. 22.

§ Solomon appointed that each place be appropriated to one man there, where there is a division into divers habitations, and each of the inhabitants receive there a place proper to himself, and some place also is left there common to all, so that all have an equal right to it, as a court belonging to many houses, &c. עירוב. 'The conforthing together, which those that dwell among themselves in the same court make, is called עירוב חצרות, *the communion of courts*. And that conforthing together which they make that dwell among themselves in the same walk or entry, or which citizens of the same city make among themselves, is called עירוב שטות, *participating together*.'

colours, Esth. i. 6. suspended upon hooks, or taken down at pleasure; but the upper part is embellished with more permanent ornaments, being adorned with the most ingenious wreathings and devices in stucco and fret-work. The ceiling is generally of wainscot, either very artfully painted, or else thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of their Koran intermixed. The prophet Jeremiah (xxii. 14.) exclaims against the eastern houses, that *were cieled with cedar, and painted with vermilion*. The floors are laid with painted tiles*, or plaster of terrace; but as these people make little or no use of chairs (either sitting cross-legged, or lying at length), they always cover or spread them over with carpets, which, for the most part, are of the richest materials. Along the sides of the wall or floor, a range of narrow beds or mattresses is often placed upon these carpets; and, for their further ease and convenience, several velvet or damask bolsters are placed upon these carpets or mattresses — indulgences that seem to be alluded to by *the stretching themselves upon couches, and by the sowing of pillows to arm-holes*, as we have it expressed, Amos vi. 4. Ezek. xiii. 18. 20. At one end of each chamber, there is a little gallery, raised three, four, or five feet above the floor, with a ballustrade in the front of it, with a few steps likewise leading up to it. Here they place their beds, a situation frequently alluded to in the Holy Scriptures†, which may likewise illustrate the circumstance of Hezekiah's *turning his face*‡, *when he prayed, towards the wall*, (i. e. from his attendants), 2 Kings xx. 2. that the fervency of his devotion might be the less taken notice of and observed. The like is related of Ahab, 1 Kings xxi. 4. though probably not upon a religious account, but in order to conceal from his attendants the anguish he was in for his late disappointment.

The stairs are sometimes placed in the porch, sometimes at the entrance into the court. When there is one or more stories, they are afterwards continued through one corner or other of the gallery, to the top of the house; whither they conduct us through a door, that is constantly kept shut, to prevent their domestic animals from daubing the terrace, and thereby spoiling the water which falls from thence into the cisterns below the court. This door, like most others we meet with in these countries, is hung, not with hinges, but by having the jamb formed at each end into an axle-tree or pivot; whereof the uppermost, which is the longest, is to be received into a correspondent socket in the lintel, whilst the other falls into a cavity of the like fashion in the threshold. The stone door, so much admired, and taken notice of by Mr. Maundrell§, is exactly of this fashion, and very common in most places.

I do not remember ever to have observed the stair-case conducted along the outside of the house, according to the description of some late very learned authors; neither indeed will the contiguity and relation which these houses bear to the street and to each

* A pavement like this is mentioned, Esth. i. 6, 7. "The beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble."

† "Thou wentest up to thy father's bed — to my couch," Gen. xlix. 4. "Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up," 2 Kings i. 6. 16. "I will not go up into my bed," Psa. cxxxii. 3.

‡ In the Targum of Jonathan, *turning towards the wall* is explained by *turning towards the wall of the sanctuary, or the western wall* (as Abarbanel further illustrates it) *where the ark stood*; this being their *kiblah*, or place towards which they were to worship, 1 Kings viii. 38, &c. But the like action that is recorded of the wicked and idolatrous king Ahab, can scarce have such a construction put upon it; neither can we well suppose, that the like custom was observed in placing both their beds and their windows to face the sanctuary, Dan. vi. 10.; for if the latter did so, the other, as lying in a corner, at a distance from them, must have a different situation.

§ Vid. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 77. edit. Ox. 1707.

other, (exclusive of the supposed privacy of them), admit of any such contrivance. However, we may go up or come down by the stair-case I have described, without entering into any of the offices or apartments, and consequently without interfering with the business of the house.

The top of the house, which is always flat, is covered with a strong plaster of terrace; from whence, in the Frank language, it has attained the name of *the terrace*. This is usually surrounded by two walls, the outermost whereof is partly built over the street, partly makes the partition with the contiguous houses; being frequently so low, that one may easily climb over it. The other, which I shall call *the parapet wall*, hangs immediately over the court, being always breast high, and answers to the מעקה*, or *lorica*, Deut. xxii. 8. which we render *the battlements*. Instead of this parapet wall, some terraces are guarded, like the galleries, with balustrades only, or latticed work, in which fashion probably, as the name seems to import, was the שבכה, or *net*, or *lattice*, as we render it, that Ahaziah (2 Kings i. 2.) might be carelessly leaning over, when he fell down from thence into the court. For upon these terraces, several offices of the family are performed; such as the drying of linen and flax, Josh. ii. 6. the preparing of figs and raisins; where likewise they enjoy the cool refreshing breezes of the evening†, converse with one another, and offer up their devotions‡. In the feast of tabernacles, booths were erected upon them, Neh. viii. 16. As these terraces are thus frequently used and trampled upon, not to mention the solidity of the materials wherewith they are made, they will not easily permit any vegetable substances to take root or thrive upon them; which perhaps may illustrate the comparison, Isa. xxxvii. 27. of the Assyrians, and Psal. cxxix. 6. of the wicked, *to the grass upon the house-tops, which withereth before it is grown up*.

When any of these cities is built upon level ground, one may pass along the tops of the houses from one end of it to the other, without coming down into the street. Such in general is the manner and contrivance of these houses. If then it may be presumed that our Saviour, at the healing of the paralytic, was preaching in a house of this fashion, we may, by attending only to the structure of it, give no small light to one circumstance of that history, which has lately given great offence to some unbelievers. For among other pretended difficulties and absurdities relating to this fact, it has been urged §, that “as *the uncovering or breaking up of the roof*, Mark. ii. 4. or *the letting a person down through it*, Luke v. 19. supposes the breaking up of tiles, spars, rafters, &c. so it was well,” as the author goes on in his ludicrous manner, “if Jesus and his disciples escaped with only a broken pate, by the falling of the tiles, and if the rest were not smothered with dust.” But that nothing of this nature happened, will appear probable from a different construction that may be put upon the words in the original. For it may be observed with relation to the words of St. Mark, ἀπεσπασαν τὴν σκεπὴν ὑπὲρ

* “When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a *battlement* (מעקה) for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence,” Deut. xxii. 8. מעקה inde מעקה, quod, secundum Rabbi David in libro Radicum, erat ædificium quod faciebant in circuitu tecti (i. e. partis superioris domus, quæ erat plana) ne quis inde caderet: et erat altitudinis decem שמונים (i. e. palmorum) quæ est mensura quatuor digitorum super se positorum vel amplius. Vid. Pagn. Lex.

† “And it came to pass in an evening tide, that David rose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the King’s house,” 2 Sam. xi. 2. “So they spread Abshalom a tent upon the top of the house,” *ibid.* xvi. 22. “Samuel communed with Saul upon the top of the house,” 1 Sam. ix. 25. “Samuel called Saul to the top of the house,” ver. 26.

‡ “They that worship the host of heaven upon the house top,” Zeph. i. 5. “On the tops of the houses of Moab shall be howling,” Isa. xv. 3. “Peter went up upon the house top to pray,” Acts x. 9. &c.

§ Vid. Woolston’s four Disc. p. 57.

η, και εξορξαντες, &c. that as *σενή* (no less perhaps than *Tallio* *, the correspondent word in the Syriac version) will denote, with propriety enough, any kind of *covering*, the veil which I have mentioned, as well as a roof or cieling properly so called; so, for the same reason, *αποσειγειν* may signify the undoing or the removal only of such *covering*. *Εξορξαντες*, which we render *breaking up*, is omitted in the Cambridge MS. and not regarded in the Syriac and some other versions; the translators perhaps either not rightly comprehending the meaning of it, or finding the context clear without it. In St. Jerom's translation, the correspondent word is *patesfacientes*, as if *εξορξαντες* was further explanatory of *απεσειλασαν* the same in the Persian version is expressed by *quatuor angulis lectuli totidem funibus annexis*; as if *εξορξαντες* related either to the letting down of the bed, or, preparatory thereto, to the making holes in it for the cords to pass through. According to this explication, therefore, the context may run thus: *When they could not come at Jesus for the press, they got upon the roof of the house, and drew back the veil where he was*; or they laid open and uncovered that part of it especially which was spread over the place (*ἔπα νη*) where he was sitting, and having removed, and plucked away (according to St. Jerom), whatever might incommode them in their intended good office, or having tied (according to the Persian version) the four corners of the bed or bedstead with cords, where the sick of the palsy lay, they let it down before Jesus.

For that there was not the least force or violence offered to the roof, and consequently that *εξορξαντες*, no less than *απεσειλασαν*, will admit of some other interpretations than what have been given to them in our version, appears from the parallel place in St. Luke, where *δια των κεραμων καθηκαν αυτον*, *per tegulas demiserunt illum*, (which we translate, *they let him down through the tiling*, as if that had actually been broken up already), should be rendered, *they let him down over, along the side, or by the way of the roof*. For as *κεραμοι*, or *tegulae*, which originally perhaps denoted a roof of tiles, like those of the northern nations, were afterwards applied to the *tectum* † or *δωμα* in general, of what nature or structure soever they were, so the meaning of letting down a person into the house, *per tegulas*, or *δια των κεραμων*, can depend only upon the use of the preposition *δια*. Now, both in Acts ix. 26, *καθηκαν [αυτοι:] δια τα τειχη*, and 2 Cor. xi. 33. *εχαλασθη δια τη τειχη*, where the like phraseology is observed as in St. Luke, *δια* is rendered in both places *by*, that is, *along the side, or by the way of the wall*. By interpreting therefore *δια* in this sense, *δια των κεραμων καθηκαν αυτον* will be rendered, as above, *they let him down over, or by the way of, the wall*, just as we may suppose M. Anthony to have been, agreeable to a noted passage in Tully ‡. An action of the same nature seems to be likewise implied in what is related of Jupiter §, where he is said *sefe in hominem convertisse, atque per alienas tegulas venisse clanculum per implu-*

* Sc. a Heb. *לִלְוָה*, Arab. *Zilla*, he or it shaded, textit, obumbravit; unde Arab. *ʔil*, *ʔswade*, canopy, &c. umbra et tectum, laqueare, tabulatum, umbraculum. Vid. Car. Schaaf Lex. S. v. p. 214. 215. et Castell. Lexap. 1503. "They lifted up the roof," according to the import of the Syriac version, i. e. as Dionysius Syrus interprets it, "By art they found out a way to lift up the roof of the house, and easily to let down the bed in such a manner, that neither the timber nor dust might fall upon them, as many in these days have the cunning to do the same." Loftus' Translation, p. 17.

† Quemque in tegulis videritis alienum — videritis hominem in nostris tegulis, &c. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2. De tegulis modo nescio quis inspectavit vostrarum familiarium per nostrum impluvium intus apud nos Philocomasium, atque hospitem osculantis. Plaut. Mil. ii. 2. v. 7. Vir etiam, si aedes ejus [Flaminis Dialis] introierit, solvi necessum est; et vincula per impluvium in tegulas subduci, atque inde foras in viam dimitti. Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. x. 15. Quum tamen tu nocte socia, hortante libidine, cogente mercede, per tegulas demittere. Cic. 2 Phil. 45. Αυτο δε το τερος, η μονον οι νη κεραμον σπαραζουσιν, αλλα, &c. Jul. Poll. Onom. lib. vii. c. 33.

‡ Vid. not. ut supra.

§ Ter. Eun. iii. 5. 37.

vium. And of the snake which we learn *, *per impluvium decidisse de tegulis*. What Dr. Lightfoot also observes out of the Talmud, upon Mark ii. 4. will, by an alteration only of the preposition which answers to δια, further vouch for this interpretation. For, as it is there cited, “when Rabb Honna was dead, and his bier could not be carried out through the door, which was too strait and narrow, therefore” (in order, we may supply, to bury it) “[סביר שלשילי] they thought good to let it down” [ננירר] (i. e. not through the roof, or through the way of the roof, as the Doctor renders it, but) as in δια των κεραμυν, or δια τα τετραχαι, by the way, or over the roof, viz. by taking it upon the terrace, and letting it down by the wall that way into the street. We have a passage in Aulus Gellius † exactly of the same purport, where it is said, that if, “any person in chains should make his escape into the house of the Flamen Dialis, he should be forthwith loosed; and that his fetters should be drawn up through the *impluvium*, upon the roof or terrace, and from thence be let down into the highway or the street.”

When the use then of these phrases, and the fashion of these houses are rightly considered, there will be no reason to suppose that any breach was actually made in the *tegulae*, or κεραμυν; since all that was to be done in the case of the paralytic, was to carry him up to the top of the house, either by forcing their way through the crowd up the stair-case, or else by conveying him over some of the neighbouring terraces, and there, after they had drawn away the σενον, or veil, to let him down, along the side of the roof (through the opening, or *impluvium*) into the midst (of the court) before Jesus.

To most of these houses there is a smaller one annexed, which sometimes rises one story higher than the house; at other times it consists of one or two rooms only and a terrace; whilst others that are built, as they frequently are, over the porch or gateway, have, if we except the ground-floor, which they have not, all the conveniences that belong to the house, properly so called. There is a door of communication from them into the gallery of the house, kept open, or shut at the discretion of the master of the family; besides another floor, which opens immediately, from a privy stairs, down into the porch or street, without giving the least disturbance to the house. These back-houses, as we may call them, are known by the name of alec or oleah, for the house properly so called is dar or beet; and in them strangers are usually lodged and entertained; in them the sons of the family are permitted to keep their concubines; whither likewise the men are wont to retire from the hurry and noise of their families, to be more at leisure for meditation or diversions; besides the use they are at other times put to, in serving for wardrobes and magazines.

The עליה of the Scriptures being literally the same appellation with *Aulich* (Arab.) is accordingly so rendered in the Arabic version. We may suppose it then to have been a structure of the like contrivance. The little chamber † consequently that was built by the Shunamite for Elisha, whither, as the text instructs us, he retired at his pleasure, without breaking in upon the private affairs of the family, or being in his turn interrupted by them in his devotions; the summer-chamber of Eglon §, which, in the same manner with these, seems to have had privy stairs belonging to it, through

* Ter. Phorm. iv. 4. 47.

† Vid. Aul. Gell. ut supra.

‡ “Let us make a little chamber, I pray thee, on the wall; and let us set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick: and it shall be, when he cometh to us, that he shall turn in thither,” 2 Kings iv. 10.

§ “And Ehud came unto him (Eglon), and was sitting in a summer parlour, which he had for himself alone—then Ehud went forth through the porch,” Judg. iii. 20—23.

which Ehud escaped after he had revenged Israel upon that King of Moab; the chamber over the gate*, whither, for the greater privacy, David withdrew himself to weep for Absalom; the upper chamber, upon whose terrace Ahaz, for the same reason, erected his altars†; the inner chamber likewise, or, as it is better expressed in the original, *a chamber within a chamber*, where the young man, the prophet, anointed Jehu ‡—seem to have been all of them structures of the like nature and contrivance with these olees.

Besides, as עליה or עליית in the Hebrew text, and *Aulich* in the Arabic version, is expressed by ὑπερῶν in the LXXII; it may be presumed that the same word ὑπερῶν, where it occurs in the New Testament, implies the same thing. The upper chamber, therefore, or ὑπερῶν, where Tabitha was laid after her death §, and where Eutychus || also fell down from the third loft, where so many back houses or olees, as they are indeed so called in the Arabic version.

That ὑπερῶν denotes such a private apartment as one of these olees, (for garrets, from the flatness of these roofs, are not known in these climates,) seems likewise probable from the use of the word among the classic authors. For the ὑπερῶν, where Mercury and Mars carried on their amours ¶, and where Penelope kept herself** with the young virgins††, at a distance from the solicitations of their wooers, appear to carry along with them circumstances of greater privacy and retirement than are consistent with chambers in any other situation.

Nay, further; that עליה, *Aulich*, or ὑπερῶν could not barely signify a single chamber, *canaculum*, or dining room, but one of these contiguous or back houses, divided into several apartments, seems to appear from the circumstance of the altars which Ahaz erected upon the top of his עליה. For, besides the supposed privacy of his idolatry, which, upon account of the perpetual view and observation of the family, could not have been carried on undiscovered in any apartment of the house; I say, if this his עליה had been only one single chamber of the בית house, the roof of it would have been ascribed to the בית, and not to the עליה; which, upon this supposition, could only make one chamber of it. A circumstance of the like nature may probably be collected from the Arabic version of ὑπερῶν, Acts ix. 39. where it is not rendered *Aulich*, as in ver. 37. but *Girfat*; intimating perhaps that particular chamber of the *Aulich* where the damsel was laid. The falling likewise of Eutychus from the third loft (as the context seems to imply) of the ὑπερῶν, there being no mention made of an house, may likewise be received as a further proof of what I have been endeavouring to explain. For it has been already observed, that these olees are built in the same manner and with the like conveniences as the house itself; consequently what position soever the ὑπερῶν may be supposed to have from the seeming etymology of the name, will be applicable to the oleo as well as to the house.

The word ὑπερῶν will likewise admit of another interpretation in our favour; inasmuch as it denoteth not so much a chamber remarkable for the lofty situation of it, (as Eustathius ‡‡, and others after him give into,) but such a building as is erected upon

* “And the King was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept,” 2 Sam. xviii. 33.

† “And the altars that were upon the top of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the Kings of Judah had made,” 2 Kings xxiii. 12.

‡ 2 Kings ix. 2.

§ Acts ix. 36.

|| Acts xx. 8, 9. &c.

¶ Hom. Il. II. ver. 184. B. ver. 514.

** Hom. Odyss. o. ver. 515-16.

†† Athen. Deip. lib. ii. cap. 16. Eustath. in ver. 184. Il. II. p. 1054. et in Il. II. ver. 514. p. 272.

‡‡ Vid. note §, ut supra.

or beyond the walls or borders of another*; just as these oöces are actually contrived with regard to the **בֵּית** or *house*. Neither will this interpretation interfere with the high situation that **ὑπερφων** may be supposed to have, in being frequently joined with the words **αἰαεῖν** or **καταεῖν**. Because the going in or out of the **בֵּית** or *house*, whose ground-floor lies upon the same level with the street, could not be expressed by words of such import; whereas the oöces, being usually situated over the porch or gate-way, a small stair-case is to be previously mounted before we can be said properly to enter them; and consequently **αἰαεῖν** and **καταεῖν** are more applicable to structures in such a situation than to the house properly so called.

This method of building may further assist us in accounting for the particular structure of the temple or house of Dagon, Judg. xvi. and the great number of people that were buried in the ruins of it, by pulling down the two principal pillars that supported it. We read (ver. 27.) that about *three thousand persons were upon the roof, to behold while Sampson made sport, viz. to the scoffing and deriding Philistines*. Sampson therefore must have been in a court or area below; and consequently the temple will be of the same kind with the ancient **τεμενῆ**, or *sacred inclosures*, which were only surrounded either in part or on all sides with some plain or cloistered buildings. Several palaces and *dou-wānas*, as the courts of justice are called in these countries, are built in this fashion, where, upon their public festivals and rejoicings, a great quantity of sand is strewed upon the area for the pellowans or *wrestlers* to fall upon; whilst the roofs of these cloisters are crowded with spectators, to admire their strength and activity. I have often seen numbers of people diverted in this manner, upon the roof of the dey's palace at Algiers; which, like many more of the same quality and denomination, has an advanced cloister, *over against the gate of the palace*, (Esth. v. 1.) made in the fashion of a large pent-house, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else in the centre. In such open structures as these,

* Ὑπερφων pro ὑπερμῶν, cōtracte et Attice dicitur, ut παλῶν pro παλῶν. Diction componitur ab ὑπερ et ὦν, quod simbrum significat et extremitatem. Primam vero huius vocis originem ducunt a nomine οἰσῶν, ὡς αἰσῶν, atque ideo pro limbo accipi: ὡς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προέβαιον δεσμεύοντες τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κρατασπίδες, i. e. quod antiqui aliquid, de pellibus ovium extremis vestibus adiecerent. Hinc factum, ut pro quacunque extremitate, ima, summa, aut alia quavis accipitur. Car. Gerardi Annot. in Plutum Aristophanis, p. 83.

† It appears probable from the following circumstances, that the exercise of *wrestling*, as it is now performed by the Turks, is the very same that was anciently used in the Olympic games. For, besides the previous covering of the palaestra with sand, that the combatants might fall with more safety, they have their pellowan bashee, or *master-wrestler*, who, like the *Agonothetes* of old, is to observe, and superintend over the iura palaestrae, and to be the umpire in all disputes. The combatants, after they are anointed all over with oil; to render their naked bodies the more slippery, and less easily to be taken hold of, first of all look one another stedfastly in the face, as Diomedes or Ulysses does the palladium upon antique gems; then they run up to and retire from each other several times, using all the while a variety of antic and other postures, such as are commonly used in the course of the ensuing conflict. After this prelude, they draw nearer together, and challenge each other, by clapping the palms of their hands, first upon their own knees or thighs, then upon each other, and afterwards upon the palms of their respective antagonists. The challenge being thus given, they immediately close in and struggle with each other, striving with all their strength, art, and dexterity, which are often very extraordinary, who shall give his antagonist a fall, and become the conqueror. During these contests, I have often seen their arms, and legs, and thighs, to be twisted and linked together, (*catenate palaestrae*, as Propertius calls it), that they have both fallen down together, and left the victory dubious; too difficult sometimes for the pellowan bashee to decide. ΠΑΛΛΗ ΤΗ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΟΧ *a wrestler not to be thrown*, occurs in ancient inscriptions, Murat. tom. ii. p. 627. The *παλλη* therefore being thus acted in all the parts of it with open hands, might very properly, in contradistinction to the cestus, or boxing, receive its name, *απο τε παλαιου*, from struggling with open hands. We have a most lively picture of this ancient gymnastic exercise upon an antique urn, in Patin's *Imp. Roman. Numismatu*, p. 122. and likewise upon a coin of Trebonianus Gallus, the figure whereof is exhibited in *Faill. Numism. Imper. Graec.*

the bashaws, kadees, and other great officers, distribute justice, and transact the public affairs of their provinces. Here likewise they have their public entertainments, as the lords and others of the Philistines had in the house of Dagon. Upon a supposition therefore that in the house of Dagon there was a cloistered building of this kind, the pulling down the front or centre pillars which supported it, would alone be attended with the like catastrophe that happened to the Philistines.

Their mosques and sepulchres are other structures, which still remain undescribed. The first, which they pronounce Mesgjid *, are built exactly in the fashion of our churches, particularly of the Gothic taste †; where, instead of such seats and benches as we make use of, they only strew the floor with mats, upon which they perform the several stations, sittings, and prostrations that are enjoined in the ceremonies of their religion. Near the middle, particularly of the principal mosque of each city, there is erected a large pulpit, ballustrated round, with a few steps leading up to it. Upon these, (for I am told none are permitted to enter the pulpit itself, the mufti, or one of the im-ams, places himself every Friday, *the day of the congregation* ‡, as they call it, and from thence either explains some part or other of the Koran, or else exhorts the people to piety and good works. The wall of these mosques, which regards Mecca, and to which they direct themselves throughout the whole of their devotions, is called the Kiblah §, or the το αὐτοκείμενον, and in this wall there is commonly a nich, representing the presence, and at the same time the invisibility of the Deity ||. There is usually a minoret or square tower erected upon the opposite end of the mosque, with a flag-staff fixed upon the top of it; whither the muedin or *cryer* ascends at the appointed times of prayer, and after displaying a small flag, advertises the people thereof with a loud voice from each side of it. These minorets, and this method of calling the people to prayer, (for bells have been always an abomination to the Mahometans) are of great antiquity, and took place, as I am informed, as early as the 65th year of the hejira. These places of the Mahometan worship, the sanctuaries of their marabouts, the mufties, the im-ams ¶, and other persons respectively belonging to them, are maintained out of certain revenues ** arising from the rents of lands and houses, which have been either left by will or set apart by the public for those uses.

When a funeral is solemnized, it is usual to bring the corpse, at the afternoon prayers, to one or other of these mosques; from whence it is accompanied by the greatest part of the congregation to the grave. Upon these occasions their processions are not slow and solemn, as in most parts of Christendom; the whole company making what haste

* i. e. *The place of humiliation*, from Sajada. *he prostrated himself*, [Heb. שָׁגַד] humiliavit se, procubuit: *pec. reverentia ergo. spec. frontem imponens terræ, ad communistrandam supplicis animi dejectionem atque abnegationem sui.* Vid. Gol. in voce.

† The Goths, perhaps, when masters of Spain, might have learnt this method of building from the Moors; and from thence have communicated it in their conquests or migration over most parts of Europe.

‡ i. e. *The church or place where the people meet together*, so called from Jumaa, *'gathered together, collegit, congregavit, &c.* When there are several mosques in one city, the largest is called the Jimmah, and, sometimes El Jimmah kibeerah, *the great or mother church*, in which their public devotions, &c. are usually performed on Fridays.

§ From Kuble, *opposite*, e regione oppositus fuit, &c. Vid. Gol. & note, p. 32. The temple of Jerusalem was the Jewish Kiblah, as we are informed from these expressions, 1 Kings viii. 38. 42. 44. 48. of *stretching out their hands towards that house*, and of *praying towards that house*, and of Daniel's *praying towards Jerusalem*, vi. 10.

|| Vid. Maund. Trav. to Jerusalem, p. 15. edit. Oxon.

¶ *I-mim, em-am, or im-am* præses, antecessor, quem alii sectantur ac imitantur: peculiariter qui præit populo sacros ritus et sacrorum antistes. Vid. Gol. in voce.

** These they call Hab-ouse, i. e. *Things set apart for pious uses.*

they can, and singing, as they go along, some select verses of their Koran. That absolute submission which they pay to the will of God, allows them not to use any consolatory words upon these solemnities; no loss or misfortune is to be regretted. Instead likewise of such expressions of sorrow and condolence as may regard the deceased, the compliments turn upon the person who is the most nearly related, Berka se rassick, say his friends; i. e. *A blessing be upon your head.*

If we except a few persons, who are buried within the precincts of the sanctuaries of their marabbutts, the rest are carried out at a small distance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for that purpose. Each family has a proper portion of it, walled in like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained undisturbed for many generations. For in these inclosures *, the graves are all distinct and separate; each of them having a stone placed upright, both at the head and feet, inscribed with the name or title, (2 Kings xxiii. 17.) of the deceased; whilst the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stone, or paved with tiles. The graves of the principal citizens are further distinguished, by having cupolas, or vaulted chambers, of three, four, or more yards square built over them; and as these very frequently lie open, and occasionally shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, the demoniac (Mark i. 3.) might with propriety enough have had his dwelling among tombs; as others are said, Isa. lxv. 4. *to remain among the graves, and to lodge in the monuments.* And as all these different sorts of tombs and sepulchres, with the very walls likewise of their respective cupolas and inclosures, are constantly kept clean, white-washed, and beautified, they continue to illustrate those expressions of our Saviour, where he mentions the garnishing of the sepulchres, Mat. xxiii. 29. and (ver. 27.) where he compares the Scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites, *to whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.* After the funeral is over, the female† relations, during the space of two or three months, go once a week to weep over the grave and perform their parentalia ‡.

§ 6.—Of the Habitations of the Bedoween Arabs and Kabyles.

HAVING thus described the several buildings peculiar to the cities and towns of this country, let us now take a view of the habitations of the Bedoweens and Kabyles. Now, the Bedoweens, as their great ancestors, the Arabians, did before them, Isa. xiii. 20. live in tents called hhymas §, from the shelter which they afford the inhabitants; and beet el shaar, i. e. *houses of hair*, from the materials or webs of goats hair, whereof they are made. They are the very same which the ancients called mapalia ||; and being then, as they are to this day, secured from the weather by a covering only

* These seem to be the same with the περιβολοι of the ancients. Thus Euripides Troad. ver. 1141.

Αλλ' αὐτὶ κίθον περιβολῶν τε λαῖων
 Ἐν τῇδε θαλάσῃ παιδα.

† Notatum fuit in omnibus sacris, foeminini generis victimas esse potiores. Vid. Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Diet. l. iii. c. 12. De parentalibus s. cœnis ferialibus.

‡ Convivia quæ in parentum aut propinquorum funere fieri consueverunt. Vid. Alex. ab Alex. ut supra. Lex. Petisc.

§ Sc. a Khamâ, he pitched a tent, operuit locum umbræ captandæ ergo, &c. Vid. Gol. in voce.

|| Qualia Maurus amat dispersa mapalia Pastor. Sil. Ital. lib. xvii 90.

Et solitus vacuis errare mapalibus Afer

Venator.

Lucan. l. iv 684.

Familix aliquot (Numidarum) cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis (ea pecunia illis est) persecuti sunt regem Liv. l. xxix. § 31. Numidas positus mapalibus confedisse. Tac. Ann. l. iv. § 25.

of such hair-cloth as our coal sacks are made of, might very justly be described by Virgil to have, *rara tecta, thin roofs*. The colour of them is beautifully alluded to, Cant. i. 5. "I am black, but comely like the tents of Kedar." For nothing certainly can afford a more delightful prospect, than a large extensive plain, whether in its verdure, or even scorched up by the sun-beams, than those moveable habitations pitched in circles upon them. When we find any number of these tents together, (and I have seen from three to three hundred), then, as it has been already taken notice of in the *Preface*, they are usually placed in a circle, and constitute a *douwar*. The fashion of each tent is of an oblong figure, not unlike the bottom of a ship turned upside down, as Sallust * has long ago described them. However, they differ in bigness, according to the number of people who live in them; and are accordingly supported, some with one pillar, others with two or three, whilst a curtain or carpet let down upon occasion from each of these divisions, turns the whole into so many separate apartments. These tents are kept firm and steady, by bracing or stretching down their eves with cords, tied to hooked wooded pins, well pointed, which they drive into the ground with a mallet; one of these pins answering to the *nail*, as the mallet does to the *hammer*, which Jael used in *fastening to the ground the temples of Sisera*, Judg. iv. 21. The pillars which I have mentioned are straight poles, eight or ten feet high, and three or four inches in thickness; serving not only to support the tent itself, but being full of hooks fixed there for the purpose, the Arabs hang upon them their clothes, baskets, saddles, and accoutrements of war. Holofernes, as we read in Judith, xiii. 16. made the like use of the pillar of his tent, by hanging his fauchion upon it; where it is called *the pillar of the bed*, from the custom perhaps that has always prevailed in these countries of having the upper end of the carpet, mattress, or whatever else they lie upon, turned from the skirts of the tent towards the centre of it. But the [καλυπτριον] *canopy*, as we render it, ver. 9. should, I presume, be rather called *the gnat, or musceta net*, which is a close curtain of gauze or fine linen, used all over the east, by people of better fashion, to keep out the flies. But the Arabs have nothing of this kind, who, in taking their rest, lie stretched out upon the ground, without bed, mattress, or pillow, wrapping themselves up only in their hykes, and lying, as they find room, upon a mat or carpet, in the middle or in the corner of the tent. Those indeed who are married, have each of them a portion of the tent to themselves, cantoned off with a curtain; the rest accommodate themselves as conveniently as they can, in the manner I have described. The description which Mela† and Virgil have left us of the manner of living, and of the decampments among the Libyan shepherds, ever to the circumstance of carrying along with them their faithful domestic animals, are as justly drawn up, as if they had made their observations at this time.

Quid tibi pastores Libyæ, quid pascua versu
 Prosequar, et raris habitata mapalia tectis?
 Sæpe diem noctemque et totum ex or line mensem
 Pascitur, itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis
 Hospitiis: tantum campi jacet: omnia secum
 Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque, laremque
 Armaque, Amyclæumque canem, Crællamque pharetram.

Georg. iii. ver. 339.

From the *dou-wars* of the *Bedoweens*, who live chiefly in the plains, we are to ascend to the mountainous *dashkrah*s of the *Kabyles*, which consist of a number of

* *Ædificia Numidarum, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ essent.* Sall. Bell. Jug. § 21.

† Vid. *Excerpta* ex P. Mela.

*gurbies**, as the *dou-wars* do of *hhymas*. These *gurbies* are generally raised either with hurdles, daubed over with mud, or else they are built out of the materials of some adjacent ruins, or else with square cakes of clay, baked in the sun. The roofs are covered with straw or turf, supported by reeds or branches of trees. There is rarely more than one chamber in the largest of them, which serves for a kitchen, dining-room, and bed-chamber; besides one corner of it that is reserved, as I should have mentioned also in the *hhymas*, for their foles, calves, and kids. As these hovels are always fixed and immovable, they are undoubtedly what the ancients called *magalia* †; and therefore Carthage itself, before the time of Dido, was nothing more than one of these *dashkras* ‡.

The *Kabyles*, from their situation § and language, (for all the rest of the country speak the Arabic tongue) seem to be the only people of these kingdoms who can bear the least relation to the ancient Africans. For notwithstanding the great variety of conquests, to which the low and cultivated parts of this country have been so often subject, yet it is more than probable, that all or the greater part of the mountainous districts were, from their rugged situation, in a great measure left free and unmolested. Whilst the *Nomades* therefore of the plains, and the inhabitants of such cities and villages as were of easy access, submitted by degrees to the loss of their old language, and to the introduction of such new laws and customs as were consequent upon these invasions; those who retired to the mountains, and there formed themselves into *kabyleah*, i. e. *clans*, may be supposed to have been the least acquainted with those novelties. It may be farther urged, that as they would be hereby obliged to converse chiefly among themselves, so, for the same reason, they would continue to be much the same people, and in all probability preserve their original language, without any considerable alteration. But what this was, he must be a very bold conjecturer, who can, at this distance of time, pretend to ascertain. The *Carthaginians*, no doubt, who possessed all this country ||, must, in consequence of their many conquests and colonies, have in some measure introduced their own language; a specimen whereof is still preserved in the *Pœnulus* of *Plautus* ¶. Other and greater changes and alterations likewise must have been introduced, by the successive invasions of the *Romans*, *Vandals*, *Arabs*, and *Turks*. However, the following, which may be presumed to be some of the primitive words in the *Showiah* **, as the language of the *Kabyles* is called at present, do not seem to have the least affinity with those words, which convey the same meaning in the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues. For, among many others, *thamurt*, *arghaz*, *thamtuth*, *tigarum*, *ak'um*, &c. their names for *earth*, *man*, *woman*, *bread*, *flesh*, &c. will scarce be found to be derivations from those languages, notwithstanding the learned authors of the *Universal History* are of another opinion. But the reader is referred to the vocabulary of this language, as it is inserted among the *Collectanea*.

* *Gellio Doxius cœli filius, lutei ædificii inventor, placet exemplo sumpto ab hirundinum nidis.* *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 56.*

† *Magalia dicta quasi magaria, quod magar Punici novam villam dicunt.* *Isidor. Orig. l. xv. c. 12.* *Vid. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 24.* *Magalia quæ a vallo castrorum Magar vel Magul instar villarum fixæ erant, &c.* *Vid. cl. Wassei not. in Sall. Bell. Jug. p. 285.*

‡ *Miratur molim Æneas, magalia quondam.* *Æn. i. 425.*

§ *Vid. p. 5. 59. 59, &c.*

|| *Vid. Boch. Chan. in Præfat.*

¶ *Ibid. l. ii. c. 1.*

** The language of the mountaineers in S. W. Barbary is called *Shillah*, differing in some words from the *Showiah*; but the meaning of the names I could never learn, unless perhaps they were called after some considerable clans, who were either the authors or conservators of them.

§ 7.—Of their Manufactures, Dress, or Habits.

AFTER this description of the different habitations of the Arabs and Kabyles, we may now take notice of their respective employments therein, by giving an account of their manufactures; which indeed, like their oil, hides, wool, and wax, are chiefly consumed at home, and rarely permitted to be exported to foreign markets. Carpets, which are much coarser than those from Turkey, are made here in great numbers, and of all sizes. At Algiers and Tunis, there are looms for veivets, taffitees, and different sorts of wrought silks. Coarse linen is likewise made in most of the cities and villages, though Sufa is noted for producing the finest. Yet both the silks and linen are so inconsiderable in quantity, that the deficiencies are often to be supplied from the Levant and Europe. But the chief branch of their manufactories, is, the making of *hykes**, or blankets, as we should call them. The women alone are employed in this work, (as Andromache and Penelope were of old), who do not use the shuttle, but conduct every thread of the wool with their fingers. These hykes are of different sizes, and of different qualities and fineness. The usual size of them is six yards long, and five or six feet broad, serving the Kabyle and Arab for a complete dress in the day, and, *as they sleep in their raiment*, as the Israelites did of old, Deut. xxiv. 13. it serves likewise for his bed and covering by night. It is a loose, but troublesome garment, being frequently disconcerted and falling upon the ground; so that the person who wears it, is every moment obliged to tuck it up, and fold it anew about his body. This shews the great use there is of a girdle, whenever they are concerned in any active employment; and in consequence thereof, the force of the Scripture injunction, alluding thereunto, *of having our loins girded*†, in order to set about it. The method of wearing these garments‡, with the use they are at other times put to, in serving for coverlids to their beds, should induce us to take the finer sorts of them at least, such as are worn by the ladies and persons of distinction, to be the peplus of the ancients. Ruth's veil, which held six measures of barley, (Ruth iii. 15.) might be of the like fashion, and have served extraordinarily for the same use; as were also the clothes (τα ἱματια, *the upper garments*) of the Israelites, Exod. xii. 13. wherein they folded up their kneading-troughs; as the Moors, Arabs, and Kabyles do to this day things of the like burden and incumbrance in their hykes. Their burnooses also are often used upon these occa-

* Probably derived from Howk, *texuit*.

† Thus περιζωννυμι is used, Luke xvii. 8. Acts xii. 8. Eph. vi. 14. Rev. i. 13. and xv. 6. And αναζωννυμι, 1 Pet. i. 13. 2 Kings iv. 29. and ix. 1. &c. Επιζωννυμι joined with ἱματια, Heb. xii. 1. i. e. *Sim, which is so well fitted to gird us in*, is also well illustrated by the fashion and manner of wearing these garments.

‡ J. Pollux (l. vii. c. 13.) describes the use of the πεπλος to be ἐνδύειν τε καὶ ἐπιδέναι, *ad induendum et inferendum*; and in the latter of these significations it is used by Homer, l. i. ver. 124.

— Λαβὴν δὲ πεπλοῦ
Πεπτανται.

The scholiast upon Il. v. ver. 734. makes the peplus to be a garment that was fitted to the body by a fibula, just as the hyke is, *or* (says he) ἢ καὶ ἐνδύοντο ἀλλὰ περιζωννυτο; and so Callimach. in Lavacr. Pallad. ver. 70.

Δὲ ποτὶ γὰρ πεπλον ἱδραμνα περὶσσεύς.

Lutatius upon Statius' Thebais, ver. 101. calls it *vestis candida*. That it was also a large garment, hanging down to the feet, &c. appears from the following epithets that are given to it by the ancients. Thus Euripides (in Bacch. ver. 40.) calls them πεπλοὶ ποδηγεῖς. Æschylus (in Choeph. ver. 1000.) ποδισχερὲς πεπλούς. Homer (in Il. 2. ver. 442.) ἑλισσιπεπλούς; and again, Od. Δ. ver. 305. ταυυπεπλον.

sions. It is very probable likewise, that the loose folding garment, the toga* of the Romans, was of this kind. For if the drapery of their statues is to instruct us, this is actually no other than the dress of the Arabs, when they appear in their hykes. The plaid of the Highlanders in Scotland is the very same.

Instead of the fibula, that was used by the Romans, the Arabs join together with thread or with a wooden bodkin, the two upper corners of this garment; and after having placed them first over one of their shoulders, they then fold the rest of it about their bodies. The outer fold serves them frequently instead of an apron; wherein they carry herbs, leaves, corn, &c. and may illustrate several allusions made thereto in Scripture; as *gathering the lap full of wild gourds*, 2 Kings iv. 39. *rendering seven fold, giving good measure into the bosom*. Psal. lxxix. 12. Luke vi. 38. *shaking the lap*. Neh. v. 13. &c.

The burnoose, which answers to our cloak, is often, for warmth, worn over these hykes. This too is another great branch of their woollen manufactory. It is wove in one piece, and shaped exactly like the garment of the little god Telesphorus; viz. strait about the neck, with a cape or Hippocrates' sleeve, for a cover to the head, and wide below like a cloak. Some of them likewise are fringed round the bottom, like Parthenaspa's and Trajan's garment upon the basso relievo's of Constantine's arch †. The burnoose, without the cape, seems to answer to the Roman pallium ‡; and with it, to the bardocucullus §.

If we except the cape of the burnoose, which is only occasionally used during a shower of rain, or in very cold weather, several Arabs and Kabyles go bare-headed all the year long, as Massinissa did of old ||, binding their temples only with a narrow fillet, to prevent their locks from being troublesome. As the ancient diadema ¶ might originally serve for this purpose, so it appears, from busts and medals, to have been of no other fashion. But the Moors and Turks, with some of the principal Arabs, wear upon the crown of the head, a small hemispherical cap of scarlet cloth, another great branch of their woollen manufactory. The turban, as they call a long narrow web of linen, silk or muslin, is folded round the bottom of these caps, and very properly distinguishes, by the number and fashion of the folds, the several orders and degrees of soldiers, and sometimes of citizens, one from another. We find the same dress and ornament of the head, the tiara as it was called, upon a number of medals, statues, and basso relievos of the ancients **. Under

* Toga dicta, quod velamento sui corpus tegat atque operiat. Est autem pallium purum forma rotunda et fusiore, et, quasi inundante sinu et sub dextro veniens super humerum sinistrum ponitur: cujus similitudinem in operimentis simulachrorum vel picturarum aspicimus, easque statuas Togatas vocamus. Mensura togæ justæ, si sex ulnas habeat. Ibid. Orig. l. xix. c. 24.

† Vid. Veteres Arcus Augustorum, &c. antiquis nummis, notisque Jo. Petri Bellorii illustrati, &c. Rom. 1670. tab. xxiv. xxviii. xxxviii. &c.

‡ Pallium (ἡματιον) quia palam gestetur: quod palam sit et foris: sub eo enim Tunica fovebatur, &c. Vid. Steph. Thes. Ling. Lat.

§ Penulæ Gallicæ genus, quæ cucullum habet. Hinc Martial. l. xiv. 178.

Gallia Santonica vestit te bardocucullo.

Vid. Raynaud. de Pil. § 15. Ferrar. de Re Vest. ii. 1. 21. Salm. Exercit. Plin. p. 392. Vossii Lex. Etym. vel Lex Pitisc.

|| Arbitror te audire, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Massinissa, quæ faciat hodie nonaginta annos natus: cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere: cum equo, ex equo non descendere: nullo frigore adduci, ut capite aperto sit, &c. Cic. de Senectute.

¶ Diadema erat fascia candida, quæ regum capitibus obligabatur. Cæsar. l. xxiv. c. 6.

** Quantum genus vestimenti est rotundum pileolum, quale pictum in Ulyssæo conspicimus quasi. sphaera media sit divisa: et pars una ponatur in capite: hoc Græci et nostri *παγαρι*, nonnulli Galerum vocat, Hebræi

Under the hyke, some wear a close-bodied frock or tunic (a jillebba they call it), with or without sleeves, which differs little from the Roman tunica, or habit in which the constellation *Boötes* is usually painted. The *χιτων*, or coat of our Saviour, which *was woven without seam from top throughout*, John xix. 23. might be of the like fashion. This too, no less than the hyke is to be girded about their bodies, especially when they are engaged in any labour, exercise, or employment; at which times they usually throw off their burnoosees and hykes, and remain only in these tunics. And of this kind probably was the habit wherewith our Saviour might still be clothed, when he is said to lay aside his garments, (*ἔκλυτον* pallium sc. et peplum, or burnoose and hyke, John xiii. 4.) and to take a towel and gird himself; as was likewise the *fisher's coat* * (John xxi. 7.) which St. Peter girded about him, when he is said to be naked; or what the same person, at the command of the angel, (Acts xii. 8.) might have girded upon him, before he is enjoined to cast his garment (*ἔκλυτον*) about him. Now, the hyke, or burnoose, or both, being probably at that time (*ἔκλυτον* or *ἔκλυτον*) the proper dress, cloathing or habit of the eastern nations, as they still continue to be of the Kabyles and Arabs, when they laid them aside, or appeared without one or the other, they might very probably be said to be undressed, or naked †, according to the eastern manner of expression. This same convenient and uniform shape of these garments, that are made to fit all persons, may well illustrate a variety of expressions and occurrences in Scripture, which, to ignorant persons, too much misled by our own fashions, may seem difficult to account for. Thus, among many other instances, we read that *the goodly raiment of Esau was put upon Jacob*; that *Jonathan stripped himself of his garments*; and *the best robe was brought out, and put upon the prodigal son*; and that *raiment, and changes of raiment*, are often given, and immediately put on, (as they still continue to be in these eastern nations), without such previous and occasional alterations, as would be required amongst us in the like distribution or exchange of garments.

The girdles, which have been occasionally mentioned before, are usually of worsted, very artfully woven into a variety of figures, such as the *rich girdles* of the *virtuous virgins* may be supposed to have been, Prov. xxxi. 24. They are made to fold several times about the body; one end of which being doubled back, and sewn along the edges, serves them for a purse, agreeable to the acceptation of the *ζωνή* ‡ in the Scriptures. The Turks make a further use of these girdles, by fixing therein their knives and poinards §; whilst the *hojas*, i. e. the *writers* and *secretaries*, suspend in the same their inkhorns ||; a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel, (ix. 2.) who mentions a *person clothed in white linen, with an inkhorn upon his reins*.

It

Hebræi מצנפת *Miznepheth*. Non habet acumen in summo, nec totum usque ad comam caput tegit, sed tertiam partem a fronte inopertam relinquit, &c. Hieronym. de Veste Sacerdot. ad Solam.

* The original word is *ἐκδύτης*, which the Vulgate renders *tunica*; others, *uniculum*, *inducium*, *superilicium*, &c. from *ἐκδύωμαι*, *superinduo*. Vid Leigh's Critica Sacra, p. 149.

† To be *naked*, is the same as to be *ill-clothed*, according to Seneca; 'Qui male vestitum et pannosum vidit, nudum se vidisse dicit,' says he, De Benef. l. v. 13. What P. Melancthon also says of the Germans, 'Plerumque nudos egisse;' the same is expressed by Tacitus, by 'Rejecta veste superiore;' i. e. the *ἔκλυτον*, or what answers to the *hyke* or *burnoose* above described. David also (2 Sam. vi. 14. 20.) is said to be *naked*, when he had on a linen ephod.

‡ Which in Matt. x. 9. and Mark vi. 8. we render a *purse*.

§ The poinard of the Arab is made crooked, like the *copis* or *harp* of the ancients. Q. Curt. l. iii. de Reb. Alex. 'Copidas vocant gladios leviter curvatos falcibus similes.' Bonarotie Pref. in Dempff. Hetrur. Regal. 'Brevi gladius in arcum curvatus harpe dictus.'

|| That part of these inkhorns (if an instrument of brass may be so called) which passes betwixt the girdle and the tunic, and holds their pens, is long and flat; but the vessel for the ink, which rests upon the

It is customary for the Turks and Moors to wear shirts of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath the tunic; but the Arabs wear nothing but woollen. There is a ceremony indeed in some dou-wars, which obliges the bridegroom and the bride to wear each of them a shirt at the celebration of their nuptials; but then, out of a strange kind of superstition, they are not afterwards to wash them, or put them off whilst one piece hangs to another. The sleeves of these shirts are wide and open, without folds at the neck or wrist, as ours have; thereby preventing the flea and the louse from being commodiously lodged: those, particularly of the women, are oftentimes of the richest gauze, adorned with different coloured ribbands, interchangeably sewed to each other.

Neither are the Bedoweens accustomed to wear drawers; a habit notwithstanding which the citizens of both sexes constantly appear in, especially when they go abroad or receive visits. The virgins are distinguished from the matrons, in having their drawers made of needle-work, striped silk or linen, just as Tamar's garment is described, 2 Sam. xiii. 18. But when the women are at home and in private, then their hykes are laid aside, and sometimes their tunics; and instead of drawers, they bind only a towel* about their loins. A Barbary matron, in her undress, appears like Silanus in the Admiranda†.

When these ladies appear in public, they always fold themselves up so closely in these hykes, that even without their veils, we could discover very little of their faces. But, in the summer months, when they retire to their country-seats, they walk abroad with less caution; though, even then, upon the approach of a stranger, they always drop their veils, as Rebekah did upon the sight of Isaac, Gen. xxiv. 65. They all affect to have their hair, the *instrument of their pride*, (Isa. xxii. 12.) hang down to the ground, which, after they have collected into one lock, they bind and plait it with ribbands; a piece of finery disapproved of by the apostle, 1 Pet. iii. 3. Where nature has been less liberal in this ornament, there the defect is supplied by art, and foreign hair is procured to be interwoven with the natural. Absalom's hair, *which was sold* (2 Sam. xiv. 26.) *for two hundred shekels*, might have been applied to this use. After the hair is thus plaited, they proceed to dress their heads, by tying above the lock I have described, a triangular piece of linen, adorned with various figures in needle-work. This, among persons of better fashion, is covered with a *farmah*, as they call it, (of the like sound with *השהרנים*, Isa. iii. 18.) which is made in the same triangular shape, of thin flexible plates of gold or silver, artfully cut through, and engraven in imitation of lace, and might therefore answer to the *moon-like ornament* mentioned above. A handkerchief of crape, gauze, silk, or painted linen, bound close over the farmah, and falling afterwards carelessly upon the favourite lock of hair, completes the head-dress of the Moorish ladies.

But none of these ladies think themselves completely dressed, till they have tinged their eyelids with Al-ka-hol‡, i. e. *the powder of lead ore*. And as this is performed
by

the girdle, is square, with a lid to clasp over it. They make no use of quills, but of small reeds (*calami*), which they cut into the same shape with our pens; and, in the country villages, no less than among the Kabyles and Arabs, where galls, copperas, &c. are not to be procured, they make ink of wool calcined into powder, which they mix afterwards with water.

* This is called both in Barbary and the Levant, a *footah*, which Camus (in Golius) makes to be a Persian word, denoting *genus vestis striata*, ex Sindia deportari solitum. pec. *præcinctorium*.

† Vid. Admirand. Roman. Antiq. tab. XLIV.

‡ This word is rendered by Golius, and others, *sibium*, antimonii species, and sometimes *collyrium*. The Heb. (כחל) *cabbol* hath the same interpretation; and the verb כחלת joined with עיניך, Ezek. xxiii.

by first dipping into this powder a small wooden bodkin, of the thickness of a quill, and then drawing it afterwards through the eye-lids, over the ball of the eye, we have a lively image of what the prophet (Jer. iv. 30.) may be supposed to mean by *renting the eyes* (not, as we render it, with *painting*, but) with פוך *lead ore*. The sooty colour which is thus communicated to the eyes, is thought to add a wonderful gracefulness to persons of all complexions. The practice of it, no doubt, is of the greatest antiquity; for, besides the instance already taken notice of,* we find that when Jezebel is said (2 Kings ix. 30.) to have painted her face, the original words are כפוך עיניה, i. e. *she adjusted (or set off) her eyes with the powder of pouk, or lead ore*. So likewise Ezekiel xxiii. 40. is to be understood. Karan nappuc, i. e. the horn of *pouk* or *lead ore*, the name of Job's youngest daughter, was relative to this custom and practice. The Latin appellation, *fucus*, is a derivative also from the same. Neither was this custom used by other eastern nations only*, but by the Greeks also and Romans†. Among other curiosities likewise that were taken out of the catacombs at Sahara, relating to the Egyptian women, I saw a joint of the common reed, or *donax*, which contained one of these bodkins, and an ounce or more of this powder, agreeable to the fashion and practice of these times.

§ 8.—Of their Provisions and Cookery.

PROVISIONS of all kinds are very cheap. A large piece of bread, a bundle of turnips, and a small basket of fruit, may each of them be purchased for an asper, i. e. for the six hundred and ninety-sixth part of a dollar; which is not the quarter of one of our farthings. Fowls are frequently bought for a penny or three-halfpence a piece, a full grown sheep for three shillings and sixpence, and a cow and a calf for a guinea. A bushel of the best wheat likewise is usually sold for fifteen, seldom so dear as eighteen-pence; which is a great blessing and advantage, inasmuch as they, no less than the eastern nations in general, are great eaters of bread‡; it being computed that three persons in four live entirely upon it, or else upon such compositions § as are

xxiii. 40. is rendered, *Thou paintedst thy eyes*. פוך is taken in the like signification, being rendered *antimonium, sibi*, quo ad tingenda nigrore cilia, seu ad venustandos oculos, peculiariter utebantur, color fulniger ex pulveribus sibi confectus. Schindl Lex. St. Jerom likewise, upon these words, אבנין פוך, Isa. liv. 11 which we render, *(I will lay) thy stones with fair colours*, takes notice, Quod omnes, præter LXX. similiter transulerunt: viz. (sternam) in sibi lapides tuos, in similitudinem compe mulieris, quæ oculos pingit sibi ut pulchritudinem significet civitatis. פוך therefore, כחל, and Kubeel, denoting the same mineral substance or *collyrium*, it may be presumed, that what is called to this day *Ka-hol*, (which is a rich lead ore, pounded into an impalpable powder), was the mineral which they always made use of.

* Οὐρανὸς δὲ (Cyrus) αὐτῶν (Attyagem) καλοσημασμένον καὶ οὐδαμῶν τι οὐρανῶν, καὶ χρυσάτου ἐντρίψας, καὶ κυμαῖς προσδεδίταις, &c. Xenoph. de Cyr. Inst. l. i. § 11. Τούτῃ μοι ἐκείναι αἱ χρυσάται γυναικες, τῶν Πλοκαμῶν τὰς ἐνδύμασιν ἀσκασαι, χρυσάτα τι ποιεῖν καὶ τι οὐρανῶν οὐδαμῶν, καὶ βράβυς μετὰ τριχῶν, &c. Cl. Alex. Ed. l. iii. c. 2.

† Vis Stibii principalis circa oculos; namque ideo etiam plerique Platyophthalmos id appellavere (Dioscorid. l. iii. c. 99.) quoniam in calthlepharis mulierum dilatet oculos. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 6.

‡ Δηρῆται δὲ ἑκατάκις ἈΠΟΦΑΙΟΥΣ φῶσιν ἡμέαι, καλλήναις σφαινοτάς. Athen. Deip. l. x. p. 418. ed Dalechamp. Malinissa likewise agreeable no doubt to the custom of the Namidians at that time is mentioned by Polybius (Frag. p. 1000. ed. Casaub.) as eating (συπαζον ἄρτον) *brown bread* very favourably at his tent door.

§ Cuscawowe, i. e. the chiefest of these compositions, is well described in Phil. Trans. No. 254. and in Lowth. Abridg. vol. iii. p. 626. When the grains of cuscawowe are large, then the composition is called hamza. What they call doweeda, is the same with vermezelli; as their bag-reah differs not much from our pancakes, only that instead of rubbing the ta-jen, or pan wherein they fry them with butter, they here rub it with soap to make them honey-comb.

made of barley or wheat flour. Frequent mention is made of this simple diet in the Holy Scriptures*, where the flesh of animals, though sometimes indeed it may be included in the *eating of bread*, or making a meal, is not often recorded.

In cities and villages, where there are public ovens, the bread is usually leavened; but among the Bedowcens and Kabyles, as soon as the dough is kneaded, it is made into thin cakes, either to be baked immediately upon the coals, or else in a *tajen*†. Such were the *unleavened cakes* which we so often read of in Scripture; such likewise were the *cakes* which *Sarah made quickly upon the hearth*, Gen. xviii. 6. .

Most families grind their wheat and barley at home, having two portable mill-stones for that purpose; the uppermost whereof is turned round by a small handle of wood or iron that is placed in the rim. When this stone is large, or expedition is required, then a second person is called in to assist; and as it is usual for the women alone to be concerned in this employment, who seat themselves over against each other, with the mill-stones between them, we may see not only the propriety of the expression, Exod. xi. 5. of sitting *behind the mill*, but the force of another, Matt. xxiv. 40. that *two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken and the other left*. The custom which these women have of singing, during the time they are thus employed, is the same with what is related in an expression of Aristophanes, viz. τὰς ἀλέσας. ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῶν, as it is preserved by Athenæus‡.

Besides several different sorts of fricasees, and of roasted, boiled, and forced meats, (the first and best of which are always high-seasoned, and very-savoury, Gen. xxvii. 4.) the richer part of the Turks and Moors, mix up a variety of dishes with almonds, dates, sweetmeats, milk, and honey, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. I have seen at some of their festivals, more than two hundred dishes, whereof forty at least were of different kinds. But among the Bedowcens and Kabyles, there are neither utensils nor conveniences for such entertainments; two or three wooden bowls, with a pot and a kettle, being the whole kitchen furniture of the greatest prince or *emcer*.

All the several orders and degrees of these people, from the Bedoween to the Bashaw, eat in the same manner; first washing their hands, and then sitting themselves down cross-legged§, their usual posture of sitting, round about a mat, (Psal. cxxviii. 3. 1 Sam. xvi. 11.) or a low table, where their dishes are placed. No use is made of a table-cloth; each person contenting himself with the share of a long towel that is carelessly laid round about the mat or table. Knives and spoons likewise are of little service; for their animal food, being always well roasted or boiled, requires no carving. The cucumbers, pilloe, and other dishes also, which we should reckon among spoon-meats, are served up, in the same manner, in a degree of heat little

* Gen. xviii. 6. and 1 Sam. xxviii. 22. "I will fetch a morsel of bread." Ch. xxi. 14. "And Abraham took bread, and a bottle of water, and gave it unto Hagar." Chap. xxxvii. 25. "They sat down to eat bread." Chap. xliii. 31. "And Joseph said, Set on bread." Exod. ii. 20. "Call him, that he may eat bread." Ch. xvi. 3. "We did eat bread to the full." Deut. ix. 9. "I neither did eat bread, nor drink water." 1 Sam. xxviii. 20. "Saul had eaten no bread all the day," &c.

† This is a shallow earthen vessel, like a frying-pan, made use of not only for this, but other purposes. What is baked therein, is called *ta-jen*, after the name of the vessel; just as τήσανον (*Hefych. ταγμων*) a word of the same sound and import, is taken by the Greeks: ταγμων appellant το ἐν ταγμῳ ἐψηθεν. Steph. Thes. p. 1460-1. "If thy oblation (Lev. ii. 5.) be a meat-offering, *baken* in a pan (απο ταγμων), it shall be of fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil."

‡ Deipn. p. 619. edit. Casaub.

§ Γονυ καμψον or the *bending of the knee*, Hom. Il. η. 118. was the very same action among the Greeks; explained by Eustathius by καθέσθηναι, *to sit down*, viz. as the eastern people still continue to do, *cross-legged*. Æschylus in Prometheus, has the same expression for *sitting down*.

better than lukewarm; whereby the whole company eat of it greedily, without the least danger of burning or scalding their fingers. The flesh they tear into morsels, and the cuscawee they make into pellets, squeezing as much of them both together as will make a mouthful. When their food is of a more liquid nature, such as oil and vinegar, robb, hatted milk, honey, &c. then, after they have broken their bread or cakes into little bits (*ψωμα*, or *sops*), they fall on as before, dipping their hands and their morsels together therein, Matt. xxvi. 23. Ruth ii. 14. John xiii. 26. At all these meals, they feed themselves with their right hand, the left being reserved for more ignoble uses.

As soon as any person is satisfied, he rises up and washes his hands, his arms, and his beard, without taking the least notice of the remaining part of the company, whilst another takes instantly his place; the servant sometimes, for there is no distinction of tables, succeeding his master.

At all these festivals and entertainments, the men are treated in separate apartments from the women, Esth. i. 9.; not the least intercourse or communication being ever allowed betwixt the two sexes.

When they sit down to these meals, or when they eat or drink at other times, and indeed when they enter upon their daily employments, or any other action, they always use the word Bismillah*, i. e. *In the name of God*; with the like seriousness and reverence also they pronounce the word Alhandillah, i. e. *God be praised*, when nature is satisfied, or when their affairs are attended with success.

§ 9. — Of their Employments and Diversions.

THE Turks and Moors are early risers, and drink their shooabah, as they call a mess of pottage, before the dawning of the day; at which time they constantly attend the public devotions, after their muezzins, or *cryers*, have first called out thrice from the tops of their mosques, *Come to prayers; it is better to pray than to sleep*. The several stations, prostrations, and other ceremonies enjoined upon these occasions, as they have been already well described by Roland and other authors, so they need not be here repeated. After they have performed this short though necessary duty, as they account it, and *as soon as the morning is light*, Gen. xiv. 9. *the men are sent away* to their proper trades and occupations, till ten in the morning, the usual time of dining; after which, they return again to their employment till afa, or the *afternoon* prayers, when all kind of work ceases and their shops are shut up. The supper commonly follows the prayers of magreb, or *sun-set*; and their devotions being repeated at the setting of the watch, or when it begins to be dark, they take their rest immediately afterwards. In the intervals of these stated hours of public prayer, or when no business is to be transacted, the graver and more elderly persons frequently taken up in counting over their beads; repeating Staffar-allah† at each of them. Sometimes likewise, instead of sitting cross-legged, or jointly upon their heels and knees, their usual posture upon these devotional occasions, as being the readier for their prostrations, they sit down with their knees placed upright before them, (as in *covering their feet*, Judges iii. 24. 1 Sam. xxiv. 3. i. e. *in alvo exonerando*) and putting their faces betwixt them, as Elijah did, (1 Kings xviii. 42.) offer up, in a more private and retired manner, their ejaculations and prayers. Others again there are, who

* Bismillah is the same in effect with the Jewish *איה*, i. e. *אם יהפין האל*, if God will, or if God be pleased; or if the Lord will; 1 Cor. iv. 19. 1 Pet. iii. 17.

† Staffar-allah, i. e. *God forgive me*.

mutter over by heart, moving their bodies too and fro all the time, such portions of their Koran as are then pitched upon for their meditation. Several of their thalebs, or scribes, are so well conversant with the Koran, that they can correctly transcribe it by memory from one end to another.

Those who are not so seriously and religiously disposed, spend the day either in conversing with one another at the haf-ess*, in the Bazar, or at the coffee-houses, where they drink coffee† or sherbet, and play at chess, wherein they are very dextrous, and sometimes are so well matched as to continue the same game by adjournment for several days before it is finished. The conqueror is as highly pleased with having a feather, as the custom is, stuck in his turban, as our gamesters would be in having won a great sum.

But there are several Turkish and Moorish youths, and no small part likewise of the unmarried soldiers, who attend their concubines, with wine and music, into the fields, or else make themselves merry at the tavern; a practice indeed expressly prohibited by their religion, but what the necessity of the times, and the uncontrollable passions of the transgressors, oblige these governments to dispense with.

The Arab follows no regular trade or employment. His life is one continued round of idleness or diversion. When no pastime nor hunting-match calls him abroad, he does nothing all the day long, but loiter at home, smoke his pipe‡, and repose himself under some neighbouring shade. He has no relish at all for domestic amusements, and is rarely known to converse with his wife, or play with his children. What he values above all is his horse, wherein he places his highest satisfaction; being seldom well pleased or in good humour but when he is far from home, riding at full speed or hunting.

The Arabs, and indeed the eastern nations in general, are very dextrous at these exercises. I saw several persons at Cairo, who, at full speed, and upon horses sixteen hands high, would take up from the ground a jerrid §, as they called the naked stalk of a palm branch, that had been dropped by themselves or by their antagonists. Few there are who cannot quickly hunt down a wild boar; the representation of which sport, as it is performed to this day, is beautifully designed upon one of the medallions in Constantine's arch ||.

The method is this: After they have roused the beast from his retirement, and pursued it into some adjacent plain, (the *ἵππασιμα χωρία*, as Xenophon calls it), their first endeavour is, by frequently overtaking and turning it, to tire and perplex it; and then watching an opportunity, they either throw their lance at it, at some distance, or else coming close by its side, which is the most valiant way, they lodge their spears in its body. At the hunting of the lion, a whole district is summoned to appear; who, forming themselves first into a circle, enclose a space of three, four, or five

* The holding conversations at the haf-ess, i. e. *the barber's shop*, seems to be of great antiquity; for Theophrastus, as we read in Plutarch, (Sympos. l. v. q. 5.) calls them *ἀνα συμπόσια*, *banquets without wine*.

† Coffee, or cowah, as they pronounce it, and sherbet, are both of them eastern words; the first of Persian, the latter of Arabic extraction, denoting *drink*, or the *to drinkable*.

‡ This the Arabs call, *shrob el doulhan*, *drinking of smoke*, i. e. *tobacco*, the Arabic and our name being the same, according to what Hernandez relateth, 'Plantam, quam Mexicanæ *Pyciell* seu *Tekt* vocant, ab Haitinis appellatur *Tobacus*, a quibus non ad Indos solum, sed ad Hispanos id defluxit nomen, eo quod *suffumigiis* admisceretur, quæ *Tobacos* etiam nuncupare consueverunt, a Brasilianis *Petum*, ab aliis *Herba sacra*, a nonnullis *Nicotiana* dicitur.' Hist. Mexican. l. v. c. 51.

§ Some authors have derived the name of *Biledulgerid* from these branches; but without foundation. Vid. p. 34. & 260.

|| Vid. Vet. Arcus Augustorum, &c. Tab. xxxvi.

miles in compass, according to the number of the people, and the quality of the ground that is pitched upon for the scene of action. The footmen advance first, rushing into the thickets, with their dogs and spears, to put up the game; whilst the horsemen, keeping a little behind, are always ready to charge, upon the first sally of the wild beast. In this manner they proceed, still contracting their circle, till they all at last either close in together, or meet with some other game to divert them. The accidental pastime upon these occasions is sometimes very entertaining; for the several different sorts of animals that lie within this compass, being thus driven together, or frightened from their abodes, they rarely fail of having a variety of agreeable chases after hares, jackalls, hyænas, and other wild beasts. We have in the following lines, a beautiful description of the like diversion:

Si curva feras indago latentes
Clandit, et admotis paulatim cassibus arstat.
Illiæ ignem tonitunice pavent, diffusaque linquunt
Avia, miranturque suum decrescere montem,
Donec in angustiam ceciderunt undique vallem,
Ioque vicem stupere greges, socioque timore
Manfuescunt: simul hirtus aper, simul ursa, lupusque
Cogitur, et captos contemnit cerva leonea.

Stat. Achil. l. i. 459.

It is commonly observed, that when the lion perceives himself in danger, nay, sometimes the very moment he is roused, he will seize directly upon the person who is the nearest to him, and rather than quit his hold will suffer himself to be cut to pieces.

Hawking is one of the chiefest diversions among the Arabs and gentry of the kingdom of Tunis. Their woods afford them a beautiful variety of hawks and falcons, for which this kingdom was remarkable two centuries ago*. With their falconetti, one of the smallest species, they usually hunt on foot, especially in the quail season, at the autumnal equinox, which affords them high diversion and pleasure.

Those who delight in fowling, do not spring the game as we do, with dogs; but shading themselves with an oblong piece of canvass, stretched over a couple of reeds, or sticks, like a door, they walk with it through the several brakes and avenues, where they expect to find game. This canvass is usually spotted or painted with the figure of a leopard; and a little below the top of it there is one or more holes for the fowler to look through, and observe what passes before him. The rhaad, the khawiah, partridge, and other gregarious birds, will, upon the approach of the canvass, covey together, though they were feeding before at some distance from each other. The woodcock, quail, and such birds likewise as do not commonly feed in flocks, will, upon sight of this extended canvass, stand still and look astonished; which gives the sportsman an opportunity of coming very near them; and then, resting the canvass upon the ground, and directing the muzzle of his piece through one of the holes, he will sometimes shoot a whole covey at a time. The Arabs have another, though a more laborious method of catching these birds; for observing that they become languid and fatigued, after they have been hastily put up twice or thrice, they immediately run in upon them, and knock them down with their zer-

* Reges Tunetenses Cæsareæ majestati ejusque successoribus Hispaniæ regibus, singulis annis in æquum, x equos Mauros, eosque exquisitissimos, ac duodecim eximios falcones, in æviternam beneficiorum ab ejus majestate acceptorum memoriam danto et offerunt. Etrob. Diar. Exped. Tunet. a Carolo V. Imp. DXXXV.

wattys * or bludgeons, as we should call them. They are likewise well acquainted with that method of catching partridges, which is called *tunnelling*; and, to make the capture the greater, they will sometimes place behind the net a cage, with some tame ones within it, which, by their perpetual chirping and calling, quickly bring down the coveys that are within hearing, and thereby decoy great numbers of them. This may lead us into the right interpretation of περιζθ θηρετης εν καεταλλω, Ecclus. xi. 30. which we render *like as a partridge taken [and kept] in a cage, so is the heart of the proud*; but should be, *like a decoy partridge in a cage †, so is, &c.*

§ 10. — *Of their Manners and Customs: and of the Moorish Women, their Lamentations, &c.*

THE Arabs retain a great many of those manners and customs which we read of in sacred as well as profane history. For if we except their religion, they are the very same people they were two or three thousand years ago; without having ever embraced any of those novelties in dress or behaviour, which have had so many periods and revolutions among the Turks and Moors. Upon meeting one another, they still use the primitive salutation of Salem alekum †, i. e. *Peace be unto you*; though by their wit or superstition they have made it a religious compliment §, as if they said, *Be in a state of salvation*. Before the Mahometan conquests, the expression was, Allah heekha, or, *God prolong your life*; the same with Havo adoni, the Punic compliment in Plautus. Inferiors, out of deference and respect, kiss the feet, the knees, or the garments of their superiors; but children, and the nearest relations, kiss the head only. The posture they observe in giving one another the afslem-mah ||, is to lay their right hand upon their breast; whilst others, who are more intimately acquainted, or are of equal age and dignity, mutually kiss the hand, the head, or shoulder, of each other ¶. At the feast of their byram, and upon other great solemnities, the wife compliments her husband by kissing his hand.

It is here no disgrace for persons of the highest character to busy themselves in what we should reckon menial employments. The greatest prince, like Gideon and Araunah of old, assits in the most laborious actions of husbandry; neither is he ashamed to fetch a lamb from his herd ** and kill it ††, whilst the princess his wife is impatient till she

* These are short sticks, such probably as the ancient σικπτεα were, which being bound round the end with iron, or inlaid with pewter or brass, serve those Arabs who are not masters of a gun, for an offensive and defensive weapon.

† Vid. Buch. Hieroz. part. post. l. i. c. 13.

‡ And he (Joseph) said שלום יהי, the same with the Arab. Salamunlikum, *Peace be unto you*, Gen. xlii. 23. Judges vi. 23. and x. x. 25. 1 Sam. xxv. 6. &c. John xx. 19. *Peace be unto you, &c.*

§ The Mahometans love to call their religion I-slamisme, from the Arab. Salama, which in the 4th conj. is Aslama, to enter into the state of salvation; hence Eslam, the saving religion, and Muslemon, or, as we call it, Musselman, or Musolein, he that believeth therein. Prid. Life of Mahomet, p. 11.

|| In Gen. xxxvii. 4. it is said, "When Joseph's brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren, that they hated him, and could not speak peaceably to him;" whereas these last words should be rendered thus, *they would not give him the afslem-mah, or the compliment of peace.*

¶ Salutations of this kind are often mentioned in Homer, as practised by the Greeks.

Κυπτοι δε μιν κεισσαν τε και αμψω φαιε καλα,

Χειρας τ' αμφοτερας.

Και κυμαεν — αμικ.

κεισσαν και χειρας κυσσε.

Odys. l. xvi. ver. 15.

Ibid. xxi. ver. 224.

Ibid. ver. 225.

** Thus we read, Gen. xviii. 7. that Abraham ran to the herd and fetched a calf, upon the arrival of the three angels.

†† In this manner, we find Achilles and Patroclus employed, Hom. Il. ix. 205, &c.

Achilles at the genial feast presides;

The parts transfixes, and with skill divides.

Meanwhile Patroclus sweats the fire to raise.

Pope.

has

has prepared her fire and her kettle to seeth and dress it. The custom that still continues of walking either bare-foot *, or with slippers, requires the ancient compliment of bringing water upon the arrival of a stranger, to wash his feet †. And who is the person that presents himself first to do this office, and to give the mar-habbar, or *welcome*, but the master himself of the family? who always distinguishes himself by being the most officious; and after his entertainment is prepared, accounts it a breach of respect to sit down with his guests, but stands up all the time, and serves them. Thus Abraham, as we read, Gen. xviii. 8. “took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before the angels, and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat.”

Yet this outward behaviour of the Arab is frequently the very reverse of his inward temper and inclination, for he is naturally false, thievish, and treacherous ‡; and it sometimes happens, that those very persons are overtaken and pillaged in the morning, who were entertained the night before with the greatest hospitality. The prophet Jeremiah has well described them: “In the ways,” says he, (iii. 2.) “hast thou sat for them, as the Arabian in the wilderness.”

Neither are they to be accused of plundering strangers only, or whomsoever they may find unarmed or defenceless; but for those many implacable and hereditary animosities which continually subsist among themselves, literally fulfilling to this day the prophecy of the angel to Hagar, Gen. xvi. 12. that “Ishmael should be a wild man: his hand should be against every man, and every man’s hand against his.” The greatest as well as the smallest tribes are perpetually at variance with one another, frequently occasioned upon the most trivial account, as if they were, from the very days of their great ancestor, naturally prone to discord and contention. Even under the Turkish governments, where they have so often suffered by their untimely revolts, yet, upon the least disturbance or prospect of a revolution, they are the first in arms, in hopes of getting rid of their dependency; though they are sure, that, in the end, their chains are thereby to be more strongly riveted.

However, it must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still continue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations bordering upon the river Niger, without seeing § the persons they trade with, or without having once broke through that original charter of commerce, which, from time immemorial, has been settled between them. The method is this: At a certain time of the year, (in the winter, if I am not mistaken), they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissars, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the

* The feet being thus unguarded, were every moment liable to be hurt and injured: and from thence, perhaps, the danger, without the Divine assistance, which even protects us from the smallest misfortunes, of *dashing them against a stone*, Psal. xci. 12. which perhaps may further illustrate that difficult text, Job. v. 23. of *being in league with the stones of the field*. By attending so often as I have done to this custom of walking bare-foot, I am induced to imagine, that רגלך לא בצקה, Deut. v. 4. which we render, *thy foot did not swell*, should rather be, *thy foot did not wear away*, (altrius, Hieron.) by the exercising of it in Arabia Petræa for forty years.

† Thus Gen. xviii. 4. “Let a little water, I pray you, be fetched, and wash your feet.” Judg. xix. 21. Luke. vii. 44. “I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears.”

‡ Like their predecessors the Carthaginians, who are called by Tully, Orat. ii. contra Rull. *fraudulenti et mendaces*.

§ In like manner, the Seres are said never to see or speak with the people they traded with. Eustathius, likewise, upon the faith of Herodotus, relates, that the Carthaginians traded after the same manner with some people beyond Hercules’ pillars. Vid. Arbuthnott on Coins, p. 230.

moon, they find in the evening several different heaps of gold dust, lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians, the next morning, approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets, and leave the gold dust, or else make some deductions from the latter, &c. And in this manner transact their exchange, without seeing one another, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side.

The custom of the Nafamones*, of plighting their troth, by drinking out of each other's hands, is, at this time, the only ceremony which the Algerines use in marriage. But the contract is previously made betwixt the parents, wherein express mention is made not only of the *saddock*, as they call that particular sum of money which the bridegroom settles upon the bride, but likewise, as it was in the time of Abraham†, of the several changes of raiment, the quantity of jewels, and the number of slaves that the bride is to be attended with when she first waits upon her husband. These likewise are her property ever afterwards. The parties never see one another, till the marriage is to be consummated; at which time, the relations being withdrawn, the bridegroom proceeds first to unveil his bride‡, and then (*zonam solvere*) to undress her. Upon forfeiture of the *saddock*, the husband may put away his wife when he pleases; though he cannot take her again, notwithstanding the strongest solicitations, till she is married and bedded to another.

The civility and respect which the politer nations of Europe pay to the weaker sex, are looked upon here as extravagancies, and as so many infringements of that law of nature which assigns to man the pre-eminence. For the matrons of this country, though they are considered as servants indeed of better fashion, yet they have the greatest share of toil and business upon their hands. Whilst the lazy husband reposes himself under some neighbouring shade, and the young men and the maidens, as we read of Rachel§, attend the flocks; the wives are all the day taken up, as the custom was likewise in ancient Greece, either in attending their looms||, or in grinding at the

* Πισισι δε τωτοι χρεωται εκ της χειρος δίδω πινυ, και αυτοι εκ της τε ετερας πινυ. Herod. Melpom. § 172.

† A gold and silver *farimah*, one or two sets of ear-rings, bracelets, and shackles, a gold chain to hang over their breasts, with half a dozen vests, some of brocade, others of rich silk, are usually the wedding clothes of a lady of fashion. Habits and ornaments of the like kind were given to the bride in the time of Abraham. Thus a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight was given to Rebekah, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold, Gen. xxiv. 22. Abraham's servant also brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah, ver. 53. Besides, every woman that is married, has at least one female slave (who is usually a black) to attend her; whilst others have two or more, according to their rank and quality. In this manner, we find that Hagar was Sarah's handmaid; that Rebekah, when she was betrothed to Isaac, was attended by her nurse (Gen. xiv. 59.) and her damsels, ver. 61.; that Laban, (Gen. xxiv. 24.) gave unto his daughter, Leah, when she was married to Jacob, Zilphab, his maid, for a handmaid; and unto Rachel, (ver. 29.) upon the like occasion, Bilhah, his handmaid, to be her maid. David, instead of settling any *saddock* or *dowry* upon Saul's daughter, was, instead of it, to bring an hundred foreskins of the Philistines, 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

‡ Thus Leah, by retaining her veil, through her own artifice, (as Tamar did afterwards, Gen. xxxviii. 14.) or by the subtlety and contrivance of her father Laban, might have passed for her sister Rachel, Gen. xxix. 25. Though the night alone, the undistinguishing season, when she was brought to Jacob, ver. 23, may otherwise account for the mistake. And thus it is said of Ruth, (iii. 14.) that she rose up in the morning, before one could know another; and of the harlot, 1 Kings iii. 20, 21. When I had considered the child in the morning, that was laid in my bosom at midnight, behold, says she, it was not my son.

§ It is customary, even to this day, for the children of the greatest emeer to attend their flocks; as we find, Gen. xxix. 9. Rachel kept the sheep of her father Laban. The same is related of the seven children of the Kings of Thebes, Hom. Il. vi. ver. 424.; of Antiphus, the son of Priam, Il. xi. ver. 106.; of Anchises, Æneas' mother, Æl. i. ver. 313.

|| Like Andromache, Il. vi. ver. 491. or Penelope, Odyss. i. ver. 257.

mill *, or in making of bread, *cuscassowe*, *dwceda*, and such like farinaceous food ; so far corresponding with the *γυναῖκες σιτοποιεσσαι* or *σιτοποιοι*. Neither is this all ; for, to finish the day, *at the time of the evening, even the time that women go out* (*ὕδρευσαι*, Hom. Od. x. ver. 105.) *draw water*, Gen. xxiv. 11. they are still to fit themselves out with a pitcher or a gourd's skin †, and, tying their sucking children behind them, trudge it in this manner two or three miles to fetch water. Yet, in the midst of all these labours and incumbrances, not one of these country ladies, in imitation no doubt of those of better fashion in cities, will lay aside any of their ornaments ; neither their nose-jewels, (Isa. iii. 22. Ezek. xvi. 10.) used still by the Levant Arabs ; neither their bracelets or their shackles, *the tinkling ornaments of their feet*, Isa. iii. 16. ; neither their ear-rings, or looking-glasses ‡, which they hang upon their breasts ; neither the tinging their eye-lids with lead-ore ; so prevalent is custom, even in the most uncivilized parts of Barbary ; and so very zealous are these homely creatures to appear in the mode and fashion.

The Arabian women are swarthy, and rarely well-favoured ; but the greatest part of the Moorish women would be reckoned beauties, even in Great Britain. Their children certainly have the finest complexions of any nation whatsoever. We have a wrong notion of the Moors §, in taking them for a swarthy people. The men indeed, by wearing only the *tiara*, or a scull-cap, are exposed so much to the sun, that they quickly attain the swarthy of the Arab ; but the women, keeping more at home, preserve their beauty till they are thirty ; at which age they begin to be wrinkled, and are usually past child-bearing. It sometimes happens, that one of these girls is a mother at eleven, and a grandmother at two-and-twenty ; and as their lives are usually of the same length with those of the Europeans, several of these matrons have lived to see their children of many generations.

At all their principal entertainments, and to shew mirth and gladness upon other occasions, the women welcome the arrival of each guest, by squalling out for several times together, *loo, loo, loo* ||. At their funerals also, and upon other melancholy occasions, they repeat the same noise ¶, only they make it more deep and hollow **, and end each period with some ventriloquous sighs. The *αλαλζοντας πολλα*, or *wail-*

* Hom. Odyss. vii. ver. 105. Simonid. de Mulieribus. Mat. xxiv. 41. Herod. l. vii. c. 187. Thucyd. l. ii.

† There is frequent mention made of those skins in the Holy Scriptures. Thus *הַכֶּתֶם*, Gen. xxi. 14, 15. & 19. *נָאֹר* or *נָאֹר*, Josh. ix. 4. Judg. iv. 19. 1 Sam. xvi. 19. Psal. lvi. 8. and cxix. 83. *נֶכֶל*, 1 Sam. i. 24. and x. 3. Jer. xiii. 12. and *ασκος*, Mat. ix. 17. Mark ii. 22. Luke v. 37. which should be rendered *skins*, are improperly interpreted *bottles*.

‡ These were of polished brass among the Hebrew women, as we learn from Exod. xxxviii. 8.

§ The word *Moor* is generally supposed to convey the idea of a person of a dark and swarthy complexion ; whereas, it only denotes the situation of their country. For *מַעְבֵּר* signifies a *ferry* or *narrow part of the sea* — *fretum trajectus*, &c. *מַעְבְּרִי*, *Ma'v'ri*, consequently will be the same as (*trajectaneus* seu *ad trajectum vivens*) a person who lives near such a place ; just as the Moors are situated with respect to the Straits of Gibraltar, the Fretum Gaditanum or Herculeum of the ancients. Vid. Perisfol. Cosm. edit. T. Hyde, p. 48. But Bochart deduceth the word from another origin. *מַאֲרִי*, *Mauri*, quasi *postremi* vel *occidentales dicti*, ab *מַאֲרִי* quod et *posterior* et *occidentem* sonat. Plene liberetur *Mauharin*, sed gutturales passim elidi nemo est qui nesciat. Boch. Chan. l. i. c. 25.

|| A corruption, as it seems to be, of *הַלְלוּיָהּ*, *Hallelujah*. *Αλαλη*, a word of the like sound was used by an army, either before they gave the onset, or when they had obtained the victory. Vid. Pol. Synops. vol. iv. p. 790. & Mint. Lex in voce *Αλαλζω*. The Turks to this day call out *Allah, Allah*, upon the like occasion.

¶ As if the word was related to the Heb. *לָל*, *ejulāri*, (Mic. i. 8.) from whence perhaps our English word *to howl*.

** Plutarch informs us, that *Eleleu, iou, iou*, were used in this manner. *Επιφονοῦν δὲ τὰς ἀποδύας, ἐλελεν, ἰω, ἰω ὅτι το μὲν ἀπιδυοντες ἀντιφονοῦν καὶ πικρὸν ἔχοντες ἡνδραῖοι, το δὲ ἐκπληξέως καὶ ταραχῆς ἔστι.* Plutarch in Theseo.

ing greatly, as our version expresses it, Mark v. 38. upon the death of Jairus' daughter, was probably performed in this manner. For there are several women hired to act upon these lugubrious occasions; who, like the *Præficæ* *, or *mourning women* †, of old, are *skilful in lamentation*, (Amos v. 16.) and great mistresses of these melancholy expressions; and indeed they perform their parts with such proper sounds, gestures and commotions, that they rarely fail to work up the assembly into some extraordinary pitch of thoughtfulness and sorrow. The British factory has often been very sensibly touched with these lamentations, whenever they were made in the neighbouring houses.

No nation in the world is so much given to superstition as the Arabs, or even as the Mahometans in general. They hang ‡ about their children's necks the figure of an open hand, usually the right, which the Turks and Moors paint likewise upon their ships and houses, as a counter-charm to an evil eye; for five is with them an unlucky number, and *five* (meaning their fingers) *in your eyes*, is their proverb of cursing and defiance. Those of riper years carry with them some paragraphs of their Koran, which, as the Jews did their phylacteries, Exod. xiii. 16. Numb. xv. 38. they place upon their breast, or sew under their caps, to prevent fascination and witchcraft, and to secure themselves from sickness and misfortunes. The virtue of these scrolls and charms is supposed likewise to be so far universal, that they suspend them, even upon the necks of their cattle, horses, and other beasts of burthen. They place great faith and confidence in magicians and forcerers §, as the Egyptians and Moabites || did, who in old time were their neighbours; and upon some extraordinary occasions, particularly in a lingering distemper, they use several superstitious ceremonies in the sacrificing of a cock, a sheep, or a goat, by burying the whole carcase under ground, by drinking a

* *Præficæ dicuntur mulieres ad lamentandum mortuum conductæ, quæ dant cæteris modum plangendi, quasi in hoc ipsum præfectæ.* Vid. P. Felt. & Non. Marcell. in voce.

† "Call for the [כַּנְנָנִים, from כָּן, *in lament*] mourning women, that they may come—and take up a wailing for us, that our eyes may run down with tears, and our eye-lids gush out with water," Jer. ix. 17, 18. Such like extraordinary demonstrations of sorrow we have related, Psal. vi. 6. "Every night wash I my bed, (or) make I my bed to swim: I water my couch with my tears." Psal. cxix. 136. "Rivers of waters run down my eyes." Jer. ix. 1. "O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears." And Lam. i. 48. "Mine eye runneth down with rivers of waters." *The drawing of water at Mizpah*, (1 Sam. vii. 6.) and *pouring it out before the Lord, and fasting*, may likewise denote, in the eastern manner of expression, some higher degree of grief and contrition. *Effuderunt cor suum in penitentia*, ut *aquas ante Deum*, as the Chaldee paraphrase interprets it; or, as Vatablus, *Hauerunt aquas a pulso cordis sui, et abunde lacrymati sunt coram Domino respicientes.* *Aqua effusa lacrymas significat*, says Grotius in locum.

‡ This custom of hanging things about the neck to prevent mischief, distempers, &c. seems to be of great antiquity, and was common to other nations. Thus Varro, de Ling. Lat. l. vi. in fine. "Præbia a præbendo ut sit tutum: quod sint remedia in collo pueris." "Fascinum, collis nempe puerorum suspensum, infantium custodiam appellat Plinius," l. xxviii. c. 4. The Bulla was worn upon the same account, as Macrobius tells us, Saturn. l. i. "Bulla gestamen erat triumphantium, inclusis intra eam remediis, quæ crederent adversum invidiam valentissima."

§ The several classes of which are enumerated in Deut. xviii. 10, 11.; viz. such as *use divination, or is an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.* They pretend to have daily instances in these countries of the power and efficacy of one or other of these persons, particularly in causing or taking away the influence of the *maleficium ligaminis*, or *vinculum Veneris*, which seems to have been well known in the time of Augustus.

Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarilli, colores,
Necte, Amarilli, nodos, et Veneris dic vincula necto.

Virg. Ecl. viii. 77.

|| Viz. the Egyptians, (Vid. Auson. Epist. xix. Joseph's *divining cup*, Gen. xliv. 5.) Moabites, (Balaam went not, *et* at other times, to seek for enchantments, Num. xxiv. 1.) &c.

part of the blood, or by burning or dispersing the feathers. For it is a prevailing opinion all over this country, that a great many diseases proceed from some offence or other that has been given to the *jenoun*, a class of beings placed by them betwixt angels and devils. These, like the fairies of our forefathers, are supposed to frequent shades and fountains; and to assume the bodies of toads, worms, and other little animals, which, being always in our way, are liable every moment to be hurt and molested by us. When any person therefore is lame or sickly, he fancies that he has injured one or other of these beings; upon which the women, who, like the ancient *veneficæ*, are dextrous in these ceremonies, are sent for immediately; and go, as I have seen them, upon a Wednesday, with frankincense and other perfumes, to some neighbouring spring, where they sacrifice a hen or a cock, an ewe or a ram, &c. according to the sex* and quality of the patient, and the nature of the disease.

§ 11. — *Of their Superstitions; with an Account of their Saints or Marabbutts, &c.*

THE Mahometans have a great veneration for their Marabbutts, who are generally persons of a rigid and austere life, continually employing themselves either in counting over their beads†, or else in meditation and prayer. This saintship goes by succession; and the son is entitled to the same reverence and esteem with the father, provided he can keep up and maintain the same gravity and decorum. Some of them also share in the same reputation with their prophets of receiving visions, and conversing with the deity; whilst others, who pretend to work miracles, are endowed with gifts, which Mahomet‡ himself durst not pretend to. When I was (*an.* 1732,) near the river Arhew with Seedy Mustafa, the Kalcéfa of the western province he told me, in the presence of a number of Arabian Shekhs, who vouched for the fact, that Seedy ben Mukha-lah, a Marabbutt hard by, had a solid iron bar, which, upon command, would give the same noise with a cannon, and do the like execution; and that once the whole Algerine army, upon demanding too exorbitant a tax from the Arabs under his protection, were put to flight by the miracle. Yet notwithstanding the frequency, as they pretended, of the experiment, notwithstanding the merit I urged there would be of convincing a Christian of the truth of it, besides the solicitations and intreaties of the whole company that this Marabbutt should be sent for, Seedy ben Mukha-lah § had too much policy to appear and hazard his reputation. But I had better success near Seteef, with Seedy Alhoure, the Marabbutt of the Ammer; a person famous all over the eastern province for the vomiting of fire. This operation, as he performed it, I saw several times; the first instance whereof did indeed very much surprise me. For being in a mixed company, and little regarding him, I observed, 't on a sudden, his mouth in a blaze, and his whole body seemingly distorted with agonies. But by keeping my eye more carefully upon him, when the same was repeated a second time, (for he had several of these pretended ecstasies,) I plainly observed the whole cheat and contrivance. For during the time that his head and his hands lay concealed under

* *Viz.* A male being sacrificed for the female sex, &c.

† In touching each bead of their chaplet, consisting usually of ninety-nine, they either say *Alhamdillah*, *God be praised*; *Allah Kibcer*, i. e. *God is great*; or, *Ilkugfur Allah*—*Staffour Allah*, *God forgive me*.

‡ *Vid.* Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet*, p. 18, 19.

§ This name, by interpretation, is, *the son of a gun*; several persons in these countries having their *cognomina* from some quality or other for which they are remarkable. Of this quality, they are either called *Abbon*, i. e. *father*, or *Ikbn ben*, i. e. *son of it*. Thus a fat man is called *Abbon.kerth*, i. e. *the father of a belly*, &c.

his burnoose, when he pretended to be conversing with the Deity, he was actually lighting the fire; and accordingly, when he was ready to display it, such a quantity of smoke attended his head and hands, in withdrawing them from under his burnoose, there was so strong a smell likewise of tow and sulphur, besides some threads of the former that were unfortunately engaged to his beard, that none but an ignorant and bigotted people could be deceived by the imposture. This I took notice of to some Turks that were with me, who saw through the cheat; but the Arabs still insisted upon the wonderful gift of Seedy Ashoure, as the Ephesians did of their Diana; and that Ma kan shy kiff hoo, i. e. *There was none like him.*

These people likewise are equally foolish and extravagant in their *Jaffar-eah*, as they call the pretensions they make to the knowledge of future events and contingencies. They are not indeed hitherto agreed by what extraordinary means they come at these revelations; though the discoveries they would be believed to make are in such general terms so false, for the most part, and at the best dubious, and never particularly circumstantiated, that it scarce deserves the gravity or attention to enquire after their original. However, none of them ever asserted that they were from divine inspiration; though there are a number of enthusiasts in this religion, who pretend to be full of the Deity upon other occasions. Some attribute them to *magareah*, for so they call witchcraft and enchantment, others to astrology or the doctrine of the stars, whilst their thalebs pretend to have the prophecies of Aly, the son-in-law of their prophet; wherein they give out, that he has left them a general and chronological account of the most remarkable occurrences which have happened in the world since his time, or which are to fall out in future ages.

When I was at Tunis, in the spring of 1727, there were several prophecies handed about, partly, as was alleged, from this book, partly from their *Jaffar-eah*, that Hassan ben Aly, the bey or king at that time, was to be immediately deposed by his nephew, Aly Bashaw. The mystery of it was, that Hassan ben Aly, otherwise a good and wise prince, had a mighty inclination to oppress the richest of his subjects; and, by a piece of ill-timed policy, had, since the beginning of his reign, neglected the natural born Turks, and placed his chief confidence in Moors and renegadoes; upon whom likewise he bestowed the greatest honours and preferments. On the other hand, Aly Bashaw, while he acted under him as *aga* of the Janizaries, behaved himself with such courtesy, generosity, and justice, that he gained the affections of that body, and the good will of the whole kingdom. Aly Bashaw therefore, being upon some misunderstanding with his uncle, fled to the mountains of Uselett. He had there the hardiness to proclaim himself bey; and to publish, at the same time, the great injustice and oppression that Hassan ben Aly had always exercised over his subjects. He further exclaimed against the unjust contempt and disregard that had all along been paid to the Turks, the natural safeguards of the kingdom; adding further, that he himself would immediately apply proper methods for the ease and satisfaction of them all. Taking, I say, all these circumstances together, there was probability enough, without the concurrence of a prophecy, that such a revolution might then have been brought about. Yet, notwithstanding all these unfavourable circumstances; notwithstanding the very day and hour were confidently prefixed for Hassan ben Aly's destruction, he proved too strong for their *Jaffar-eah*; and, provided the Algerines had not a few years afterwards interposed, he would, in all probability, have left a peaceable possession of that kingdom to his son.—

It would be too tedious to recount any more of their pretended prophecies; some of which, the event very obviously shewed to be false; whilst others were, at the best,

uncertain

uncertain guesses only, or probable conjectures. We are to wait therefore till time and futurity determine the truth of that very remarkable one, which promises to the Christians a restoration of all those kingdoms which they formerly lost to the Turks and Saracens. Thus much may be observed of it already, that there is no part of the Mahometan dominions, extensive as they are, where it is not universally received; and that, in consequence thereof, the gates of their cities are carefully shut up every Friday, the day of their congregation, from ten till twelve o'clock in the morning, that being, as they say, the day and the time prefixed for this notable catastrophe.

CHAPTER IV.

§ 1. — *Of the Government of these Kingdoms; particularly of Algiers.*

AS the Arabs have had no small share in the foregoing observations, it may be expected that something should be said of the form of government that subsists among them. Now, though the greatest part of these tribes have been under the Turkish yoke for many ages, yet they are rarely interrupted, either in what may concern the course of justice, or in the succession to those few offices and dignities that belong properly to themselves. For, provided they live peaceably, pay regularly the eighth part of the produce of their lands, together with a small poll-tax that is annually demanded by the Turks, they are left in full possession of all their private laws, privileges and customs. Every dou-war therefore may be looked upon as a little principality; where the family that is of the greatest name, substance and reputation, usually presides. However this honour does not always lineally descend from father to son; but, as it was among their predecessors, the Numidians*, when the heir is too young, or subject to any infirmity, then they make choice of the uncle, or some other relation, who, for prudence and wisdom, is judged to be the best qualified. Yet, notwithstanding a despotic power is lodged in this person, all grievances and disputes are accommodated, by calling in to his assistance one or two persons out of each tent. And as the offender is considered as a brother, the sentence is always given on the favourable side; and, even in the most enormous crimes, rarely any other punishment is inflicted than banishment. When this person has the superintendence over a single dou-war, he is commonly called the Shekh†; but when his authority reaches over several, then he has the title either of Shekh el Kibeer, *græc.* Lord or Elder, or else of the Emeer‡, *Prince*. As few or none either of these Shekhs, or of the Turkish and eastern kings, princes or bashaws, know to write their own names, all their letters and decrees are stamped with their proper rings, seals, or signets (2 Kings xx. 2. Est. iii. 12. Dan. vi. 7. &c.) which are usually of silver or cornelian, with their respective names engraved upon them on one side, and the name of their kingdom or principality, or else some sentence of their Koran, on the other.

The government of the Algerines, which differs little from that of Tunis, consists of the dey, who is to be considered as the stadtholder, and of a dou-wanne, or *common council*. The dōu-wanne, (the same with divan, as it is erroneously though commonly written) is principally composed of the thirty Yiah Bashees; though the mufti, the

* Militante Masinissa pro Carthaginienſibus in Hiſpania, pater ejus moritur: Galæ nomen erat. Regnum ad fratrem regis Oſalcem, pergrandem natu (moſ ita apud Numidas eſt) pervenit. Liv. l. xxix. § 29.

† Sheikh, *ſenex, ſenior, doſtor*: aut autoritate, principatu, pietate, et arte conſpicuus. Vid. Gol. in voce.

‡ Ameer from *Amara, he commanded, mandavit, juſſit, præcepit. Idem.*

kaddy, and the whole army, of what degree soever, are sometimes called in to assist. All affairs of moment ought to be agreed upon by this assembly, before they pass into laws, and before the dey is entrusted with putting them in execution. But for some years past, there has been little account made of this venerable body; which continues indeed to be very formally convened, but then it is only with the same formality to consent to such propositions as have been before hand concerted betwixt the dey and his favourites; so that, in effect, the whole power is lodged in one person.

This person, who at Algiers is called the Dey, and at Tunis the Bey, is chosen out of the army; each order, even the most inferior, having an equal right and title to that dignity with the highest. Every bold and aspiring soldier, though taken yesterday from the plough, may be considered (particularly at Algiers) as the heir apparent to the throne; and with this further advantage, that he lies under no necessity to wait till sickness or old age have removed the present ruler. It is enough that he can protect himself with the same scymiter, which he has had the hardiness to sheath in the breast of his predecessor. The chief command here, as it was in the declension of the Roman empire, lies open and exposed to every bold pretender; who, if he has the resolution only to attempt, will rarely fail to carry it. To the truth whereof, we need only appeal to that quick succession, which, till very lately, has been among the Deys of Algiers; rarely one in ten having had the fortune to die in his bed, *i. e.* without a musket ball or a scymiter. Even those few, who have thus peaceably departed, cannot attribute it to any superior regard and esteem which the army had for them in particular; but rather to their own superior good fortune, in preventing an insurrection, by cutting off the conspirators before they could put their designs in execution. This bloody and cruel method of succeeding to the deyship, and of continuing peaceably in it afterwards, will appear strange and surprising to us, who have been long accustomed to regular successions and civilized governments; yet it is what may be very well accounted for here, where a strict and regular discipline has been a long time wanting; where even a private soldier, after a small exercise and trial under these colours, has the ambition to think himself considerable enough, either to push for the kassan himself, or to contribute at least in the promotion of another to it. However, by the many seasonable executions that have been lately made of these aspiring members, this factious and discontented humour seems, at present, to be somewhat purged and allayed; though, in such an ungovernable constitution as this, there will always remain some seeds of their old tumultuous principles, which, upon the least favourable opportunity, may break out afresh in rebellion and assassination.

§ 2. — *Of their Forces and Revenues, with their Method of Fighting and raising Recruits.*

THE whole force of Algiers, in Turks and Cologlies, is computed at present to be no more than six thousand five hundred; two thousand whereof are supposed to be *emeriti*, old and excused from duty; and of the four thousand five hundred that remain, one thousand are annually employed in relieving their garrisons, whilst the rest either go out with their cruising vessels, or else form the three flying camps, which every summer attend the provincial viceroys. To the Turkish troops we may join about two thousand *zwowah*, as the Moorish horse and footmen are called; yet, notwithstanding these are kept in constant pay, and may be supposed to augment their number, yet, being all of them hereditary enemies to the Turks, they are little considered in the real safeguard and defence of the government. The method therefore of keeping this large and populous kingdom in obedience, is not so much by force of arms, as by

diligently observing the old political maxim, *Divide and command*. For the provincial viceroys are very watchful over the motions of the Arabian tribes, who appertain to their several districts and jurisdictions; and as these are in continual jealousies and disputes with one another, the beys have nothing more to do than to keep up the ferment, and throw in, at proper times, new matter for discord and contention. There are several clans, both of Arabs and Kabyles, who, in case their neighbours should observe a neutrality, would be too hard for the whole army of Algiers; notwithstanding each Turk values himself in being a match for twenty of them. When therefore there is any misunderstanding of this kind, the viceroys play one tribe against another; and, provided the quarrel proves equal, a few of the Turkish infantry seasonably thrown in, (the Arabian cavalry being never able to withstand them*), will be more than a balance for the enemy. By thus continually fomenting the divisions which always subsist among the Arabian princes, and exasperating one family against another, these four or five thousand Turks maintain their ground against all opposition, and lay even their neighbours, the Tuniseens, and Western Moors, under great obligations for not extending their conquests among them.

In their several battles and engagements, the spahees, or *cavalry*, as I have before hinted, are of little service; the Arabs in this respect being more numerous, and often victorious. It is the infantry that does the execution; which the Arabs, as never fighting on foot, are not able to withstand, which, as we have observed, was the case of their predecessors. When the cavalry alone are concerned, as when one Arabian tribe is at variance with another, then each party draws itself up in the figure of a half moon. But as the whole army rarely falls on together, or comes to close fighting, they seldom put the dispute to a decisive battle. Their fighting is always at a distance, as if they were running of races; small parties (or platoons, as we should call them) continually advancing, at full career, from the main body. and, after they have discharged their fire-arms, or their javelins, against their respective antagonists, they as speedily retreat to their main bodies, where others are ready for the onset. In so much, that a few persons killed on a side, is reckoned a bloody battle.

Skirmishes of the like nature, though attended with more execution, seem to have been practised by the Hebrew infantry of old, *when they looked one another in the face*; as in 2 Sam. ii. 14. where we read of *twelve Benjamites pertaining to Ishbosheth, playing with the like number of David's servants*, in fight of both armies. What is also recorded, 2 Sam. i. 23. of Saul and Jonathan, that *they were swifter than eagles*; and of Abahel, 2 Sam. ii. 18. that *he was as light of foot as a wild roe*; and of the Gadites, 1 Chron. xii. 8. that *they were men of might, as swift as the roes upon the mountains*; not to mention the epithets of *ποδαρχης*, *ποδας υνους*, &c. given to the Grecian heroes; may all relate to these decursory rencounters, and to this method of justing or fighting at random.

To make up the deficiencies in the army, their cruising vessels are usually sent out once in every five or six years to the Levant for recruits; which generally consist of shepherds, outlaws, and persons of the lowest rank and condition. Mahomet Basha, who was the d y when I arrived (1720) at Algiers, and was shot dead in the streets a little afterwards by a party of soldiers, was not ashamed to own his extraction, in a notable dispute which he had once with the deputy consul of the French nation: *My mother*, says he, *sold sheep's feet, and my father sold neats' tongues; but they would have*

* Numidæ peditum aciem ferre nequeunt; according to an observation of Tacitus (lib. iv. 24.) which holds good to this day.

been ashamed to expose to sale so worthless a tongue as thine. Yet these recruits, after they have been a little instructed by their fellow soldiers, and have got caps to their heads, shoes to their feet, and a pair of knives to their girdle, quickly begin to affect grandeur and majesty; expect to be saluted with the title of Effendi, or *Your Grace*; and look upon the most considerable citizens as their slaves, and the consuls of the allied nations as their footmen.

But besides these Levant Turks, they Dey may, at his pleasure, and especially upon any emergency, enrol the *cologlies*, as they call the sons of such soldiers, who have been permitted to marry at Algiers. Though, since the latter made an unsuccessful attempt upon the government, by endeavouring to seize upon the *castaubah*, or *citadel*, they have not been much encouraged; and when they are, they are always excluded from the honour of being Dey, Aga of the Janizaries, and other considerable offices and employments.

The officers that command this small army, (and it would be the same if it amounted to its former complement of twelve thousand) are the Aga, or general, thirty Yiah Bashees, or colonels, eight hundred Bulluck Bashees, or captains, and about half that number of Oda Bashees, or lieutenants. The method of arriving at these posts, is not by money and interest, but by age and seniority; the oldest soldier being advanced upon the death of his lieutenant, and the lieutenant upon the death of a captain, &c. though, by the Dey's permission, a younger soldier may purchase the rank of an older, the latter degrading himself in return. There is another method also of hastening these promotions; for the Aga is removed as often as the soldiers are paid, which is every two months, being succeeded by the Chiah, who is the eldest of the Yiah Bashees; whereby a seat becomes vacant in the *Dou-wanne*, which is immediately filled up by the eldest Bulluck Bashee; as he again is by the eldest Oda Bashee, &c. The Aga, after having thus passed through the whole course of his duty, is from thenceforward considered as *mazoule*, *emeritus*, or superannuated, quietly enjoying his pay, and, according to the old poet Ennius,

Senio confectus quiescit.

The yearly taxes of this great and fertile kingdom bring usually into the treasury three hundred thousand dollars; though it is computed that the eighth part of prizes, the effects of persons dying without children, the contributions from the districts, independent of the viceroys, together with the frequent *avar-cas* and oppressions of the subjects, may bring in the like sum. To compensate this smallness in their revenues, the pay of the army is very small, the youngest soldier receiving only four hundred and six aspers every two months, and the eldest, or those in full pay, no more than five thousand eight hundred; whereof six hundred and ninety-six (as was before observed) make a dollar*. Now, as a great number of years are required before they arrive at full pay, (the young soldiers receiving an augmentation only of an hundred and sixteen aspers† every year) the whole army, with regard to their demands upon the government, may be reduced to about three thousand five hundred; whereby a sum less than two hundred thousand dollars, *i.e.* betwixt thirty and forty thousand pounds of our money,

* Sive Thaler, qui Germanis sic dicitur a Thale seu Dale, *i. e.* Vallis; under Thaler seu Daler, q. d. Vallenſis nummus, a valle sancti Joachimi ubi primo cusi sunt. Hinc factum ut tandem scutati omnes (quos nummos Imperiales vocamus) Thaleri hodie vocantur. Vid. Hyd. Annot. in Bobovii liturgiam Turcarum, p. 107. Vid. p. 414.

† Ille nummus, Turcice dicitur *Albulus*; unde a Græcis sua lingua hodierna vocatur *Asper*, *i. e.* *Albus*, &c. *Asper* pecuniam albam in genere notat. *Id. ibid.*

will defray the expence. Besides the pay, such Yiah and Bulluck Bashees as are unmarried have each of them eight loaves of bread a day, and the Oda Bashees and private soldiers, who are in the same condition, have four; each loaf being about five ounces in weight, and three aspers in value.

§ 3.—Of their Courts of Judicature and their Punishments.

IN the ordinary distribution of justice, there is in this, as in all other Turkish governments, an officer whom they call the Kaddy, who for the most part has been educated in the seminaries of Stamboule* or Grand Cairo, where the Roman codes and pandects, translated into the Arabic language, are taught and explained, as in the universities of Europe. The Kaddy is obliged to attend at the court of justice once or twice a day, where he hears and determines the several suits and complaints that are brought before him. But as bribery is too often, and justly enough, charged upon the Kaddy, all affairs of moment are laid before the Dey, or else, when he is absent, or otherwise employed, they are heard by the treasurer, by the master of the horse, or by other principal officers of the regency, who sit in the gate† of the palace for that purpose. At all these tribunals, the cause is quickly decided, nothing more being required than the proof of what is alleged; in so much, that a matter of debt, or trespass, or of the highest crime, will be finally decided, and the sentence put in execution, in less than an hour.

In cases of debt, the debtor is usually detained in prison till the chouses or *bailliffs* have seized upon his effects, and sold them. If the sale amounts to more than the debt, the overplus is returned to the prisoner; if it comes short, he is notwithstanding released, and no future demands are to be made upon him. Lesser offences are punished with *bastinado* ‡, i. e. with little sticks of the bigness of one's finger; which, like the Roman fasces, are brought in bundles to the place of punishment, where the offender receives upon his buttocks, or the soles of his feet, from fifty to a thousand strokes, according to the nature and atrocity of his crime. But for unnatural lust, not only the parts above mentioned are chastised, but the belly likewise, a punishment generally attended with death. For clipping or debasing the public coin, the old Egyptian punishment §, viz. the cutting off the hands of the transgressor, is inflicted. When a Jew, or a Christian slave, or subject, is guilty of murder, or any other capital crime, he is carried without the gates of the city, and burnt alive; but the Moors and Arabs are either impaled for the same crime, or else they are hung up by the neck, over the battlements of the city walls, or else they are thrown upon the chingan, or *books* ||, that are fixed all over the walls below, where sometimes they break from one hook to another, and hang in the most exquisite torments thirty or forty hours. The Turks

* Constantinople is called all over the Levant, Stamboule, or Stanbul, which is rather to be the corruption or contraction of the ancient name, as Jambol is of Joannopolis, than of *ἡ γὰρ πύλη*, as some authors give into. Vid. Hyd. Not. in Cosmogr. Perits. p. 52. Sir George Wheeler's Trav. p. 178.

† Thus we read of the *elders in the gate*, (Deut. xxii. 15. and xxv. 7.) and (Isa. xxix. 21. Amos v. 10.) of *him that reproveth and rebuketh in the gate*, and (Dan. ii. 49.) that *he sat in the gate of the king*. The Ottoman court likewise seems to have been called *the port*, from the distribution of justice, and the dispatch of public business that is carried on in the gates of it.

‡ It was in this manner probably that St. Paul was *thrice beaten with rods*, *τετταράκις ῥαβδίς*, says he, 2 Cor. xi. 25. The chouses, likewise, whose office it is to inflict this punishment, appear to be no other than so many Roman lictors, armed out with their fasces.

§ Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 50.

|| The fastening of the body of Saul to the walls of Bethshan, (1 Sam. xxxi. 10.) might be the fixing it only to, or hanging it upon, such hooks as were placed there for the execution of criminals.

are not publicly punished, like other offenders. Out of respect to their characters, they are always sent to the house of the Aga, where, according to the quality of the misdemeanor, they are bastinadoed or strangled. When the women offend, they are not, out of modesty to the sex, exposed to the populace, but sent to some private house of correction; or, if the crime is capital, as when they are taken in adultery, &c. they are then tied up in a sack, carried out into the sea, and drowned*. The western Moors use the barbarous punishment of sawing the body of the criminal in two; expressive probably of διχοτομεῖν, Matt. xxiv. 51. Luke xii. 46. which we render *cutting asunder*, or *cutting off*; no less than of περτεῖν, Heb. xi. 37. which is translated, *sawing asunder*. For which purpose they prepare two boards of a proper length and breadth, and having tied the criminal betwixt them, they proceed to the execution, by beginning at the head. Kardinaah, a person of the first rank in that country, who not long ago had been ambassador at the British court, was put to death in this manner. For it may be very justly observed, with regard to the punishments of these countries, that there is little or no regard had to the quality of the offender, but to the nature of the offence. Sometimes indeed, a pecuniary mulct will stop the course of justice; but if the crime is flagrant, no atonement is to be made for it, the transgressor immediately suffering the punishment which he is thought to deserve.

§4.—Of their naval Force; together with their Interests and Alliances with Christian Princes. •

THE naval force of this regency, which, for the two last centuries, has been, at one time or other, a terror to the trading nations of Christendom, is, at present, in a declining condition. If we except their row-boats and brigantines, they had only (A.D. 1732,) half a dozen capital ships, from thirty-six to fifty guns; and, at the same time, had not half that number of brave and experienced captains. A general peace with the three trading nations, and the impossibility of keeping up a suitable discipline, where every private soldier disputes authority with his officer, are some of the principal reasons why so small a number of vessels are fitted out, and why so few persons of merit are afterwards willing to command them. Their want likewise of experience, with the few engagements they have been lately concerned in at sea, have equally contributed to this diminution of their naval character. However, if by proper discipline and encouragement they should once more assume their wonted courage and bravery, they have always in readiness such a quantity of naval stores as will put them in a capacity of making considerable augmentations to their fleet; though even at present, under all these disadvantages, we find them troublesome enough to the trade of Europe.

With relation to the princes of Europe, this government has alliance with us, with the French, the Dutch, and the Swedes, and lately with the Danes. Great application has been often made by the Port, in behalf of the Emperor's subjects; yet all their intercessions have hitherto proved ineffectual, notwithstanding the Algerines acknowledge themselves to be the vassals of the Grand Senior, and, as such, ought to be

interim, utique, pœnitent, inquit, imperator. The last punishment is mentioned by Aulus Gellius, *abstulerant, comprehendite, vincite, verberate, in puteum condite.*" Aulus A.G. ii. Sc. ver. 21. "Furca et Fossa, (Ang. Gallies and Gallies) in antiquis privilegiis significat jurisdictionem puniendi fures: sc. viros suspendio, feminas submersione—quod et in Scotia hodie observatum intelligit." See Spelman's Glossary in the word FURCA, &c. where he quotes an instance of this punishment out of the monuments of the church of Rochester.

entirely devoted to his orders and commands. The Swedes purchased peace at the price of 70,000 dollars; and, as these cruisers rarely meet with vessels of that nation, it has been hitherto discoursed of as a great mystery. But the great increase lately in their commerce seems now sufficiently to explain it. The success of the Dutch, during a war of twelve years, in destroying a few of their vessels; the magnificent present of naval stores that was made, upon ratifying the peace; together with the natural timorousness of the Dey, lest by further losses he should be reckoned *unfortunate**, (a dangerous character in this country for a commander); were the chief and concurring reasons for extending their friendship to that nation. It is certain the greatest part of the soldiers, and the sea officers in general, very strenuously opposed it; urging, that it would be in vain to arm their vessels, when they had peace with all the three trading nations; that their loss was inconsiderable, when compared with the riches they had obtained by the war; concluding with a very expressive Arabian proverb, that those *ought never to sow who are afraid of the sparrows*. As the younger soldiers cannot well subsist without the money they gain from their shares in prizes, there has been no small murmuring at the little success which they have lately met with. And it is very probable (as a little time perhaps will discover) that, the very moment any considerable addition is made to their fleet, nay, perhaps without any further augmentation, the present Dey will be obliged to lessen the number of his alliances, from those very principles which a few years ago engaged his predecessor to increase them.

The Algerines have certainly a great esteem and friendship for the British nation; and, provided there could be any security in a government that is guided more by chance and humour, than by counsel and mature deliberation, it is very probable, that which of the trading nations soever they may think fit to quarrel with, we have little to apprehend. The Dutch and the Swedes, and lately the Danes are very industrious in cultivating a good understanding with them, by making annual presents, a method hitherto very prevalent and successful; whilst, on the other hand, the French may perhaps influence them as much, by putting them in mind of the execution which their bombs did formerly to this city, and of a later instance of their resentment at Tripoly. But as there is prudence in using high words and menaces at Algiers, it is certain, provided the Algerines are to be swayed with fear, that we have as much interest in Sir Edward Sprag's expedition at Bou-jeiah, as the French can have in that of the Marquis d'Estrees at Algiers. Notwithstanding likewise all the arguments that may be urged in behalf of Marseilles and Toulon, these people are not to be persuaded, but that Minorca and Gibraltar are in a more convenient situation to give them disturbance. But reason and argument will not always be good politics at this court, where the cook † is the first minister, and where an insolent soldiery have too often the command. In critical conjunctures, therefore, the ground is to be maintained by the nice management and address of our consuls; by knowing how to make proper application to the particular passions of those who have the Dey's ear; by flattering one, placing confidence in another, and especially by making a proper use of those invincible arguments, money, *kaf-tans*, and gold watches. For according to an old and infallible

* Most of the Roman Emperors affected the appellation of *Felix*. The patriarch Joseph, Gen. xxix. 2. has the character of being a *prosperous man*; and that whatsoever he did *the Lord made it to prosper*, ver. 23.

† Livy (l. xxxix. c. 6.) has an observation very applicable to the great esteem which is paid to the cooks by these regencies. "Tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis ministerium et estimationis et usus, in pretio esse; et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepit."

observation, "Give a Turk money with one hand, and he will permit his eyes to be plucked out by the other."

Such was the political state and condition of this regency, when I left it, A. D. 1732. How long it may continue so, will be hard to determine; because what little there is here of justice, honesty, or public faith, proceeds rather from fear and compulsion, than from choice and free election. For the answer that was once made by the Dey to Consul Cole, on his complaining of the injuries which the British vessels had met with from his cruifers, must always be looked upon as fair and ingenuous: "The Algerines," says he, "are a company of rogues, and I am their captain." *

* The second part, relative to Egypt and Syria, is omitted, as other accounts are superior.

A
TOUR FROM GIBRALTAR

TO

TANGIER, SALLEE, MOGODORE, SANTA CRUZ, TARUDANT;

AND THENCE

OVER MOUNT ATLAS, TO MOROCCO:

Including a particular Account of the Royal Harem, &c.

By WILLIAM LEMPRIERE, Surgeon. *

CHAP. I. — *Motives of the Author for undertaking this Tour. — Sails from Gibraltar. — Arrival at Tangier. — Description of that Place. — Departure for Tarudant. — Instance of Tyranny exercised upon a Jew. — State of the Country and Roads. — Mode of living on these Journeys. — Description of Arzilla. — Moorish Luxury. — Application from a Variety of Patients. — Arrival at Larache.*

IN the month of September 1789 a request was forwarded through Mr. Matra, the British consul general at Tangier, to His Excellency General O'Hara at Gibraltar, from Muley Abfulem, the late Emperor of Morocco's favourite son, the purport of which was, to intreat His Excellency to send a medical gentleman from the garrison to attend the prince, whose health was at that time in a dangerous and declining state.

As the term Muley will frequently occur in the succeeding pages, it may not be improper to state in this place, that it is a title of honour, which is confined to the royal family of Morocco, and is equivalent to that of lord, or rather prince, in our language.

The promises of Muley Abfulem to the consul were splendid and encouraging. The person who was to be sent on this expedition was to be protected from every indignity, and to be treated with the utmost respect. He was to receive a liberal reward for his professional exertions; his expences during his journey, and while he staid in the country, were to be punctually defrayed; and he was to be sent back without delay, whenever his presence should be required at the garrison. But the most flattering circumstance which attended this requisition of the Moorish prince was, the release of certain Christian captives who were at that period detained in slavery. These unfortunate persons consisted of the master of an English vessel

trading to Africa, and nine seamen, who had been wrecked upon that part of the coast which is inhabited by the wild Arabs, and were carried into slavery by that savage and merciless people.

How far these brilliant assurances were fulfilled will appear in the course of the following narrative. It is sufficient for the present to observe, that, influenced by the faith which the inhabitants of Europe are accustomed to place in the professions of persons of rank and dignity, and still more impelled by that impetuous curiosity which is natural to youth, I was easily persuaded to embrace the opportunity of visiting a region so little known to European travellers, and to undertake this singular, and (as it was generally regarded) extremely hazardous service.

However disappointed I may have been in my hopes of pecuniary advantage and emolument, still I cannot at this moment regret my rashness, as it was considered by many. In the course of my visit I had opportunities which no European had ever enjoyed of becoming acquainted with the manners, policy, customs, and character of this singular people. The sanctity of the royal harem itself was laid open to my inspection. Even the dangers which I encountered, and the anxious apprehensions which I occasionally experienced, I can now reflect upon with a degree of emotion which is not unpleasant. The notes which I made upon the spot I had the great pleasure to find proved interesting and entertaining to a number of my friends. By their persuasions I have been encouraged to lay them before the public; and my only and earnest wish is, that the reader may not find his curiosity disappointed, his attention wearied, or his judgment disgusted, by the adventures and observations which, with the most perfect consciousness of my own inability as a writer, I submit to his inspection.

The necessary preliminaries being settled, and the baggage of a soldier requiring no great preparation, I embarked at Gibraltar the 14th of September 1789, on board a small vessel, and in six hours arrived at Tangier, where I immediately waited on Mr. Matra, whose polite reception and kind offices, during the six months that I spent in Barbary, claim, and ever will command, my warmest acknowledgments.

I soon learned that my intended patient was, by his father's command, at the time of my arrival, at the head of an army in the mountains between Morocco and Tarudant, which obliged me to remain at Tangier till we received certain intelligence of the prince's return to Tarudant, his usual place of residence.

It would be difficult to determine whether surprize or regret was most predominant in my mind upon my arrival in this country. The distance is so trifling, and the transition so sudden, that I at first could scarcely persuade myself that I was out of Europe, till I was convinced to the contrary by the wonderful difference of people and manners which immediately presented itself on my entering Tangier. Civilization in most other countries owes its origin to a commercial intercourse with foreign nations; and there are few parts of the world, however distant or uninformed, whose inhabitants have not, in some way or other, fallen into the manners of those foreigners by whom they are visited. But here this circumstance seems to have had not the smallest effect; for though situated only eight leagues from Europe, in the habit of a constant communication with its inhabitants, and enjoying the advantage of a number of foreigners residing in the place, yet the people of Tangier still retain the same uncultivated manners, the same aversion to every kind of mental improvement by which the Moors have for ages past been so justly characterized.

It is well known that the town and fortress of Tangier formerly constituted a part of the foreign dominions of Great Britain. While in the possession of the English it was

was a place of considerable strength, but when it was evacuated by the orders of Charles II. the fortifications were demolished, and only the vestiges of them are now visible. There is at present only a small fort in tolerable repair, which is situated at the northern extremity of the town, and a battery of a few guns which fronts the bay. From these circumstances it is evident that it could make only a very weak resistance against any powerful attack.

The town, which occupies a very small space of ground, and affords nothing remarkable, is built upon an eminence which appears to rise out of the sea, and is surrounded with a wall. The land for a small distance round it is laid out into vineyards, orchards, and corn-fields, beyond which are tracts of sand, with lofty and barren hills. The situation is therefore far from beautiful or agreeable. The houses are in general mean and ill furnished, the roofs are quite flat, and both these and the walls are entirely whitened over: the apartments are all on the ground floor, as there is no second story.

Contrary to the usual custom in Barbary, the Moors and Jews live intermixed at Tangier, and maintain a more friendly intercourse than elsewhere in this quarter of the globe. The Jews also, instead of going bare-footed by compulsion, as at Morocco, Tarudant, and many other places, are only required to do it when passing a street where there is a mosque or a sanctuary.

The foreign consuls (except the French, who has a house at Sallee) reside at Tangier. Before the reign of the late Emperor Sidi Mahomet, they were allowed to live at Tetuan, a town greatly preferable to Tangier, as well on account of the inhabitants being more civilized, as of the beauty of the adjacent country. A singular circumstance occasioned the expulsion of the Christians from that pleasant retreat:—an European gentleman was amusing himself with shooting at some birds in the vicinity of the town, and accidentally wounded an old Moorish woman, who unfortunately happened to be within reach of the shot. Upon this accident the late Emperor swore by his beard that no Christian should ever again enter the town of Tetuan. It may be necessary to inform the reader that this oath (by the beard) is held by the Moors in such solemn estimation, that they are rarely observed to violate it, nor was the late Emperor ever known to disregard it in a single instance.

The situation of consuls, indeed, in this distant and uncivilized country, is by no means to be envied; and the recompence which should induce men of liberal education to sacrifice their native comforts and advantages, to such a system of life as is required here, ought not to be trifling. They can form no society but among themselves; and even the universally-allowed law of nations is frequently insufficient to protect their persons from insult. Subject to the caprice of an Emperor whose conduct is regulated by no law, and whose mind is governed by no fixed principle, they are often ordered up to court, and after experiencing a very tedious, fatiguing, and expensive journey, they are frequently sent back again without having effected the smallest point to the advantage of their own country, sometimes indeed without even being informed of the purpose of the journey.

As an alleviation to so unfociable a life, the English, Swedish, and Danish consuls have erected country houses at a small distance from Tangier, where they occasionally retire, and enjoy those amusements which the country affords. These are chiefly gardening, fishing, and hunting. From the plenty of game of every kind with which the country abounds, and a total freedom from any restriction, with respect to it, (for there are no game laws in this empire) they give a full scope to the pleasures of the field,

field, and endeavour by those means to procure a substitute for the want of friendly and cheerful society.

On the northern side of Tangier is the castle, which, though very extensive, lies half in ruins. It has a royal treasury, and is the residence of the governor. Near the water-side are storehouses for the refitting of vessels, and at this port many of the Emperor's row-galleys are built. A number of them also are generally laid up here, when not engaged in actual service. Indeed, from its convenient situation with respect to the Straits, this is the best sea-port that he has for employing to advantage these small vessels.

The bay is sufficiently spacious, but it is dangerous for shipping in a strong easterly wind. The most secure place of anchorage is on the eastern part of the bay, about half a mile from shore, in a line with the round tower and the Spanish consul's house, which makes a very conspicuous appearance from the bay.

On the southern side of the bay is the river, where, before it was choaked up with sand-banks, the Emperor used to winter his large ships, which he is now obliged to send to Larache. Most of the rivers in the Emperor's dominions, which were formerly navigable, and well calculated for the fitting out of vessels, and for the laying of them up in safety, have now their mouth so continually filling with sand, that in a course of years small fishing-boats only will be able to enter them. It has often occurred to me, that an enquiry into the state of the Emperor's navy, and in particular into the inconvenience of his harbours, might be an object of some consequence to the different European powers, who now condescend to pay a most disgraceful tribute to this shadow of imperial dignity.

Over the river of Tangier are the ruins of an ancient bridge, supposed to have been erected by the Romans. The centre of it only is destroyed, and that does not seem to be the effect of time. It more probably was pulled down by the Moors, for the purpose of permitting their vessels to enter the river. The remainder of it is entire, and by its thickness, and solidity it evinces the excellence of the ancient architects, and shews that strength, as well as beauty, made a considerable part of their study.

As I propose in a future part of this narrative to describe very particularly the architecture, houses, furniture, &c. in this country, I shall conclude my account of Tangier by observing, that in time of peace it carries on a small trade with Gibraltar and the neighbouring coast of Spain, by supplying those places with provisions, and receiving in return European commodities of almost every kind.

In a fortnight after my arrival at Tangier the consul received a letter from the prince, informing him of his return to Tarudant, and of his wish that the English surgeon might be dispatched to him immediately. Previous to my departure, however, it became necessary to consider what was required for the journey.

Two horsemen of the Black or Negro cavalry, armed with long muskets and sabres, were dispatched by the prince to escort me, and had been waiting for that purpose for some time. The governor of the town had orders to supply me with a tent, mules, and an interpreter. But it was not without much difficulty that a person could be found in Tangier who could speak the English and Arabic languages sufficiently well to perform that office; and it was owing to an accident that I at length was enabled to obtain one.

After searching the whole town in vain, the governor ordered, during the Jewish hour of prayer, that enquiries should be made among all the synagogues for a person who understood both languages. An unfortunate Jew, whose occupation was that of selling fruit about the streets of Gibraltar, and who had come to Tangier merely to spend

spend a few days with his wife and family during a Jewish festival, being unacquainted with the intent of the enquiry, unguardedly answered in the affirmative. Without further ceremony the poor man was dragged away from his friends and home, and constrained by force to accompany me.

Of the mode in this despotic government of seizing persons at the arbitrary pleasure of a governor, an Englishman can scarcely form an idea. Three or four lusty Moors, with large clubs in their hands, grasp the wretched and defenceless victim with as much energy as if he was an Hercules, from whom they expected the most formidable resistance, and half shake him to death before they deliver him up to the superior power. — Such was exactly the situation of my unfortunate interpreter.

From the sudden and abrupt manner in which he was hurried away, in the midst of his devotions, the women immediately took the alarm, flew in a body to the house of the consul, and with shrieks and lamentations endeavoured to prevail on him to get the man excused from his journey. The immense distance, and the ill treatment which they knew was offered to Jews by the Moors, when not under some civilized controul, were certainly sufficient motives for this alarm on the part of the women. Upon the consul's assuring them, however, that the wife should be taken care of, and the husband sent back without any expence to him on our arrival at Mogadore, where I was to be furnished with another interpreter, and upon my promising to protect the Jew from insult, and, if he behaved well, to reward him for his trouble, the women immediately dispersed, and returned home apparently satisfied.

When this business was completed, the consul furnished me with a proper quantity of liquors, two days provisions, a bedstead formed by three folding stools, for the convenience of packing it on the mules, with proper cooking utensils, and an oil-skin case to carry my bedding. The whole of my equipage, therefore, consisted of two Negro soldiers, a Jewish interpreter, one saddle-mule for myself, and another for him, two baggage-mules, and a Moorish muleteer on foot to take care of them.

On the 30th of September, at three in the afternoon, we set out on our journey; and at six the same evening arrived at a small village about eight miles from Tangier, named Hyn Dalia, where we slept that night. The country through which we passed, after quitting the neighbourhood of Tangier, was barren and mountainous, with scarcely any inhabitants; and it continued so the whole way to Larache, only a few miserable hamlets presenting themselves occasionally to our view. The villages throughout this empire consist of huts rudely constructed of stones, earth, and canes, covered with thatch, and enclosed with thick and high hedges. This description exactly applies to that which received us on the first evening of our expedition.

So careful had the governor of Tangier been in executing his commission, and so attentive to the accommodation of the person who was to restore his royal master's favourite son, that upon examining my tent it was found so full of holes, and in every respect so out of order, that I was obliged to place my bed under a hedge, and make use of my tattered tent as a side covering.

After spending the night in this singular situation, we proceeded on our journey at half past seven in the morning, and in an hour after crossed the river Marha, which was nearly dry; though I was informed that after the heavy rains it is deep and dangerous to be forded. In a wet season, when the rivers are swelled, travellers are frequently detained for several days upon their banks. There are in fact but very few bridges in this country, so that, except at the sea-ports, where they have boats, there is

no method of passing streams which are too deep to be forded, except by swimming, or by the use of rafts.

At ten we entered a thick and extensive forest, named Rabe a Clow. From its situation on a high mountain, from the rocky and difficult ascent, and from the distant view of the ocean through the openings of the trees, this forest presented to us an uncommonly wild, romantic, and, I may with truth say, a sublime appearance. From this prospect, however, our attention was in a great measure diverted by the miserable road over which we now found we were to pass, extending for the most part over steep mountains and craggy rocks. On this account we were obliged to ride very slow, and with the greatest caution.

At eleven we crossed another river, called Machira la Chef, running at the bottom of this elevated forest, which, though the season was dry, was rather deep. Here the eye was agreeably refreshed by a fine champaign country, and a good road before us. On this we continued until we arrived at a rivulet with some trees growing at a small distance from its margin. At noon I fixed upon the most shady spot I could find, and, agreeably to the Moorish fashion, sat down cross-legged on the grass and dined.

As the dressing of victuals would have retarded us too much on our journey, I always made a point of having something prepared the night before to eat cold the following day. Such repasts in fresco were agreeable enough, when wholesome and palatable water could be procured; but very frequently that was far from being the case. In many places it was so muddy and offensive, that, though extremely thirsty, I could not drink it unless corrected with wine.

Except in the large towns, no provisions could be procured but fowls and eggs; with these, which I had been before accustomed to esteem as delicacies, I now began to be fatiated and disgusted. My usual supper upon my route was a cup of strong coffee and a toast, which I found much more refreshing than animal food. Every morning I breakfasted upon the same, and experienced the invigorating effects of this beverage, by its enabling me to support the fatigues of the day.

After pursuing our course for about two hours, we arrived at the river Lorifa, where we were detained an hour by the height of the tide. The uncertainty and unevenness of the bottom, and the number of large stones which lie in the channel of this river, render it at all times unsafe to be passed. This circumstance we very sensibly experienced; for when the tide permitted us to make the attempt, though we had men on foot for the purpose of guiding our beasts, still, by their striking against the stones, and by their sudden plunges into deep holes, we were continually thrown forward upon their necks.

Hardiness and dexterity are, perhaps, the first among the few advantages which uncivilized nations enjoy. It was amusing in this place to observe a number of Moors, who were travelling on foot, pull off their cloaths, place them commodiously on their heads, and immediately swim across the stream.

In the evening we reached Arzilla, where, in consequence of the service in which I was engaged, application was made by the foldiers to the alcaide, or governor of the town, to procure me a lodging. Arzilla is eleven hours journey, or about 30 miles distant from Tangier: for the Moors compute distances by hours; and as the pace of their mules is at the rate of three miles an hour, the length of a journey is generally calculated in this way with sufficient accuracy.

The apartment assigned me was a miserable room in the castle, without any windows, and receiving light from a door-way (for there was no door), and from three holes in the wall about six inches square. This castle covers a large space of ground; and

though it is now in a very ruinous condition, appears to have been a building erected formerly in a superior style of Moorish grandeur.

The town is a small sea-port upon the Atlantic ocean. It was once in the possession of the Portuguese, and was at that time a place of strength; but through the indolence and caprice of the Moorish princes its fortifications have been since neglected, and its walls are rapidly decaying in almost every part. The houses have a miserable appearance, and the inhabitants, who consist of a few Moors and Jews, live in a state of the most perfect poverty.

The reader may form some idea of the manners of this country, by imagining me and my interpreter at one end of the room, as above described, drinking coffee; and at the other, the mulcteer and the soldiers enjoying themselves over a large bowl of cuscufou, which they were devouring with all the fervour of an excellent appetite, and in the primitive fashion, that is, with their fingers. This species of food is very common among the Moors, who have a tradition that it was invented by their prophet Mahomet, at a time when he could obtain neither sleep nor subsistence. It is their principal treat to all foreign ministers, and travellers of distinction who visit the country. It consists of bits of paste about the size of rice, crumbled into an earthen colander, and cooked by the steam of boiled meat and vegetables. The whole is then put into an earthen dish, and butter and spices added to it. The dish is served up in a wooden tray, with a cover of palmetto leaves plaited together.

About an hour after my arrival, the governor, and several of the principal Moors, paid me a visit, and brought me, in compliment to my royal patient, a present of fruit, eggs, and fowls. After a conversation of about half an hour, during which many compliments passed on both sides, my visitors took their leave, and we all retired to rest.

As the report was rapidly and extensively circulated that Christian surgeon was arrived in the town, I found myself visited very early in the morning by a number of patients, whose cases were in general truly deplorable. Many of these objects were afflicted with total blindness, white swellings, inveterate chronic rheumatisms, and dropsies. It was in vain to assure these unfortunate and ignorant people that their complaints were beyond the reach of medicine. All I could allege gained not the smallest credit; a Christian doctor, they asserted, could cure every malady, and repeatedly offered me their hands to feel their pulse; for diseases of every kind in this country, it seems, are to be discovered merely by an application to the pulse.

From the urgent importunities of my patients, who all wished to be attended to at the same time, I was at first at a loss how to proceed; however, I found myself under the necessity of ordering my guards to keep off the crowd, and permit one only to consult me at a time. It was truly distressing to observe so many objects of real misery before me, without having it in my power to administer that relief for which they appeared so anxious, and which they were so confident of obtaining. Though most of their complaints appeared to be incurable, yet had my time permitted I should have experienced the most heart-felt pleasure in exerting every means in my power to alleviate their sufferings. Circumstanced as I was, I could only recommend them medicines which would have but a temporary effect, and which served rather to send them away satisfied than to afford a permanent relief.

In the mean time the governor had been paying attention to the bad condition of my tent, and by ordering the worst parts to be cut out, and the rest to be patched, had reduced it so much in size, that he had scarcely left room for myself and interpreter with difficulty to creep into it.

At eight o'clock the same morning, October 2d, we began our route for the city of Larache, about 22 miles from Arzila, and arrived there the same day about four in the afternoon. Our journey thither was principally on the beach, so that but little occurred which was worthy of observation. Before we could enter the town, we were ferried over the river Luccos, which in this part is about half a mile in breadth, and after many beautiful meanders falls into the ocean at Larache.

CHAP. II. — *Description of Larache.* — *Application from a Number of Patients.* — *Diseases of the Country.* — *State of Medical Science in Morocco.* — *Curious Ruin.* — *Beautiful Country.* — *Encampments of the Arabs.* — *Manners and Customs of this singular People.* — *Oppression of the People.* — *Instances.* — *Mode of fishing in the Lakes.* — *Sanctuaries.* — *Moorish Saints.* — *Anecdotes illustrative of this Subject.* — *Journey from Mamora to Sallee.*

IMMEDIATELY on my arrival at Larache I was introduced to the alcaide or governor, whom I found to be a very handsome black. He shewed me great attention, and placed me in a very decent apartment in the castle, which is in a state totally different from that of Arzila.

Larache formerly belonged to the Spaniards: it has tolerably neat buildings, and is of a moderate extent. This city is situated at the mouth of the river Luccos, upon an easy descent to the sea. The agreeable windings of the river, the clusters of date and various other trees irregularly disposed, and the gentle risings of the ground, have a most picturesque effect; which, aided by the reflection that you are contemplating the pure works of nature, unassisted or undeformed by art, cannot fail to inspire the most pleasing sensations.

The town, though not regularly fortified, possesses one fort and two batteries in good repair. The streets are paved, and there is a decent market-place with stone piazzas. This city indeed, on the whole, exhibits a much cleaner and neater appearance than any town which I visited in Barbary, Mogadore excepted.

At the port vessels are refitted and supplied with stores, though there are no docks nor conveniences for building large ships. From the depth and security of the river the Emperor is induced to lay up his large vessels at Larache during the winter season. It indeed is the only port which he possesses that can answer that purpose. It is, however, probable, that this river in process of time will be subject to the same inconvenience as that of Tangier, owing to the accumulation of sand, which already has produced a bar at its entrance, of which the annual increase is very perceptible.

As one of my mules had fallen lame, I continued the whole of the following day at Larache, with a view of exchanging him; but to my great mortification was not able to succeed in the attempt. During a great part of the day my room was so filled with patients that it might with great propriety be compared to an infirmary, and that not one of the least considerable.

The diseases that I observed to be most prevalent, were the hydrocele; violent inflammations in the eyes, very frequently terminating in blindness; the itch, combined with inveterate leprous affections; dropsies, and white swellings. I also observed a few intermittent and bilious fevers, and frequently complaints of the stomach, arising from indigestion. Though this country has in a few instances been visited by the plague, yet that disease by no means is so prevalent here as in the eastern parts of Barbary, which are more contiguous to Turkey, whence it is supposed usually to proceed.

The

The cause of the hydrocele so frequently occurring in this country seems to be in a great measure the loose dress of the Moors, and the great relaxation which is induced by the warmth of the climate*. The ophthalmia, or inflammation of the eyes, is evidently occasioned by their being exposed to the reflection of the sun from the houses, which are universally whitened over. To this inconvenience the Moors are more particularly subject, from their dress not being calculated to keep off the rays of the sun, and from no person being allowed the use of an umbrella except the Emperor.

The leprous affection appears to be hereditary, for I was informed that it has been frequently traced back from one family to another for several generations, and it has all the appearance of being the true leprosy of the ancients. It breaks out in great blotches over the whole body, in some few forming one continual sore, which frequently heals up, and at stated times breaks out afresh, but is never thoroughly cured. During my residence at Morocco, I had frequent opportunities of trying a variety of remedies for this complaint, but I never succeeded further than a temporary cure, for upon discontinuing the medicines the disease was certain to return. The white swellings and dropsies probably arise from poor living; three parts of the people seldom having any other kind of provision than coarse bread, fruit, and vegetables.

With respect to the state of medical and chirurgical knowledge in this country, it is very limited indeed. They have, however, their practitioners in physic, both Moors and Jews, who have gone through the form of fitting themselves for the profession, which chiefly consists in selecting from the ancient Arabic manuscripts that remain in the country some simple remedies, which they afterwards apply, as well as they are able, to various distempers.

Their methods of treating disorders are, bleeding, cupping, scarifying, fomentations, and giving internally decoctions of herbs. Some are bold enough in the hydrocele to let out the water with a lancet; and there are those who even couch for the cataract. I never had an opportunity of seeing the operation of couching performed in Barbary, but I was introduced to a Moor at the city of Morocco, who told me that he had performed it, and shewed me the instrument which he used for the purpose. This was a piece of thick brass wire, terminating gradually at one end in a point not very sharp.

The Moors chiefly depend upon topical remedies, and seldom make use of internal medicines. Being strangers to the manner in which they are to operate, they seem to entertain no favourable opinion of their efficacy. It is indeed almost impossible to persuade them that a medicine received into the stomach can relieve complaints in the head or extremities. It is but justice, however, to add, that I never knew them object to any thing that I administered, provided I clearly explained to them the manner in which they were to be benefited by it. From these observations, and from the frequent recourse which the Mahometans have to charms and amulets, it appears that, notwithstanding their belief in predestination, they are not averse to the use of means for the removal of disorders.

Of the number who applied to me for relief at Larache, none appeared to exhibit the least sense of gratitude except one; the rest behaved as if they thought they did me a greater favour by asking my advice, than I conferred on them by giving it. The

* The medical reader will probably see a further cause for the frequency of this complaint, in the great indulgence which the Moors allow themselves in certain pleasures, and the application of the warm bath immediately after.

person to whom I allude, as being so different in his conduct from the rest, was an old Moor of some distinction in the place, who desired me to come to his house and visit a sick friend, with which request I immediately complied. The man for this trifling attention was so uncommonly grateful, that reflecting on the place where I was, and on the treatment I had already experienced, I was astonished and gratified beyond expression. After sending to my apartment a large supply of poultry and fruit, the usual present of the country, he waited on me himself, and assured me, that while he lived he should never forget the favour which I had done him; at the same time insisting upon my making use of his house as my own upon my return. As this was the principal instance of this very singular virtue among the Moors, which I experienced during my whole tour in Barbary, I have thought it my duty to be particular in mentioning the circumstance.

On the 4th of October, at six in the morning, we left Larache, and at ten passed the river Clough, a small stream. At four in the afternoon we came to the ruins of a large castle, said to have been built some hundred years ago, by a Moor of distinction, named Dar Corefy, who was put to death by the then reigning Emperor, and his castle destroyed. Most of the castles and other public buildings indeed, which I saw in this empire, afforded strong marks of having suffered more from the hands of the tyrant, than from the injuries of time.

I have already mentioned the beautiful prospects in the country adjacent to Larache; those in the road from that city to Mamora were not less delightful. We travelled among trees of various kinds, so agreeably arranged that the place had more the appearance of a park than of an uncultivated country. We crossed over plains which, without the aid of the husbandman, were rich in verdure; and we had a view of lakes which extended many miles in length, the sides of which were lined with Arab encampments, and their surfaces covered with innumerable water-fowl. The fineness of the day greatly added to the pleasure I received from these variegated scenes, which are not unworthy the pencil of the ablest artist.

At half past four in the afternoon we arrived at the first of these lakes, and pitched our tent in the centre of one of the encampments.

These encampments are generally at a very considerable distance from the cities and towns; the villages, on the other hand, are commonly quite in the vicinity of some town. The encampment consists of broad tents, constructed either of the leaves of the palmetto, or of camels hair. Some of them are supported by canes, and others are fixed by pegs. The form of an Arab tent is in some degree similar to a tomb, or the keel of a ship reversed. They are dyed black, are broad, and very low. The tent of the shaik or governor is considerably larger than any of the others, and is placed in a conspicuous part of the camp. These camps are named by the Arabs douhars, and the number of tents in them vary according to the proportion of people in the tribe or family. Some of the douhars contain only four or five, while others consist of near a hundred. The camp forms either a complete circle or an oblong square, but the first is more common. The cattle, which are left to graze at large in the day, are carefully secured within the boundaries at night.

In all the camps the tents are closed on the north side, and are quite open on the south, by which means they escape the cold northerly winds, so prevalent in this country during the winter season.

The Arabs who inhabit these encampments are in many respects a very different race of people from the Moors who inhabit the towns. The latter, from being in general more affluent, from their intercourse with Europeans, and from their different edu-

cation,

cation, have introduced luxuries, and imbibed ideas, of which the others are entirely ignorant. From their strong family attachments indeed, as well as from their inveterate prejudices in favour of ancient customs, these tribes of Arabs appear to be at a vast distance from a state of civilization. As this singular people associate continually in tribes, their marriages are confined to their own family; and so strict are they in the observance of this attachment, that they will not permit a person who is not in some degree related to them to inhabit the same camp with themselves.

The husband, wife, and children all sleep in the same tent, commonly on a pallet of sheep-skins, but sometimes on the bare ground. The children remain with their parents till they marry, when the friends of each party are obliged to provide them with a tent, a stone hand-mill to grind their corn, a basket, a wooden bowl, and two earthen dishes, which constitute the whole of their furniture. Besides these they have however a marriage portion, which consists of a certain number of camels, horses, cows, sheep, and goats, with a proportionable quantity of wheat and barley: and by grazing and cultivating the neighbouring ground they gradually increase their stock. The Arabs have seldom more than one wife. Their women, who are in general the very opposite to every idea of beauty, do not, like those who inhabit the towns, conceal their faces in the presence of strangers.

Each camp is under the direction of a shaik, to whom the rest apply for redress whenever they feel themselves aggrieved. This governor is invested with the power of inflicting any punishment which he may think proper, short of death. He is appointed by the Emperor, and is in general the Arab who possesses the greatest property.

As they are generally at a distance from any mosque where they can exercise their religion, an empty tent is allotted for the purposes of worship, which is placed in the centre of the camp, and which at the same time serves for the nightly abode of any traveller who may pass that way; and those who take shelter in it are provided with a good supper, at the expence of the whole association. Within this tent all the children assemble every morning an hour before day-break, before a large wood fire, which is made on the outside, and learn their prayers, which are written in Arabic characters on boards, and are always hanging up in the tent. The learning to read the few prayers which are on these boards, and to commit them to memory, is the only education to which the Arabs in general ever attain.

The unsettled turn of these people has conferred upon them the appellation of wandering Arabs. As soon as the land which surrounds them becomes less productive, and their cattle have devoured all the pasture, they strike their tents, and move on to some more fertile spot, till necessity again compels them to retire. I met one of these tribes upon their march, and observed that not only their camels, horses, and mules, but also their bulls and cows, were laden with their tents, implements of agriculture, wives and children, &c.

In the empire of Morocco all landed property, except what is immediately connected with towns, belongs to the Emperor. The Arabs, therefore, when they wish to change their situation, are obliged to procure a licence from him, or at least from the bashaw of the province, allowing them to take possession of any particular spot of ground; and in consideration of this indulgence they pay the Emperor a proportion of its produce.

The treatment which I experienced from these people was kind and hospitable, betraying no signs of that inclination to impose upon strangers, which so strongly mark the character of the inhabitants of the towns. As soon as my tent was pitched, numbers flocked round it, but apparently more from curiosity than from any intention

of offending. On the contrary they appeared exceedingly desirous to do every thing in their power for my accommodation.

The dress of the men consists of a long coarse frock, made of undyed wool, which is girt about the waist, and is called a *cashove*. In addition to this they wear the *haick*, which is a piece of stuff several yards in length, made either of wool, or wool and cotton. This, when they go abroad, they use as a cloak, throwing it over the whole of the under dress in a careless manner, the upper part serving to cover their head. They wear their hair cut quite close, use no turban, cap, nor stockings, and seldom even wear slippers.

The dress of the women is nearly the same, differing only in the mode of putting on the *cashove*, which is so contrived as to form a bag on their backs, for the purpose of carrying their children; and this they are able to do, and perform all the drudgery of the family at the same time. Their hair, which is black, is worn in different plaits, and is covered with a handkerchief tied close to their head. They are very fond of gold and silver trinkets when they can obtain them, and none of them are without a number of bead necklaces. Their children go quite naked till the age of nine or ten, when they are initiated in the drudgery of their parents.

The mode of living amongst these people is much the same as that of the Moors in towns, *cuscousou* being their principal diet. Besides this, however, they eat camels and foxes flesh, and sometimes even cats have fallen victims to their voracity. They use barley bread, which is prepared without yeast or leaven, and baked in an earthen dish in the shape of a cake.

The complexion of the Arabs is a dark brown, or rather olive-colour. Their features, from their more active life, have stronger expression and fewer marks of effeminacy than those of the Moors in towns. Their eyes are black, and their teeth in general white and regular.

The ill effects of strong family prejudices, and of that narrow and exclusive disposition which accompanies them, is strongly marked in these little societies. Every camp beholds its neighbour with detestation or contempt. Perpetual feuds arise between the inhabitants of each, and too commonly are productive of bloodshed, and the most extravagant outrages. When one of these unfortunate contests proceeds to open acts of violence, it seldom terminates till the Emperor has taken a share in the dispute. Whoever is the author, he at least generally derives advantages from these dissensions; for, independent of the corporal punishment which he inflicts, he also imposes heavy fines upon the contending tribes, which proves the most effectual mode of pacifying the combatants.

Besides what the Emperor gains in this way, which is frequently considerable, he likewise receives annually the tenth of every article of consumption which is the produce of the country; he also sometimes exacts an extraordinary impost, answering in value to about the fortieth part of every article they possess, which is levied for the purpose of supporting his troops. Besides these levies, these unfortunate people are liable to any other exaction which his caprice may direct him to impose upon them, from a plea of pretended or real necessity. The first tax (the tenth) is paid either in corn and cattle, or in money. The other is always paid in corn and cattle.

The mode practised by the Emperor for extorting money from his subjects is very simple and expeditious. He sends orders to the *balhaw* or governor of the province to pay him the sum he wants within a limited time. The *balhaw* immediately collects it, and sometimes double the sum, as a reward to his own industry, from the *caid* of the towns and *shaks* of the encampments in the province which he commands. The

example of the bashaw is not lost upon these officers, who take care to compensate their own trouble with equal liberality from the pockets of the subjects; so that by means of this chain of despotism, which descends from the Emperor to the meanest officer, the wretched people generally pay about four times the taxes which the Emperor receives—so little gainers are arbitrary monarchs by the oppression of the public! The exactions indeed have been sometimes so severe, that the Arabs have positively refused to satisfy the Emperor's demands, and have obliged him to send a party of soldiers to enforce them. Whenever he is forced to this extremity, the soldiers never fail to give full scope to their love of plunder.

When a stranger sleeps in one of these camps, he rests in the most perfect safety; for if he loses the least article, or is in any respect injured, all the Arabs of the camp become answerable for it. So that a foreigner travels with much greater security under the protection of government in this empire, than among the nations of Europe which are more civilised.

The lakes in this part of the world furnish great plenty of water-fowl and eels. The manner of catching the latter being in some degree curious, I shall trespass upon the reader's patience while I endeavour to give some account of it.

A sort of skiff, about six feet long and two broad, is formed of bundles of reeds and rushes, rudely joined together, leaving only sufficient room to contain the man. The skiff gradually narrows off towards the head, where it terminates in a point which is bent upwards in a manner similar to the turn of a scate. It is guided and managed entirely by one long pole, and from its lightness is capable of very quick motion. For the immediate purpose of taking the eels, a number of strong canes are fixed together, with a barbed iron in each, and with this instrument, as soon as the eels are observed in the water, the man immediately strikes at them with great dexterity, and generally with success.

Almost the whole employment of the Arabs consists in the tillage of the ground adjacent to their camps, and in the grazing of their cattle. The grounds at a distance from the lakes, by the burning of the stubble in the autumn, and a slight turning up of the earth with a wooden plough-share, produce good crops of barley and wheat; and by these means the Arabs procure not only sufficient for their consumption, but are even enabled to bring a part for sale to the neighbouring markets. Near the marshes and lakes their flocks and herds find a very rich pasture, which, from the number of every species which I observed, added in no small degree to the beauty of the romantic scene.

With respect to their markets, they have spots of ground fixed upon for that purpose within a few hours ride of their habitations, where once a week all the neighbouring Arabs transport their cattle, poultry, fruit, and corn to be disposed of, and sometimes meet with a good sale from the Moorish merchants, who come from the town to purchase cattle and grain.

Were the Emperor to allow a free exportation of corn, with moderate duties, and to permit the people to enjoy what they earn, exacting only the tax allowed him by the Koran, of a tenth on each article, his subjects would soon become very rich, and his own revenue would be trebly increased. The soil is so fertile, that every grain is computed to produce an hundred fold; but, owing to the want of a greater demand for this article, the Arabs sow little more than is necessary for their own use.

The only guards of these rude habitations, both against thieves and wild beasts, are dogs of a very large and fierce species. If these animals perceive a stranger approach the camp, they furiously issue in a body against him, and would probably tear him to pieces,

pieces, were they not restrained, and called off by their owners. Through the whole of the night they keep up an incessant and melancholy barking and howling, which, though doubtless very useful, in keeping their masters upon the watch, and frightening away wild beasts, yet, when united to the lowing of the herds and neighing of the horses which occupy the vacant spaces of the camp, certainly tends to depress the spirits, and impede that rest which the fatigue attending those journeys naturally requires.

On the 5th of October, between five and six in the morning, we quitted the habitations of these hospitable Arabs, and travelled on to Mamora, where we arrived about six the same evening. The greater part of this day's journey afforded us a continuation of nearly the same appearances with that of the preceding day.

As we approached the town, we observed on each side of the lakes several sanctuaries of Moorish saints. These sanctuaries are stone buildings of about ten yards square, whitened over, with a cupola at the top, containing in them the body of the saint.

A veneration for persons of eminent sanctity has pervaded all nations and all religions of the world. The Mahometan religion appears as little favourable to this species of superstition as most with which we are acquainted, as it so tenaciously insists on the unity of God, and so strictly inhibits all creatures whatever from participating in the honours which are due only to the Deity. Some degree of idolatry, however, will prevail in every rude nation. When, therefore, a Mahometan saint dies, he is buried with the utmost solemnity, and a chapel is erected over his grave, which place afterwards becomes more sacred than even the mosques themselves.

If the most atrocious criminal takes refuge in one of these chapels, or sanctuaries, his person is secure. The Emperor himself, who rarely scruples to employ any means whatever that may serve to accomplish his purpose, seldom violates the privilege of these places. When a Moor is oppressed by any mental or bodily affliction, he applies to the nearest sanctuary, and afterwards returns home with his mind calm and comforted, expecting to derive some considerable benefit from the prayers which he has offered there: and in all desperate cases the sanctuary is the last resort.

Saints in Barbary are of two kinds. The first are those who by frequent ablutions, prayers, and other acts of devotion, have acquired an extraordinary reputation for piety. Too many of these are artful hypocrites, who under the mask of religion practise the most flagrant immoralities. There are, however, instances of some among them, whose practices accord in general with their profession, and who make it their business to attend upon the sick, and assist the necessitous and unhappy. From such as these the severe spirit of philosophy itself will scarcely withhold respect and veneration.

Idiots and madmen form the second class of saints. In every state of society, indeed, an opinion has been prevalent, that persons afflicted with these mental complaints were under the influence of superior powers. The oracles and prophets of the heathen world derived their celebrity from this circumstance; and even among the lower classes in our own country we frequently have to encounter a similar prejudice. In conformity, therefore, with these notions, so natural to uncultivated man, the Moors consider these unhappy persons as being under the special protection of Heaven, and divinely inspired. Superstition here, as perhaps in some other instances, becomes admirably subservient to humanity and charity. In consequence of this prejudice, the most friendless and unprotected race of mortals find friends and protectors in the populace themselves. They are fed and clothed gratis wherever they wander, and are sometimes loaded with presents. A Moor might with as much safety offer an

insult to the Emperor himself, as attempt by any severity to restrain even the irregularities of these reputed prophets.

It must not however be dissembled, that opinions which have not their basis in reason and philosophy are seldom found to operate uniformly for the advantage of society. Independent of the wide scope which these superstitious notions afford to hypocrisy, numberless are the evils with which they are attended, since whatever mischief these supposed ministers of heaven may perpetrate, their persons are always sacred. It is not long since there was a saint at Morocco, whose constant amusement was to wound and kill whatever persons unfortunately fell in his way; yet, in spite of the many fatal consequences from his insanity, he was still suffered to go at large. Such was the malignity of his disposition, that while he was in the very act of prayer he would watch for an opportunity to throw his rosary round the neck of some person within his reach, with an intent to strangle him. While I resided at Morocco, I sensibly experienced the inconvenience of coming within the vicinity of these saints, as they seemed to take a particular pleasure in insulting and annoying Christians.

Besides these, I may mention under the head of saints or prophets, the marabouts, a class of impostors who pretend to skill in magic, and are highly esteemed by the natives. They lead an indolent life, are the venders of spells and charms, and live by the credulity of the populace.

There is also among these people a set of itinerant mountaineers, who pretend to be the favourites of the prophet Mahomet, and that no kind of venomous creature can hurt them. But the most singular of this class are the *sidi nasir*, or snake-eaters, who exhibit in public upon market-days, and entertain the crowd by eating live snakes, and performing juggling deceptions. I was once present at this strange species of amusement, and saw a man, in the course of two hours, eat a living serpent of four feet in length. He danced to the sound of wild music, vocal and instrumental, with a variety of odd postures and contortions, several times round the circle formed by the spectators. He then began his attack upon the tail, after he had recited a short prayer, in which he was joined by the multitude. This ceremony was repeated at intervals, till he had entirely devoured the snake.

Thus far by way of digression: I now return to the course of my narrative.—Early in the evening of the 5th we arrived at Mamora, which is distant about sixty-four miles from Larache. It is situated upon a hill near the mouth of the river Saloe, the waters of which gradually widening in their course, fall into the Atlantic at this place, and form a harbour for small vessels.

Mamora, like the generality of the Moorish towns through which I passed, contains little worth of observation. While it was in the possession of the Portuguese it was encompassed by a double wall, which still remains; it had also other fortifications, which are destroyed. At present it possesses only a small fort on the sea-side.

The fertile pastures, the extensive waters and plantations which we passed in our way hither, have already been remarked. The vicinity of Mamora is equally enchanting. What a delightful residence would it be, if the country had not the misfortune to grow under an arbitrary and oppressive government.

In the morning, between eight and nine, we mounted our mules, leaving Mamora, and directing our course to Sallee, where we arrived between one and two at noon, after having travelled over a space of about fifteen miles. The road between Mamora and Sallee is in excellent order, and tolerably pleasant. It extends along a vale, towards which the hills gently slope on each side.

Within a quarter of a mile of Sallee, we arrived at an aqueduct, which the natives assert to have been built many years ago by the Moors; but from its style, and striking mark of antiquity, it bears more the resemblance of a piece of Roman architecture. Its walls, which are remarkable thick and high, extend in length for about half a mile, and have three stupendous archways opening to the road, through one of which we passed on our way to Sallee. Although time has laid its destructive hand in some degree on this ancient piece of architecture, yet it still serves the purpose of supplying the town of Sallee with excellent water.

CHAP. III. — *Description of Sallee. — Piracies. — Curious Letter of Muley Zidan to King Charles I. — Brutal Conduct of a Muleteer. — Handsome Behaviour of the French Consul. — Description of Rabat. — Journey from Rabat to Mogadore. — Violent Storm. — Ruins of Fadala. — Dar Beyda. — Azamore. — Melancholy Anecdote of an English Surgeon. — Mazagan. — Dyn Medina Rabaa. — Saffi. — General State of the Country. — Description of Mogadore.*

THE name of Sallee is famous in history, and has decorated many a well-told tale. Those piratical vessels which were fitted out from this port, and which were known by the name of Sallee rovers, were long the terror of the mercantile world. Equally dreaded for their valour and their cruelty, the adventurers who navigated these swift and formidable vessels depopulated the ocean, and even dared sometimes to extend their devastations to the Christian coasts. As plunder was their sole aim, in the acquisition of it nothing impeded their career. Human life was of no value in their estimation, or if it was sometimes spared, it was not through any sentiment of justice or compassion, but only that it might be protracted in the most wretched of situations, as the hopeless slave to the luxury and caprice of a fellow-mortal. The town of Sallee in its present state, though large, presents nothing worthy the observation of the traveller, except a battery of twenty-four pieces of cannon fronting the sea, and a redoubt at the entrance of the river, which is about a quarter of a mile broad, and penetrates several miles into the interior country.

On the side opposite to Sallee is situated the town of Rabat, which formerly partook equally with Sallee in its piratical depredations, and was generally confounded with it. While Sallee and Rabat were thus formidable, they were what might be termed independent states, paying only a very small tribute to the Emperor, and barely acknowledging him for their Sovereign. This state of independence undoubtedly gave uncommon vigour to their piratical exertions. Few will take much pains, or encounter great risks for the acquisition of wealth, without the certainty of enjoying it unmolested. Sidi Mahomet, however, when prince, subdued these towns, and annexed them to the empire. This was a mortal blow to their piracies; for when those desperate mariners felt the uncertainty of possessing any length of time their captures, they no longer became solicitous to acquire them; and at length, when the man who had deprived them of their privileges became Emperor, he put a total stop to their depredations, by declaring himself at peace with all Europe. Since that period the entrance of the river has been so gradually filling up with sand washed in by the sea, that was it possible for these people to recover their independence, it would incapacitate them from carrying on their piracies to their former extent.

Having

* In perusing the manuscripts of a gentleman lately deceased, who formerly resided a number of years in this empire, it appears that Sallee was, so far back as the year 1648, eminent for its piracies and independence,

Having a letter of recommendation to Mr. De Rocher, the French consul-general, I was ferried over the river to Rabat, where he resides, and met with a very polite reception. Upon landing my baggage a very warm dispute arose between the muleteer and my interpreter, concerning the method of packing it on the mules again, for the purpose of carrying it to the consul's house. Both parties appeared so very strenuous in their cause, that neither of them paid any attention to my interference; and it was at length carried to such excess, that the muleteer struck my interpreter. Upon seeing this, I could no longer remain a silent spectator, and I have reason to

independence, and that it became an object of conquest to the monarch of that time. He expresses himself in these words. —

“Sallee is a city in the province of Fez, and derives its name from the river Sala, on which it is situated, near its influx into the Atlantic Ocean. It was a place of good commerce, till addicting itself entirely to piracy, and revolting from its allegiance to its sovereign Muley Zidan, that prince, in the year 1649, dispatched an embassy to King Charles I. of England, requesting him to send a squadron of men of war to lie before the town, while he attacked it by land. This request being consented to, the city was soon reduced, the fortifications demolished, and the leaders of the rebellion put to death. The year following the Emperor sent another ambassador to England, with a present of Barbary horses, and three hundred Christian slaves, accompanied with the following letter. I insert it as a specimen of the loftiness of the Moorish style, and because it leads me to think, that Muley Zidan was a more enlightened prince than most of his predecessors. Neither the address, signature, nor reception it met with at our court, is expressed in the manuscript. It appears to be a modern translation, and is as follows.

“The King of Morocco's Letter to King Charles the First of England, 1649. Muley Zidan.

“When these our letters shall be so happy as to come to Your Majesty's sight, I wish the spirit of the righteous God may so direct your mind, that you may joyfully embrace the message I send. The regal power allotted to us, makes us common servants to our Creator, then of those people whom we govern; so observing the duties we owe to God, we deliver blessings to the world in providing for the public good of our estates; we magnify the honour of God, like the celestial bodies, which, though they have much veneration, yet serve only to the benefit of the world. It is the excellency of our office to be instruments, whereby happiness is delivered unto the nation. Pardon me, Sir! This is not to instruct, for I know I speak to one of a more clear and quick sight than myself; but I speak this, because God hath pleased to grant me a happy victory over some part of those rebellious pirates, that so long have molested the peaceable trade of Europe; and hath presented further occasion to root out the generation of those, who have been so pernicious to the good of our nations: I mean, since it hath pleased God to be so auspicious in our beginnings, in the conquest of Sallee, that we might join and proceed in hope of like success in the war of Tunis, Algiers, and other places; dens and receptacles for the inhuman villainies of those who abhor rule and government. Herein while we interrupt the corruption of malignant spirits of the world, we shall glorify the great God, and perform a duty that will shine as glorious as the sun and moon, which all the earth may see and reverence; a work that shall ascend as sweet as the perfume of the most precious odours, in the nostrils of the Lord: a work whose memory shall be revered so long as there shall be any remaining among men: a work grateful and happy to men who love and honour the piety and virtue of noble minds. This action I here willingly present to you, whose piety and virtues equal the greatness of your power; that we, who are vicerents to the great and mighty God, may bear in hand triumph in the glory which the action presents unto us. — Now, because the islands which you govern, have been ever famous for the unconquered strength of their shipping, I have sent this my trusty servant and ambassador, to know whether, in your princely wisdom, you shall think fit to assist me with such forces by sea, as shall be answerable to those I provide by land; which if you please to grant, I doubt not but the Lord of Hosts will protect and assist those that fight in so glorious a cause. Nor ought you to think this strange, that I, who so much revered the peace and accord of nations, should exhort to war. Your great prophet, Christ Jesus, was the lion of the tribe of Judah, as well as the Lord and giver of peace; which may signify unto you, that he who is a lover and maintainer of peace, must always appear with the terror of his sword, and, wading through seas of blood, must arrive at tranquillity. This made James your father, of glorious memory, so happily renowned among nations. — It was the noble fame of your princely virtues, which resounds to the utmost corners of the earth, that persuaded me to invite you to partake of that blessing, wherein I boast myself most happy. I wish God may heap the riches of his blessings on you, increase your happiness with your days, and hereafter perpetuate the greatness of your name to all ages.”

fear my warmth was almost as intemperate as that of the disputants. The blow was given in so brutal a manner, that I could with difficulty restrain myself from immediately returning it. It was fortunate, however, that I still possessed sufficient coolness to reflect on the impropriety of such a proceeding, and I directed one of my Moorish soldiers to punish the muleteer. By means of long leather straps which he always carried about him, my negro deputy performed his part so well on the back of the delinquent, that he was soon glad to fall on his knees, and intreat a pardon both from myself and the interpreter. I was more desirous of punishing this insult for the sake of establishing my authority and consequence with the soldiers, than from an intention of revenging the cause of the Jew, for I could not find out which of the disputants was in the wrong; but as my attendants had on two or three former occasions shown a disposition to be troublesome, and as so glaring an indignity was offered to the person who looked up to me for protection, I was determined to avail myself of this opportunity of convincing them that it was their duty to pay me every attention.

Mr. De Rocher, who resides in an excellent house built at the expense of his court, and who is the only European in the place, has happily blended original English hospitality with that easy politeness which characterizes his own nation. He gave me so pressing an invitation to spend another day with him, that though anxious to make an end of my journey, I could not resist his urgent solicitations.

The town of Rabat, whose walls enclose a large space of ground, is defended on the sea side by three forts tolerably well finished, which were erected some little time ago by an English renegado, and furnished with guns from Gibraltar. The houses in general are good, and many of the inhabitants are wealthy. The Jews, who are very numerous in this place, are generally in better circumstances than those of Larache or Tangier, and their women are by far more beautiful than at any other town which I have seen in this empire. I was introduced to one family in particular, where, out of eight sisters, Nature had been so lavish to them all, that I felt myself at a loss to determine which was the handsomest. A combination of regular features, clearness of complexion, and expressive black eyes, gave them a distinguished pre-eminence over their nation in general; and their persons, though not improved by the advantages which the European ladies derive from dress, were still replete with grace and elegance.

The castle, which is very extensive, contains a strong building, formerly used by the late Emperor as his principal treasury, and a noble terrace, which commands an extensive prospect of the town of Salée, the ocean, and all the neighbouring country. There are also the ruins of another castle, which is said to have been built by Jacob Almonzor, one of their former emperors, and of which at present very little remains but its walls, containing within them some very strong magazines for powder and naval stores. On the outside of these walls is a very high and square tower, handsomely built of cut-stone, and called the tower of Hassan. From the workmanship of this tower, contrasted with the other buildings, a very accurate idea may be formed how greatly the Moors have degenerated from their former splendour and taste for architecture.

In the evening the consul introduced me to Sidi Mohamet Effendi, the Emperor's prime minister, who was at Rabat, on his way to Tangier. I found him a well-bred man; and he received me very graciously. After some conversation on the purpose of my journey, he desired I would feel his pulse, and acquaint him whether or not he was in health. Upon assuring him that he was perfectly well, he expressed in strong terms the obligation I had conferred upon him by such agreeable information; and

having wished me success in my journey and enterprize, we mutually took our leave.

I availed myself of my delay at Rabat to get the same ~~able~~ changed, and directed my negro soldiers to arrange our affairs in such a manner that we might leave the place early the next morning. Mr. De Rocher, in addition to the kindness I had already experienced, ordered a quantity of bread, which at this place is remarkably good, to be packed up for my use, as well as a proportionable share of cold meat, and as much wine as we could conveniently carry with us. This seasonable supply lasted me three days, and gave me time to recover in some degree my former relish for fowls and eggs.

Though I must acknowledge that the attention and comforts which I experienced during my short stay at Rabat proved a great relief, after the inconveniences I had undergone in travelling thither, yet on the whole, I perhaps suffered more from the idea of having similar inconveniences to those I had already experienced still to encounter, without a prospect of a similar alleviation, than if I had continued the whole journey in an uninterrupted state. The consideration that I was to pass day after day through a country where there is little to amuse the eye; that I had no companion with whom I could converse, or to whom I could communicate my sentiments; and that I was to travel the whole day at the tedious pace of three miles an hour, and at a season of the year when the coldness of the mornings and evenings was a very indifferent preparation for the heats which succeeded in the middle of the day, altogether pressed so strongly upon my mind, that I must confess I could not help experiencing a considerable dejection of spirits at the idea of leaving Rabat*.

In consequence of the indolence of my attendants, my baggage was not completely packed up on the eighth till between ten and eleven in the morning, when I left the hospitable roof of Mr. De Rocher, and proceeded on my journey for Dar Beyda, the next town which offered itself on my way to Mogodore.

* The Abbe Poiret's remarks on travelling in Barbary are so apposite and so just, that I trust I shall be excused for introducing a quotation from that author. — In one of his letters he says, "I have never known so well how to appreciate the advantages of living in a polished nation, as since I have resided among a barbarous people. Never has the convenience of our highways struck me so much as when I have been obliged to travel through thick woods and deep marshes. How much would a peregrination of eight days, in the manner I have travelled for some time past, change the ideas of those delicate Europeans, who are continually complaining of bad inns, and of the fatigues they endure in their journeys! In this country there are neither inns, post-chaises, nor obliging and attentive landlords. One must not expect to find here broad highways, beaten and shady paths, or places for resting and refreshing one's self; too happy, if, at the end of a fatiguing journey, one can meet with a small hut, or a wretched couch! But this is seldom to be expected."

Again, in another letter, "How often must you depart in the morning, without knowing where you will arrive in the evening! How often, losing yourself in these deserts, must you search out your way amidst thorny brakes, thick forests, and steep rocks; sometimes stopped by a river which you must wade through, by a lake which you must walk round, or by a marsh which you cannot cross without danger! Sometimes scorched by the sun, or drenched by the rain, and at others dying with thirst, without being able to find the smallest spring to quench it! If you carry no provisions with you, it will be impossible for you to take any refreshment before night. This is the only time at which the Moors make a regular repast, or can offer any food to a stranger. But when night arrives, that period of repose for the traveller in Europe, it is not so for the African traveller. He must then choose out a dry situation, and well sheltered, to erect his tent; he must unsaddle his horses, unload his mules, cut wood, light fires, and take every precaution that prudence dictates, to defend himself against ferocious animals and robbers. It is safest to encamp not far from the tents of the Arabs, when one can find them. They furnish us with succours when they are tractable, and they are always so when they are with a sufficient guard." — See a translation of the Abbe Poiret's Travels through Barbary, Letter the 10th.

With all the inconveniences which I had hitherto experienced, I had reason to think myself very fortunate in having such fine weather; for this was the season when the heavy rains usually come on, and when a shower of half an hour's continuance would wet more than the rain of a whole day in England. Dry weather had accompanied us the whole of the road from Tangier to Rabat, and the heat from the hours of eleven to three was violent; but, as I have just before observed, previous to and after those hours the air was uncommonly cool. As an alleviation to the great heat, we found the water-melons and pomegranates between Rabat and Mogodore of a most delicious flavour, and of particular use in allaying the excessive thirst, and removing the fatigue we experienced from the journey. These fruits grow common in the open ground, and we only paid two blanquils, or three pence English a piece, for water-melons, which were sufficiently large to serve half a dozen people. I could not help observing how provident nature has been, in granting in such plenty, fruits so well calculated for the natives of warm climates. Indeed many of the poor in this country have scarcely any other provisions than fruit and bread.

At the time of our departure the appearance in the atmosphere promised us a continuance of the same fine weather we had hitherto experienced; and it continued so till we had passed three small streams, which the Moors named the Hitcumb, Sherrat, and Bornica. These, after the heavy rains have fallen, swell out into deep and rapid rivers, and are frequently rendered totally impassable, except in boats or on rafts. About five in the evening, however, very heavy and black clouds began to assemble, and very shortly after followed a most severe storm. It was a dreadful union of wind, hail, rain, thunder, and lightning. From darkness approaching fast upon us, we became very anxious to find out a place of safety where we might pitch our tent, and for that purpose spurred our beasts; but no excitement from the spur or whip could induce them to face the storm, and we were obliged to wait a full hour in a state of inactivity, till its violence was over. We then pushed on till we arrived at a couple of Arab tents, pitched in an open country: bad as this situation was, we however rejoiced in being able to fix our tent for the night, even in this unfavourable spot.

On the 9th of October, it having rained the whole night, we were detained till between ten and eleven in the morning in drying the tent, which, from its being quite wet, was become too heavy for the mules to carry with the other baggage; we then pursued our journey, and at twelve arrived at the ruins of Mensooria. There was formerly a castle on this spot, which from the extent of its walls, and a square tower which form the whole of the ruins, appears to have been a very large building. My soldiers informed me, that it had been the residence of a prince who was in opposition to his sovereign, and who was obliged to desert it. The building was destroyed by the then reigning Emperor, and the intermediate ground is now inhabited by a few negroes, living in small huts, who were banished thither for having on some occasion incurred the displeasure of the Emperor. In an arbitrary country, where the possession of the throne depends more on the will of the soldiers than on the rights of succession, the despot considers that castles may prove rather places of security for his opponents, than of any great utility to himself; he therefore either suffers them to decay, or destroys them entirely, according to the dictates of his caprice. Indeed every town through which I passed in the empire affords striking marks of the truth of this assertion.

Soon after our leaving Mensooria we came up to Fadala, having forded in our way the river Infetic. Fadala, whilst its ruins exist, will be a lasting monument of Iddi Mahomet's

met's caprice. It consists of the shell of a town, began by him in the early part of his reign, but never finished. It is enclosed within a square wall, and is furnished with a mosque (the only building that was completed) for the use of the inhabitants, who, like those of Menzooria, live in huts in the intermediate ground. To the right of Fadala we observed a small but apparently neat palace, which my attendants informed me was built by the late Emperor for his occasional use, when business led him to travel that way.

The remainder of our journey to Dar Beyda, where we arrived about six in the evening, afforded nothing remarkable, excepting that we passed over a double bridge, which is the only piece of architecture of the kind that I saw in the country. It is the work of Sidi Mahomet, and is built of stone. The country between Rabat and Dar Beyda, a distance of about 44 miles, is one continuation of barrenness and rock.

Dar Beyda is a small sea-port of very little importance; it possesses, however, a bay which admits vessels of pretty considerable burthen to anchor in it with tolerable safety, except when the wind blows hard at north-west, and then they are liable to be driven on shore. Upon my arrival, I was immediately introduced to the governor, who was then in the audience-chamber, attending to the complaints of the inhabitants. After offering me his services, and begging my acceptance of a few fowls, he soon left us in the possession of the room, where we slept that night.

On the 10th of October we departed for Azamore, about fifty-six miles distant, between seven and eight in the morning; and after a journey of two days came up to the Morbeya, at the mouth and southern side of which is situated Azamore. The river is so wide and deep here, that it is necessary to be ferried over, and a large boat is continually employed for that purpose.

We had no sooner got all our baggage, our mules, and ourselves into the boat, and were ready to row off, than a most violent dispute arose between my Negro soldiers and the ferry-men. As it was no new circumstance to me to be a witness to these altercations, I remained very quietly in the boat till I observed that one of the ferry-men was putting every thing on shore again, whilst another was collaring one of the soldiers. In fact, matters were proceeding to such extremities, that I thought it was full time to interfere.

Upon enquiry, I was informed that the proprietor of the ferry farmed the river from the Emperor, and that in consequence of it he was allowed all the perquisites of the ferry; that my soldiers insisted that as I was in the Emperor's service, it was the duty of the people to ferry me, my baggage, &c. over the river, without receiving any reward for their trouble. Which of the two were in the right I could not pretend to determine; but I was very glad to end the dispute, by paying the usual demand. After a few curses on both sides, the baggage and mules were replaced in the boat, and we were ferried over to Azamore.

In a country where arts and sciences are totally neglected, and where the hand of despotism has destroyed public spirit, and depressed all private exertion, it is obvious, that, considerable tracts must occur which are productive of nothing deserving of notice. This was precisely the case in my journey from Dar Beyda to Azamore, which presented to our view one continued chain of rocks and barrenness, unpleasant and fatiguing roads, without any one object to vary the scene, or to interest curiosity.

Azamore is a sea-port town on the Atlantic Ocean, situated at the mouth of the Morbeya; and though a large place, is neither ornamented with public buildings, nor has any thing remarkable in its history or situation.

In compliance with the particular request of one of my soldiers, whose near relations reside at Azamore, I continued here the remainder of the day, and was lodged in a room of a Moorish house, which was secluded from the family. Soon after my arrival I was visited by a Jew in an European dress, who had formerly lived with one of the English consuls, and who spoke the English language with tolerable fluency. He took me to his house, and there received me with great hospitality, insisting on my dining with him, and making use of his house as my own. After dinner he shewed me the different parts of the town; and in the course of our conversation requested me to be particularly cautious how I conducted myself with the prince whom I was going to attend; observing, that the Moors were extremely fickle, and their conduct governed merely by the caprice of the moment. To enforce this caution he related to me a story, from which I learned that an European surgeon had, at some former period, attended a prince of Morocco, who, neglecting his advice when under his care, had increased his malady; that this circumstance so alarmed the prince that he sent for the surgeon, and upon his appearance produced a pistol. The unfortunate man, alarmed and distressed by such unworthy treatment, hastily withdrew, and in a short time put an end to his existence.

On the 13th of October, having taken leave of my Jewish acquaintance, and my soldiers of their friends, we set off at eight in the morning for the town of Saffi, where we arrived on the evening of the 15th, after a journey of about fifty-seven miles. The country we passed through was rocky and barren, producing scarcely a tree, or indeed any verdure whatever.

Soon after leaving Azamore, the town of Mazagan presented itself to our view to the right. This place was taken a few years since by Sidi Mahomet from the Portuguese; a conquest of which His Moorish Majesty made a very pompous boast, though it is well known that the Portuguese, from the great inconvenience and expence of keeping up the garrison, without deriving any material advantage from it, had come to a resolution to evacuate it before the Emperor's attack, and for that purpose had actually began to embark their goods and property. As, however, the Emperor was determined to exhibit some specimen of his military prowess and address, this circumstance did not deter him from commencing a regular siege. A magazine for military stores (which may be seen from the road) was raised with the utmost expedition, and the attack was carried on with all the vigour and ability which His Moorish Majesty was capable of exerting. The Portuguese defended the town no longer than was necessary to allow time to carry away their effects and valuables; it was then surrendered, or more properly, abandoned, to the Moors.

On the day of our arrival at Saffi we passed by the ruins of a town, which was once large and considerable. It was built by a former Emperor, named Muley Ocori Monfor, and is now called by the name of Dyn Medina Rabeca. Its only remains at present are remarkably thick and extensive walls, which inclose gardens and huts, inhabited by disbanded Negro soldiers.

Saffi is a sea-port town, situated at the bottom of a steep and high mountain. It is a small place, and is only remarkable for a neat palace, which is the occasional residence of the Emperor's sons, and a small fort at a little distance to the north of the town. Its vicinity is a mixture of mountains and woods, which gives it a wild and truly romantic appearance. Saffi carried on a considerable commerce with Europe, before Sidi Mahomet obliged the European merchants to reside at Mogodore. It affords a safe road for shipping, except when the wind blows hard at west, and then they are subject to be driven on shore.

During

During my residence in this town I took up my quarters at a Jewish house, and was visited by two Moors who had been in London, and could speak a little of the English language. Among other marks of attention, they contrived to procure, unknown to me, a chair and a small table, articles which I had not seen since I left Tangier, except at the French consul's house, as the Moors never make use of either.

At eight in the morning of the 16th we set off for Mogodore, a journey of about sixty miles, which we performed in two days.

Soon after leaving Saffi we passed over a very high and dangerous mountain. The rocky, steep, and rugged path, which was only broad enough to allow one mule to pass at a time, and the perpendicular precipice which hung over the sea, filled our minds with a sense of terror and awe, which no pen can describe. Our mules, however, accustomed to this mode of travelling, carried us with the most perfect safety over parts where, with European horses, we should probably have been dashed to pieces.

From this mountain we in a short time entered a forest of dwarf oaks, which is about six miles in length, and the southern extremity of which reaches to the river Tanfis. This is a very broad river, which after the heavy rains have fallen, or when swelled by the tide, is always passed upon rafts. Those difficulties not presenting themselves to us now, we forded the river with great ease, and on approaching its southern side, observed in the midst of a thick forest a large square castle, which my soldiers informed me was built by Muley Ihmael, who is immortalized by the pen of Mr. Addison, in one of the numbers of the *Freholder*. Sidi Mahomet neglected it, and it is now falling to ruin. The breadth and windings of the Tanfis, its high and woody banks, and the castle just discoverable through the trees, afforded altogether a scene, which though somewhat gloomy, yet was truly romantic and picturesque.

The directions which I had received from Mr. Matra were, to continue at Mogodore, till the return of a messenger, who was to be dispatched thence to Tarudant, informing the prince of my arrival.

The very hospitable treatment I experienced from Mr. Hutchison, British vice-consul at Mogodore, during my stay at his house, with the sympathizing letters and friendly advice with which he afterwards favoured me, whilst under the many embarrassments and inconveniencies which I underwent at Morocco, have made the most forcible impression on my memory; and I should feel utterly dissatisfied with myself if I omitted thus publicly to acknowledge my gratitude to that gentleman.

Before I proceed to describe Mogodore, it may not be improper to take a short review of the general appearance of the country through which I passed on my journey from Tangier.

The first part of the journey, as far as Larache, presented to us, as I have observed, a rocky, mountainous, and barren country, and, if we except the forest of Rabe a Clow, but few trees or shrubs. From Larache to Salée the eye was agreeably relieved by the variety of objects which offered themselves to its view. The evenness of the ground, the numerous lakes, and the verdure which surrounded them, indicated fully the fertility of the soil, and these, joined to the intersected clumps of trees, would lead the contemplative mind to conceive that nature had intended this spot for the residence of a more civilized people than its present inhabitants. From Salée to Mogodore, and thence to Santa Cruz, we again met with the same barren, mountainous, and rocky country, which presented itself at the first part of the journey.

Though

Though I occasionally met with forests of small trees, such as the arga, the dwarf oak, the palm-tree, &c. yet the country produces no useful timber whatever. The Moors are therefore obliged to import that article from Europe; and it may be on this account that the Emperor possesses so few vessels, and is obliged to send those to be repaired in foreign ports. As vegetation does not take place in this climate till some time after the heavy rains have fallen, I had not an opportunity of observing in this journey what plants were peculiar to the climate. The variety which distinguishes the more improved countries of Europe, and particularly England, probably arises as much from the land being distributed into enclosures, as from local situation. This advantage the empire of Morocco does not enjoy; since, excepting in the immediate vicinity of towns, no divisions of land are to be observed; the Arabs indiscriminately choosing pieces of ground, without fences, for the purposes of agriculture, which, as I before noticed, they change as occasion requires. The sameness of scene which arises from this circumstance, is in some degree lessened by the numerous sanctuaries which are diffused over the whole country; but otherways these chapels prove troublesome to an European traveller, since the Moors, upon passing them, always stop a considerable time to pay their devotions to the remains of the saints who are buried there. There is likewise a custom in this country, which is also prevalent in Portugal, of consecrating the spot on which any person has been murdered, by heaping a large proportion of stones on the place, where it is usual for those who pass that way to add another stone to the number, and to recite a short prayer adapted to the occasion.

All the towns through which I passed in my way hither, were surrounded with high walls of Taby, flanked with square forts, generally without any artillery, and having castles, which seemed to be in a very ruinous state, situated upon the most eminent spot, for their defence or attack. The houses, from having no windows and but very few doors, had more the appearance of dead walls than inhabited places; and their streets were universally narrow, filthy to a degree, irregular and badly paved. With all these inconveniencies, the inhabitants enjoy an advantage of which many of the more civilized capitals of Europe cannot boast, I mean that of a good police. The streets are so well watched at night, that robberies or even housebreaking are but seldom heard of; and the general quietness which reigns through their towns after the gates are shut, is a convincing proof of the attention of their patrols to their duty. Their detection, and speedy bringing to justice the criminals, likewise deserves our attention. From having no public houses or other places to harbour thieves, and from no person being permitted to quit the country without leave, it is utterly impossible for a culprit to escape the hand of justice, except by taking refuge in a sanctuary, by which he banishes himself for ever from society. On the other hand, the vigilance of the governors and other officers of justice is so great, and conducted with so much address, that unless the means of safety which his religion points out are quickly adopted, the criminal in a very short time is detected, and is quickly punished.

According to the opinion of some travellers, much danger is to be apprehended in traversing this country, from the attacks of wild beasts; but it is only justice to observe, that during the whole of my progress to Mogodore, and indeed I may add afterwards in passing over the Atlas, I met with no obstruction or molestation whatever from these animals; and I was also informed, that a circumstance of the kind was very rarely known to have happened. The fact is, the wild animals confine themselves principally to the interior parts of the country, and to those retreats in the mountains which are beyond the track of men.

Mogodore,

Mogodore, so named by Europeans, and Suera, by the Moors, is a large, uniform, and well-built town, situated about three hundred and fifty miles from Tangier, on the Atlantic Ocean, and surrounded on the land side by deep and heavy sands. It was raised under the auspices of Sidi Mahomet, who, upon his accession to the throne, ordered all the European merchants who were settled in his dominions to reside at Mogodore, where, by lowering the duties, he promised to afford every encouragement to commerce. The Europeans, thus obliged to desert their former establishments, considering this first step of the Emperor to be a mark of his attachment to trade and commerce, and having resided long in the country without any better views at home, universally settled at Mogodore, where they erected houses, and other conveniences for the purposes of trade. The hopes, however, with which they had changed their situation, were considerably frustrated by the perfidy of the Emperor, who indeed fulfilled his promise, till he observed the merchants so fixed as not to be likely to remove; but he then began to increase the duties, and by that means to damp the spirit of commerce which he had promised to promote. His caprice, however, or, what had still more influence, valuable presents, induced him at times to relax these severities. In consequence of this circumstance the duties have been so frequently varied, that it is utterly impossible for me to state, with any degree of certainty, the usual burthens laid upon articles of commerce in this port.

The factory at Mogodore consists of about a dozen mercantile houses of different nations, whose owners, from the protection granted them by the Emperor, live in full security from the Moors, whom indeed they keep at a rigid distance. They export to America mules. To Europe, Morocco leather, hides, gum arabic, gum sandaric, ostrich feathers, copper, wax, wool, elephants' teeth, fine mats, beautiful carpeting, dates, figs, raisins, olives, almonds, oil, &c. In return, they import timber, artillery of all kinds, gunpowder, woollen cloths, linens, lead, iron in bars, all kinds of hardware and trinkets, such as looking-glasses, snuff-boxes, watches, small knives, &c. tea, sugar, spices, and most of the useful articles which are not otherwise to be procured in this empire.

Besides the commerce carried on between this empire and Europe, the Moors have also a trade with Guinea, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Grand Cairo, and Mecca, by means of their caravans, of which I soon shall have occasion to speak more particularly.

Mogodore is regularly fortified on the sea side; and on the land, batteries are so placed as to prevent any incursion from the southern Arabs, who are of a turbulent disposition, and who, from the great wealth which is known to be always in Mogodore, would gladly avail themselves of any opportunity that offered to pillage the town. The entrance, both by sea and land, consists of elegant stone arch-ways, with double gates. The market-place is handsomely built, with piazzas of the same materials, and at the water port there is a custom-house and powder magazine, both of which are neat stone buildings. Beside these public edifices, the Emperor has a small but handsome palace for his occasional residence. The streets of the town, though very narrow, are all in strait lines, and the houses, contrary to what we meet with in the other towns of the empire, are lofty and regular. The bay, which is little better than a road, and is very much exposed when the wind is at north-west, is formed by a curve in the land, and a small island about a quarter of a mile from the shore. Its entrance is defended by a fort well mounted with guns.

CHAP. IV. — General View of the Empire of Morocco. — Situation and Climate. — Provinces. — Soil. — Wonderful Fertility. — Sea Ports. — Natural Productions. — Mines. — Animals. — Occasional Famines. — Famine in 1778. — Manufactures. — Buildings. — Roads. — Population. — Introduction of Negroes. — Muley Ishmael, — his Policy. — Sidi Mahomet. — General Oppression of the People. — Merchants.

AS I had a better opportunity of being informed of the state of the country and its productions, from the European merchants at Mogodore, than occurred at any subsequent period during my tour, I shall now avail myself of that information; and to this I feel myself induced by a further motive, namely, that it will enable the reader to peruse with more satisfaction and advantage the succeeding pages of this narrative.

The empire of Morocco is situated between the 29th and 36th degree of north latitude. It is about five hundred and fifty miles in length from north to south; and about two hundred in breadth. It is bounded to the north by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean sea; to the east, by the kingdoms of Tremecen and Sugul-mussa; to the south, by the river Suz, and the country to the south of Tafilet; and to the west, by the Atlantic Ocean. The empire is formed of several provinces and nominal kingdoms, which, as in most countries, before their union were distinct and petty sovereignties.*

The climate, though in the southern provinces very hot in the months of June, July, and August, yet is in general friendly to the constitutions of its inhabitants, as well as to those of Europeans. To the north the climate is nearly the same as that of Spain and Portugal, with the autumnal and vernal rains peculiar to those countries; but to the southward the rains are less general and certain, and of course the heat is more excessive.

Most of the towns which Europeans are allowed to enter, being sea ports, have the advantage of being frequently refreshed with sea breezes; and Mogodore, though so far to the southward, from being subject in the summer season to have the wind regularly at north-west, is quite as cool as the more temperate climates of Europe. Morocco and Tarudant are inland, and therefore, though nearly in the same degree of latitude as Mogodore, are much hotter; their great heats, however, are considerably lessened by their vicinity to the Atlas, the higher parts of which are the whole year covered with snow, and often favour them with cool and refreshing breezes.

The soil of the empire of Morocco is naturally very fertile, and, with proper cultivation and attention, is capable of producing all the luxuries of the eastern and western worlds. It must, however, be confessed, that on some parts of the sea coast, particularly where it is mountainous, like every other country under similar circumstances, the soil is sandy and barren; but wherever there is the least appearance of a plain, such as that between Larache and Mamora, and in the neighbourhood of Morocco and Tarudant, the soil is black and rich. Indeed I am informed from the best authority, that at Tafilet, and throughout most of the interior parts of the empire, its fertility is beyond imagination.

From the slight cultivation it at present receives, which is merely the burning of the stubble before the autumnal rains come on, and ploughing it about six inches deep, the earth produces, at a very early season, excellent wheat and barley, though no oats, Indian corn, alderoy, beans, pease, hemp, and flax; oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, melons, water-melons, olives, figs, almonds, grapes, dates, apples, pears, cherries, plumbs, and in fact all the fruits to be found in the southern provinces

of Spain and Portugal. The people here preserve their grain in matamores, holes made in the earth, lined and covered with straw, on which earth is placed in a pyramidal form, to prevent the rain from soaking in. In these stores corn has been kept five or six years, without undergoing any very material change.

As little encouragement, however, is extended to industry in this country, many of their fruits which require attention, particularly their grapes, apples, pears, plumbs, &c. do not arrive at that perfection to which they are brought in Europe. Could, indeed, a proper spirit for agriculture and foreign commerce be introduced in the country, or, in other words, could the sovereign be persuaded, that by suffering his subjects to be enriched he would improve his own treasury, this empire, from its convenient situation with respect to Europe, and from the natural luxuriance and fertility of its soil, might become of the highest political and commercial importance. The only material impediment to commerce is the inconvenience and insecurity of the ports. I am well informed, however, that at Valedia there is a basin formed by nature, capable of containing with safety any number of shipping; and the other ports might most probably be improved.

It is melancholy, in traversing the immense tract of so fine a country, to observe so much land lying waste and uncultivated, which by a very little attention would be capable of producing an inexhaustible treasure to its inhabitants. From this representation it would scarcely be supposed credible, that Spain, which is also a fine country, and a civilized nation, should be obliged to remit to the Emperor very large presents of money, to induce him to allow his subjects to export corn, as well as most other kinds of provisions and fruits, from Tangier and Tetuan. Indeed the southern provinces of Spain can hardly exist without this supply. To what are we to attribute this circumstance? Is it that Morocco is so much more fertile than Spain, that it produces a redundance with scarcely any cultivation; or is the indolence of the Spaniards superior to that of the Moors themselves?

The Jews in most of the towns of the empire make wine; but, either owing to the grapes not being in such perfection as those of Europe, or to an improper mode of preparing it, its flavour proves but very indifferent. They also distil a species of brandy from figs and raisins, well known in that country by the name of aquadent. This liquor has a disagreeable taste, but in point of strength is little inferior to spirits of wine. It is drank without dilution, very freely, by the Jews on all their feasts or days of rejoicing; and there are very few of the Moors who are disposed to forego any private opportunity of taking their share of it also.

The Moors cultivate tobacco; there is a species of it near Mequinez, which affords snuff, the flavour of which is very little inferior to maccaba. In my progress through the country I have noticed forests of oak-trees, of a dwarf kind, which bear acorns of remarkable size and sweet taste. To the southward we meet with the palm or date tree, the arga, bearing a nut of the almond species, with the olive, from both of which the inhabitants extract great quantities of oil, which constitutes a considerable part of their exports to foreign countries. There is also an infinite variety of shrubs and plants, such as the prickly pear, the aloe, &c. all in short that are to be found in Spain and Portugal. Cotton, wax, honey, salt, transparent gum, and gum sandarac, are all productions of this empire.

In the mountains of Atlas there are numerous iron mines; but as the Moors do not understand the mode of working iron, those mines prove of no use to them, and they are therefore obliged to procure that article from Europe. The neighbourhood of Tarudant produces mines of copper; and the Moors assert, that in the Atlas there

are also some of gold and silver, which the Emperor will not allow to be touched. But I am inclined to imagine, that if the assertion had any foundation in truth, the Brebes, who inhabit these mountains, and who are mere nominal subjects, and pay but little respect to the government of Morocco, would long before this time have discovered them. It is, however, probable that this vast chain of mountains may contain productions which might be converted to very valuable purposes; but, owing to a want of emulation on the part of the inhabitants, and Europeans not being allowed to attempt any new discoveries, a knowledge of them is not to be attained.

The domestic animals of Morocco are much the same as those of Europe, excepting the camel, which is the most useful animal in this quarter of the globe, both on account of the great fatigue which it is capable of undergoing, and the little subsistence it requires. Camels are employed here for all the purposes of agriculture and commerce, and are very numerous. It has been asserted that dromedaries are indigenous to this country; but in the course of my whole tour I could hear of none, except those which are in the possession of the Emperor; and he, as I discovered, procures them from the coast of Guinea. These are the fleetest animals for travelling that are known, and are only used by the Emperor upon urgent occasions. I was informed that their pace is sometimes so exceedingly swift, that their riders are obliged to tie a sash round their waists to preserve the power of respiration, and cover the whole of the face except the eyes, to prevent their suffering from the strong current of air occasioned by the rapid motion of the animal. It is computed that, in an ordinary way, a dromedary will perform a journey of five hundred miles in four days.

The oxen and sheep of this country are small; but their flesh is well flavoured. The hides of the former, and the wool of the latter, are both articles of exportation. The sheep with large tails, distinguished in England by the name of Barbary sheep, are here very scarce, and are more indigenous to the eastern parts of Barbary. The horses, for want of attention in keeping up the breed, are much less valuable than they formerly were; there are still however some few that are good in the country, and those are generally strong, and have great spirit. The mules are numerous and useful, though I do not think them equal to those of Spain, either in size or beauty.

Fowls and pigeons are remarkably plentiful and good in the empire of Morocco; but ducks are scarce, and geese and turkies I never saw there. The country abounds with the red-legged partridge. In the proper season the frankolin, a bird of the partridge species, of a delicious flavour, and beautiful plumage, is found here; also a few woodcocks, snipes in great numbers, all kinds of water-fowl, and a variety of small singing-birds. Storks are very plentiful, and, as they are never molested by the Moors, who are taught to believe it sinful to destroy them, they become quite domestic and tame. They are generally to be seen feeding among ruinous walls and castles, where they pick up insects and snakes. Hares, rabbits, antelopes, porcupines, apes, foxes, wild cats, &c. are all natives of this empire.

Among the ferocious animals may be enumerated wolves and wild boars, which are spread over the whole empire; and in the southern provinces there are lions, tigers, and monstrous serpents.

During my residence in the country, I had frequent opportunities of examining that most singular of the animal productions, theameleon. Though it is hardly necessary to adduce any proof to the philosophers of the present day against the vulgar error, that it feeds only upon air, yet it may afford some satisfaction to my readers to be told, that I had an opportunity of seeing a complete refutation of this opinion at Mogodore.

A gentleman of my acquaintance there had in his possession a *cameleon*, the dexterity of which in procuring its food I had ample means of observing. The fact is, its principal support is flies, which it catches by darting at them an exceedingly long tongue, covered with a matter so very glutinous, that if it but touches an insect it is impossible for it to escape. The most singular part of its conformation, however, (if, perhaps, we except the power of varying its colours) is the eye, the muscles of which are so constructed that it can move the ball quite round; and I believe it exists the only known instance in all animated nature of a creature which is able to direct its vision to two different objects at the same time, however those objects may be situated. Except in the act of darting out its tongue to procure subsistence, its motions are remarkably slow.

Although it must be allowed that the climate of Morocco is delightful to a degree, yet it is occasionally subject to great droughts, which naturally produce immense swarms of locusts, the most destructive enemy to vegetation that exists. In the year 1778 these insects came in such numbers from the south, that they perfectly darkened the air, and, by destroying all the corn, produced a general famine. This calamity was increased to such a degree in the year 1780, that several unfortunate persons actually died in the streets for want of food; many were driven to the necessity of digging in the earth for roots to supply the urgent calls of nature; while others were happy to find some undigested corn in the dung of animals, which they most eagerly devoured. Upon this occasion of public distress, the Emperor generously opened his store of corn, and distributed it, as well as money, among his subjects; and every person who was known to possess stores was obliged to follow his example. These melancholy facts are so recent in the memory of the people, that they still repeat them to the Europeans who visit the country.

The manufactures of the empire are the *haick*, which, as was before observed, is a long garment composed of white wool and cotton, or cotton and silk woven together, and is used by the Moors for the purpose of covering their under dress when they go abroad, which they do by totally wrapping themselves in it in a careless but easy manner; silk handkerchiefs of a particular kind, prepared only at Fez; silks chequered with cotton; carpeting, little inferior to that of Turkey; beautiful matting, made of the palmetto or wild palm-tree; paper of a coarse kind; Cordovan, commonly called Morocco leather; gunpowder of an inferior nature; and long-barrelled musquets, made of Biscay iron. The Moors are unacquainted with the mode of casting cannon, and therefore those few which are now in the country are presents from Europeans. The manufacture of glass is likewise unknown to them; as indeed they make great use of earthen ware, and have few or no windows to their houses, this commodity may be of less importance to them than many others. They make butter, by putting the milk into a goat-skin with its outward coat turned inwards, and shaking it till the butter collects on the sides, when it is taken out for use. From this operation it proves always full of hairs, and has an insipid flavour. Their cheese consists merely of curds hardened and dried, and has uniformly a disagreeable taste. The bread in some of the principal towns, particularly at Tangier and Sallee, is remarkably good, but in many other places it is coarse, black, and heavy.

Their markets are under more strict regulations than might be expected from a people who are so deficient in most other instances. A proper officer, entitled *almotafon*, or mayor, is appointed to inspect all kinds of provisions and corn, and, according to their plenty or scarcity, to fix the price on each article: it is also the duty of this officer to attend constantly the markets, and to see that no person is guilty of over-

overcharging what he sells, for which, upon detection, the offender is punished, by having his hands tied behind him, and being publicly flogged through all the streets, the executioner occasionally exclaiming, "Thus do we treat those who impose upon the poor!" Provisions both of the animal and vegetable kind are sold by the *rtab*, or large pound, consisting of the weight of twenty hard dollars, or Spanish ounces; corn, by the *almoode*, four of which are equal to a faneg Spanish, or sack; and articles of merchandize, by the small pound of sixteen Spanish ounces, when sold by weight; and by the *code*, which is about two-thirds of an English yard, when by measurement.

The Moors, agreeably to the Jewish custom, cut the throats of all the animals they eat; at the same time turning their heads towards Mecca, in adoration of their prophet. After suffering them to bleed freely, they carefully wash all the remaining blood away, and divide the meat into small pieces of about one or two pounds in weight. As they are unacquainted with the invention of pumps, and have but few springs, it affords employment to a number of indigent people, who would probably be idle otherwise, to carry water in skins from the nearest river or reservoir, and sell it to the inhabitants. From their being obliged to tar the skins to prevent them from leaking, the water is frequently rendered very unpleasant.

Their looms, forges, ploughs, carpenters' tools, &c. are much upon the same construction with the unimproved instruments of the same kind which are used at this time in some parts of Europe, only still more clumsily finished. In their work they attend more to strength than neatness or convenience, and, like all other ignorant people, they have no idea that what they do is capable of improvement. It is, probable, indeed, that the Moors have undergone no very material change since the revolution in their arts and sciences, which took place soon after their expulsion from Spain. Previous to that period it is well known they were an enlightened people, at a time when the greater part of Europe was involved in ignorance and barbarism; but owing to the weakness and tyranny of their princes, they gradually sunk into the very opposite extreme, and may now be considered as but a few degrees removed from a savage state.

They use no kind of wheel-carriage, and therefore all their articles of burden are transported from one place to another on camels, mules, or asses. Their buildings, though by no means constructed on any fixed principle of architecture, have at least the merit of being very strong and durable. The manner of preparing *tabby*, of which all their best edifices are formed, is, I believe, the only remains of their ancient knowledge at present existing. It consists of a mixture of mortar and very small stones, beaten tight in a wooden case, and suffered to dry, when it forms a cement equal to the solid rock. There are always unaccountable discrepancies and inconsistencies in the arts of uncivilized nations. The apartments are, if possible, even more inconvenient than those of their neighbours the Spaniards; but the carved wood-work, with which many of them are ornamented, is really equal to any I have ever seen in Europe.

The Moors have no idea of making high roads, or repairing those which have been formed by the ancient possessors of the country, or perhaps by the mere resort of passengers, but are content to leave them in the same state in which they found them. Indeed, they are even incapable of comprehending the simple fact, — that by improving the roads travelling would become more expeditious, and less expensive.

If we look for any of the elegant appendages of luxury and refinement in this country, we shall be grievously disappointed. Their gardens are mere tracts of inclosed ground, over-run with weeds, interspersed with vines, figs, oranges, and lemons, without taste or disposition, and having perhaps one straight walk through the whole. They sometimes sow corn in the intermediate ground; but their gardens are rarely productive of esculent vegetables, and seldom or never ornamented with flowers.

As there are few or no bridges in the country, I am inclined to believe the Moors are not thoroughly acquainted with the mode of constructing large arches; and it is only at their sea-ports where they even use boats. These circumstances, united to the bad roads, render this part of Barbary very inconvenient and dangerous to be travelled through.

The country throughout is ill-watered. Most of the rivers, which however are very few, in proportion to the extent of ground, except just at their sea-ports, deserve only the name of rivulets, and in the summer season are many of them dried up. From all these circumstances it may be conjectured that the population is not extraordinary. When on my return, in my journey from Morocco to Sallee, which required seven days to accomplish, I met with no habitations but a few Arab tents scattered in different parts; and I had reason to believe that a great part of the interior country is nearly in a similar situation. The towns are very few in proportion to the extent of country, and those are but thinly inhabited. Indeed Morocco, which is a metropolis, has many of its houses in ruins, and uninhabited.

The want of population in the empire of Morocco at this period may have been occasioned, in some degree, by the enormous cruelties exercised by its former sovereigns, who have been known not unfrequently, through a slight disgust, to abandon a whole town or province to the sword. In the character of Muley Ishmael, grandfather to Sidi Mahomet, we find the most singular inconsistencies: for it is certain, that although a tyrant of the class which I have been describing, yet in other respects, as if to repair the mischief which he committed, he left nothing undone for the encouragement of population. He introduced large colonies of negroes from Guinea, built towns for them, many of which are still remaining, assigned them portions of land, and encouraged their increase by every possible means. He soon initiated them in the Mahometan faith, and, had his plan been followed, the country by this time would have been populous, and probably flourishing. As the negroes are of a more lively, active, and enterprising disposition than the Moors, they might soon have been taught the arts of agriculture, and their singular ingenuity might have been directed to other useful purposes.

It is true Muley Ishmael, when he adopted this plan, had more objects in view than that of merely peopling his dominions: he saw plainly that his own subjects were of too capricious a disposition to form soldiers calculated for his tyrannical purposes. They had uniformly manifested an inclination to change their sovereigns, though more from the love of variety than to reform the government, or restrain the abuses of tyranny. In short, whatever revolutions took place in the country, consisted merely in a change of one tyrant for another. Muley Ishmael had discernment enough to see, therefore, that, by forming an army of slaves, whose sole dependence should rest upon their master, he could easily train them in such a manner as to act in the strictest conformity to his wishes. He soon learnt that the great object with the negroes was plenty of money, and liberty of plunder; in these he liberally indulged them, and the plan fully answered his expectations.

Though,

Though, however, Muley Ishmael had no great merit in introducing subjects for the purposes of tyranny, yet the good effects of this new colonization were very generally experienced. By intermarrying among themselves, and intermixing among the Moors (for the Moors will keep negro women as concubines, though they seldom marry them), a new race of people started up, who became as useful subjects as the native inhabitants, and brought the empire into a much more flourishing state than it had ever been in since their great revolution.

Sidi Mahomet had different views, and was actuated by different motives. From his inordinate avarice, he ceased to act towards his black troops in the generous manner which had distinguished his predecessor Muley Ishmael; and they soon shewed themselves discontented with his conduct. They frequently threatened to revolt, and support those of his sons who were in opposition, and who promised them the most liberal rewards. They offered to place his eldest son Muley Ali, who is since dead, on the throne; but this prince, not unmindful of the duty which he owed his father and sovereign, declined their offer. They next applied to Muley Yazid, the late Emperor, who at first accepted of the assistance they tendered, but in a short time relinquished the plan.

Sidi Mahomet, disgusted with this conduct of the negroes, determined to curb their growing power, by disbanding a considerable part of these troops, and banishing them to distant parts of the empire. This important mode of population has therefore been of late years neglected, while no better system has been substituted in its room; for though the late Emperor indulged in cruelty much less frequently than his predecessors, yet population has, perhaps, been more completely impeded by the general poverty which he has introduced into the country, by his severe exactions, than if he had made a liberal use of the sword or of the bow-string. To acquaint Sidi Mahomet that any of his subjects were rich, was equivalent to telling him that he had so many ambitious opponents, who by their wealth would support his sons in rebellion, which it was necessary to prevent, by depriving them of those riches.

The only maxim of government, therefore, adopted by this monarch, was to keep his subjects as nearly as possible upon a level; that is, in a state of poverty. This he most effectually accomplished. No man who had property one day, could with certainty call it his own the next. The most devoted misers, with their utmost ingenuity, were unable to evade the discovery of their treasures. If the victim of tyranny manifested any reluctance to reveal to his inquisitors the sacred depository of his hoarded wealth, the Emperor seldom hesitated about the means of compulsion. The fortitude of several enabled them to resist every torture short of death; but the love of life was always found to prevail over even avarice itself.

But this perhaps was not the worst: the heavy taxes and duties imposed by this impolitic monarch impeded commerce, and discouraged manufactures; and on the whole I am inclined to believe that the country was never in a greater state of poverty than during his reign.

Power and weakness, rank and meanness, opulence and indigence, are here equally dependent, equally uncertain. There are instances of the Sultan elevating at once a common soldier to the rank of a bashaw, or making him a confidential friend; the following day he would perhaps imprison him, or reduce him again to the station of a private soldier. It is surprizing that men under these circumstances should be ambitious of rank, or desirous of riches and power. Yet such is the disposition of these people, that they have an unbounded thirst for rank and power with all their uncertainties; and, what is more extraordinary, when they have obtained a high station they seldom fail

fail to afford their sovereign a plea for ill-treating them, by abusing, in some way or other, their trust.

The only independent people in the country, if it be at all lawful to make use of the expression when speaking of Morocco, are to be found among the merchants who reside in towns at some distance from the seat of government. The neatness of their houses and gardens, the furniture of their apartments, their rich display of china and glass, and their liberal treatment of strangers, their better education, and more enlightened ideas, all serve to point them out as a class of beings different from the rest.

I wish this description would apply generally to all the people in trade; but I am sorry to add it does not: it is confined to a particular class of merchants, who transact business upon a very large scale. Even these, however, though distant from the seat of government, besides rigorously paying their quota of every severe tax which the Emperor chooses to impose upon them, are not always exempt from plunder. If the bashaw or alcaide of the town can discover a plea for imprisoning them, which he sometimes does without much regard to justice, he seldom fails to turn it to his own advantage; and not unfrequently disgraces his master's royal name, by using it as a pretext for seizing their property. — Thus the empire of Morocco, in all its parts, presents a striking picture of the wretched policy and miserable consequences of despotic government.

CHAP. V. — *Journey from Mogodore to Santa Cruz. — Some Account of the Origin of that Place. — Arrival at Tarudant. — Introduction to the Prince. — Description of his Palace. — Singular Reception. — Accommodations. — State of the Prince's Health. — Absurd Prejudices of the Moors. — Altercation with the Prince. — Application from other Patients. — The Cadi. — Introduction into the Prince's Harem. — Wives of the Prince. — State of the Female Sex in this secluded Situation. — Visible Amendment in the Prince's Complaint. — His Affability. — Character of the Prince Muley Abfulem.*

I HAD not rested from the fatigues of my journey above six days at Mogodore, before a new scene was opened, by the return of the messenger from Tarudant, with orders for my immediate attendance on my royal patient. In addition to my former party, I was allowed by the governor three negro foot soldiers, armed with muskets and sabres, an elegant tent, and a Jewish interpreter, who was perfect master of both Arabic and English, and from whom in the end I derived the most useful services. The Jew who had been pressed in so singular a manner into my service at Tangier was immediately, and doubtless much to his own satisfaction, sent home.

We performed a journey of seventy-six miles, from Mogodore to Santa Cruz, in about three days, which from the former part of this narrative the reader will perceive is not remarkably slow travelling in Morocco, however singular such a progress would appear on the level turnpikes of England. Our journey, which was on the sea coast, presented to our view one continued expanse of wild, mountainous, and rocky country, and we had consequently very bad roads. Our progress indeed could be compared to nothing but the continual ascending and descending of a series of rough and uneven stone steps. At one place in particular the descent was so steep, and the road so choked up with large pieces of stone, that we were all obliged to dismount,

and walk a full mile and a half with the utmost caution and difficulty, before we could mount again.

Santa Cruz is a sea-port, situated on the declivity of a high and steep mountain, forming the western termination of that chain of mountains, which nearly divides the Emperor's dominions into two parts, so well known by the name of the Atlas. It formerly belonged to the Portuguese, and till the accession of Sidi Mahomet was the principal place whence Europeans were allowed to trade. It is at present a deserted town, with only a few houses, which are almost hourly mouldering to decay. The port appears to be much more secure than that of Mogodore; and from the vicinity of Santa Cruz to the southern provinces, it appears to me to be the part of the empire which is best adapted to all the purposes of commerce*.

On

* As Santa Cruz, before the reign of Sidi Mahomet, was, and is still capable of being made of great commercial importance to Europe, and as its origin will afford some idea how the Portuguese came to settle upon this coast, I must trespass upon the reader's patience, while I relate, from an eminent Spanish author, in what manner it was first raised; as well as its subsequent state while possessed by the Moors, in the year 1737, from the manuscript of an English gentleman who was resident in the country at that period.

"Agader Aguer, which the Europeans call Santa Cruz, is a town of modern fabric; nor can I any where find that the spot of ground on which it stands was ever actually inhabited, till the beginning of the sixteenth century. Then, or very soon before, in the reign of Don Manuel, King of Portugal, a certain Portuguese adventurer undertook to settle there, on account of the quantity of excellent fish with which its bay abounded; and found means to build himself a timber fort or castle, which he garrisoned with his followers, naming his settlement Santa Cruz, or Holy Cross: his African neighbours calling it Dar al Rumi, or the Christian House.

"Don Manuel soon after foreseeing the great importance of this place to the navigation of those seas, and to his projected conquest of the western parts of Barbary, took it into his own hands, reimbursing the adventurer who had founded it, all his expences, and making him other gratuities. Santa Cruz being thus annexed to the kingdom of Portugal, it was soon enlarged, fortified, and well inhabited; and as this part of the world was at that time divided among several petty sovereigns, generally at variance with each other, it afforded the new colony, as well as many others upon the same coast, an opportunity of establishing a firm footing in the country, inducing a number of discontented Arabs and Moors, with a view of revenging themselves on their various adversaries, to swear allegiance to His Portuguese Majesty.

"The assistance which was afforded by these people to the Christian garrisons, enabled them to make frequent incursions a considerable way up the country, plundering and seizing upon a great number of the inhabitants, whom they sent over to Europe as slaves. At this period, the Portuguese had established themselves so firmly on the African coast, that had not the family of sharifs started up, and the attention of these Christian adventurers been diverted to their new acquisitions in America, the greatest part of the country would in a short time have been completely depopulated, and the Portuguese would have established in it a permanent sovereignty.

"These sharifs, from whom the present royal family of Morocco are immediately descended, observing the variance between the people and their different sovereigns, and taking advantage of their credulity, pretended that they were lineally descended from Mahomet, and that they were sent by him to protect his followers from the oppression of their sovereigns. They soon made converts to their standard, and in a short time established themselves in the sovereignty of all the southern parts of Barbary. In order to add importance to their government, and knowing that it would flatter the prejudices of their subjects, who had been so continually harassed by their Christian neighbours, they determined upon expelling the Portuguese from Santa Cruz, and, if successful, to carry on their attack against the other Christian garrisons upon the Barbary coast.

"For this purpose, in the year 1536, an army of 50,000 men, horse and foot, was raised with all expedition, and put under the command of Muley Hamed al Hassan, who with his force completely invested the garrison. After many unsuccessful attacks on the part of the Moors, Santa Cruz at last owed its destruction to the negligence of one of its own people; who carrying a lighted match into the powder-magazine, it unfortunately blew up, and by its concussion made a large breach in the wall; of which the Moors availing themselves, they immediately recovered their spirits, and, headed by their commander, hastened in force up to the breach, before the astonished Portuguese had time to apply a proper remedy to this unforeseen accident. They now attacked their enemy with so much energy, and with such superior numbers, that they soon reduced the garrison, and put every person in it to the sword.

"Thus

On the 26th of October we departed for Tarudant, which is distant forty-four miles from Santa Cruz, -where in two days we arrived. Our journey to this place was immediately inland, being in the direction, and within half a day's ride, to the south of the Atlas. We enjoyed the whole way from Santa Cruz a fine level road, through a woody and uncultivated country.

Upon my arrival at Tarudant, without being allowed time to dismount, I was immediately carried to the residence of the prince, which is situated about half a mile to the south of the town. At a short distance, the house, which is small, and was built by the prince, has a great appearance of neatness; but that want of taste and convenience, which is universally the characteristic of the Moorish buildings, is presently discernable when it is narrowly inspected. It is composed of tabby, and is surrounded with a high square wall, which also incloses two tolerably neat gardens, planned by an European, and now under the care of a Spanish renegado. The apartments, which are all on the ground-floor, are square and lofty, opening into a court, in the centre of which is a fountain. The entrance is through a small arched doorway, which leads into a court-yard, where on one side are a few out-houses; on the other, the space allotted for the horses of the prince. As the climate is open and fine,

“Thus did Santa Cruz fall into the hands of the Moors, by whom it has ever since been possessed. The loss of this important place proved extremely injurious to the Portuguese navigation to Guinea and India, by affording a harbour to their European enemies, whose ships were accustomed to slip out from this port, and to plunder and take the Portuguese as they passed by; while they supplied those barbarians with powder, cannon, and other warlike stores, enabling the Moors by that means, in the course of time, to attack the other possessions of the Portuguese in Africa.”

My English author, who dates his manuscript in January 1737, gives the following account of Santa Cruz:—

“Santa Cruz is a city of Africa, in the kingdom of Suz, subject to the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, situated in a temperate air, on a mountain distant about half a league from the sea, in the latitude 30 deg. 35 min. North, seven leagues from Cape de Guerra, sixty from Morocco, one hundred and forty from Fez, and one hundred and fifty from Mequinez. It is in circumference about three quarters of a mile, of a square form, the four sides fronting the four quarters of the world. On the east, it has a spacious plain of sand; on the west, the sea; to the north, about the distance of a quarter of a mile, is a small village, containing about twenty inhabitants; and on the south is its entrance, opposite to the Mount of Tyde.

“The town is encompassed with walls, defended by seven bastions, having artillery mounted on them which carry between four and six pound balls; there are also some sixteen and twenty-four pounders, but, owing to their not having proper persons to work them, those pieces of ordinance are suffered to lie on the ground half buried, rendering them by that means entirely useless. The walls indeed are only of sufficient strength to resist an attack from their neighbouring enemies, the Arabs, who have no ordnance to oppose them with, but they could by no means withstand even a weak cannonade from a regular appointed artillery.

“Santa Cruz is a place of considerable trade, owing to the great quantities of copper which they procure from mines in the neighbourhood of Tafilet. It is also plentifully stored with various other merchandizes, such as wax procured from Heja Saxit and Morocco, the best in the country, Morocco leather, yellow leather of Tafilet, almonds, gum arabic, gum sandarie, ostrich feathers, elephants' teeth, gold dust, and salt petre, which is exported with some difficulty, owing to its being contraband. There are also other merchandizes of European manufacture, such as iron, leather from Buenos Ayres, muskets, swords, and all kinds of hardware, &c. as well as those of Asia and the eastern parts of Africa, brought thither by caravans. The people are for the most part of a tawny, sun-burnt complexion, spare and lean in body, but active, strong, and capable of undergoing any labour or hardship, pretty good economists, not much addicted to prodigality or vanity, and are dexterous and active in their trade and business.”

Such was the state of Santa Cruz before Sidi Mahomet ordered it to be evacuated by the European merchants; and it is impossible to read this account without being convinced that what I have advanced, with respect to its importance, in a commercial view, is not beyond the truth.

there are few or no stables in this country, but the horses are kept out in an open yard, and held by pins fixed in the ground.

There is not much of magnificence, it must be confessed, in this introduction, nor did anything occur to counteract the unfavourable impression, previous to our entering the apartment of the prince. The chamber into which I was conducted, I found a small room with seats in the walls; and there it is customary for all persons to wait till their names are announced. I observed a number of singular looking persons attending here; and as I was not much disposed to make one of their company, instead of sitting I amused myself, as other Europeans do, with walking about the room. In this exercise, however, I was a solitary performer; for the Moors, whatever be their object, whether business, conversation, or amusement, are generally seated; and indeed so novel to them was my deportment, in this respect, that they concluded I was either distracted in my intellect, or saying my prayers.

After being detained in this disagreeable situation for about an hour, orders were brought from the prince for my immediate introduction, with my interpreter. From the chamber where we had been waiting, we passed through a long and dark entry, which at its termination introduced us to a square court-yard, floored with chequered tiling, into which the prince's room opened, by means of large folding-doors. These were curiously painted of various colours, in the form of chequers. The immediate entrance to the room was neat; it was a very large arched door-way, curiously ornamented with chequered tiling, and forming a small porch, or antichamber. The room was lofty, square, and floored with chequered tiling; the walls stuccoed, and the ceiling painted of various colours. Much of the beauty of the room was lost for want of windows, which is a defect observable in most Moorish houses.

I found the prince sitting cross-legged, on a mattrass covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor; this, with a narrow and long piece of carpeting that fronted him, on which were seated his Moorish friends, was the only furniture in the room. Upon my first entrance, and delivering the consul's letter of introduction, which, according to the custom of the country, was presented in a silk handkerchief, I was addressed by the prince with the salutation, *Bono tibi, bono Anglaise*; which is a mixture of Arabic and Spanish, meaning, "You are a good doctor, the English are good;" and was ordered with my interpreter to sit down on the floor, between the prince and his visitors; when I was immediately interrogated by every one present, each having a question to put to me, and that of the most insignificant kind.

The prince expressed great pleasure at my arrival, wished to know whether I came voluntarily or not, and whether the English physicians were in high repute. To the first question I replied, that I was sent by order of the governor of Gibraltar: to the second, I felt it a duty which I owed to truth and to my country, to answer in the affirmative. He then desired me immediately to feel his pulse, and to examine his eyes, one of which was darkened by a cataract, and the other affected with a paralytic complaint; and requested me to inform him, whether I would undertake to cure him, and how soon? My answer was, that I wished to consider his case maturely before I gave my opinion; and in a day or two I should be a better judge.

One of his particular friends observed to him, from seeing me without a beard, for I had shaved in the morning, I was too young to be an able physician. Another remarked, that I had put powder in my hair on purpose to disguise my age; and a third insisted, that it was not my own hair. But what seemed to produce the greatest astonishment among them, was my dress, which from its closeness, the

Moorish dress being quite loose, they were certain must occasion pain, and be disagreeably warm.

The reader may be assured, that a part of this conversation was not very entertaining to me; and indeed, after the great fatigue which I had undergone, I could well have dispensed with most of their interrogatories; but instead of the dismissal and the repose which I wished and expected, my patience was exhausted by the absurd curiosity of the whole court, who one after another intreated me to favour them with my opinion, and inform them of the state of their health, merely by feeling the pulse. Having acquitted myself to the best of my ability in this curious enquiry, the prince informed me, he had prepared for my reception a good house, whither he desired me to retire, and visit him the following morning early, when I was to examine his case more particularly.

The good house promised me by the prince proved to be a miserable room in the Jewdry, that is, the part of the suburb inhabited by the Jews, situated about a quarter of a mile from the town. It was, however, the habitation of the prince's principal Jew, and the best in the place. This apartment, which was on the ground floor, was narrow and dirty, having no windows to it, but opening by means of large folding-doors into a court, where three Jewish families, who lived all in the same house, threw the whole of their rubbish and dirt. I suppose my feelings might be rendered more acute by the disappointment, for on being introduced into this wretched hovel, I was so struck with horror and disgust, that I was on the point of mounting my horse, for the purpose of asking the prince for another apartment; but upon being told it was the best in the town, and reflecting that I had voluntarily entered upon these difficulties, I determined to struggle through them as well as I could, and consented, for the present, to acquiesce in this indifferent fare.

I took, however, the first opportunity of representing my disagreeable situation to the prince, who gave orders for apartments to be fitted up for me in his garden; but from the slowness of the masons, they were not finished in time for me to occupy them before I left Tarudant. The prince's Jew had directions to supply me with every thing that was necessary; and while at Tarudant I had no reason whatever to complain of any inattention on the part of the prince.

As soon as my baggage was unpacked, the first object that occurred to me was to endeavour, under these circumstances, to make my situation as comfortable as the nature of it would admit. At one end of the room I placed my three folding stools, which I had used as a bed on the road, and screened it off as well as I could with mats, which I fixed across the apartment as a partition. One of my boxes was substituted for a table, and another for a chair, not being able to procure either of those articles in Tarudant. At the other end of the room my interpreter placed his bedding on the floor, where he slept during the whole of our stay.

Having furnished our room, our next object was to consider in what manner our cookery was to be performed. The whole of our kitchen furniture consisted of one small iron saucepan, one pewter dish, two pewter plates, a horn to drink out of, and two knives and forks. As the Moors are many of them accustomed to the use of tea, breakfasting articles we were not at a loss for. On the road the iron saucepan had served very well to boil our eggs and fowls, which, as I before observed, were the only food we could procure. But at Tarudant we found ourselves in a land of plenty, without having it in our power to avail ourselves of such an advantage. After a few days inconvenience on this account, I found out a Jew, who contrived to dress me a few
hashes

hashes and stews, something in the Spanish style, with which fare I was obliged to be satisfied during my residence at Tarudant.

Two hours before my arrival, the whole of the English people who had been shipwrecked, except the captain and a Negro, passed through the town in their way to the metropolis. They had been redeemed from the wild Arabs, by Muley Abfulem, with an intent, I presume, of complying with his promise, but by the Emperor's orders were sent up to Morocco.

Upon my visiting the prince the following day, and examining into the nature of his complaint, I found it to be of the most desperate kind; but as I had travelled near five hundred miles to see him, I could not be satisfied to return back without attempting something. I therefore gave a formal opinion to the prince in writing, stating, that I could by no means absolutely undertake to cure him; that I could not even flatter him with very great hopes of success; but that if he chose to give my plan of treatment a trial for a couple of months, we could then judge whether the disease was likely to be removed. This plan was approved of, and he immediately began his course of medicines.

I have already intimated, that the prince had totally lost the use of one eye by a cataract; and I may add, that he had nearly lost that of the other by a paralytic affection, which threatened to end in a gutta serena*, and which had drawn the eye so much towards the nose, as sometimes entirely to exclude the appearance of the pupil. The only remains of sight left were merely sufficient to enable him to see large bodies, without distinguishing any of them particularly. The spasm was the disease which I was ordered to cure.

But these were by no means the limits of the prince's complaints. For, in truth, his whole frame was so enervated by a course of debauchery, that I found it necessary to put him under a strict regimen; to enforce the observance of which, I committed, from time to time, my directions to writing. They were translated into Arabic, and one copy delivered to the prince, and the other to his confidential friend, who undertook, at my request, to see them carried into execution.

As I administered internal as well as topical remedies, I made a point of giving them to my patient with my own hand. The prince made no difficulty of swallowing the medicine, however nauseous; but it was a long time before I could make him comprehend how a medicine introduced into the stomach could afford any relief to the eye. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that I found him a more apt disciple than any of his attendants. Many of them could not be made at all to understand the action of medicines, and of consequence were full of prejudices against my mode of treatment.

In a few days after my first attendance on the prince, one of his prejudiced friends persuaded His Highness that I had administered medicines to him intended to produce a certain effect upon his constitution, of which I had never entertained so much as an idea, before it was mentioned to me. What this effect was I cannot with decency explain. Suffice it to say, that these malignant insinuations had too powerful an effect on the mind of my patient, and he expressed himself to me upon the subject in terms which I could not hear without the most poignant indignation and uneasiness.

I vindicated my conduct as well as I was able, under the disadvantages of an interpretation, by explaining to him how impossible it was for the medicines to have the

* By this disease is to be understood, such a state of the optic nerve as renders it insensible to the rays of light.

effect he suspected; and how much more to my credit, as well as advantage, it would be to re-establish his health, than to do him a prejudice; that a professional man had a character, which when once lost was irrecoverable; and that therefore I trusted he would reflect on my situation, and consider me in a more favourable light than his resentment at first had led him to suggest. The prince began now to retract his calumny, by saying, that he believed the medicines had produced an effect different from what I intended, but that it was the duty of a patient to inform his physician of every circumstance which related to his health. In short, after a variety of explanations, I at last brought him to consent to give my plan a few days longer trial, and if then there appeared any objections to the pursuing of it, I would willingly consent to give it up entirely. Those days being elapsed, and none of the suspected effects appearing, the prince proceeded regularly in the course agreeably to my directions.

The intermediate time between my attendance on the prince, whom I visited twice a day, was employed in reading a few books which I brought with me from Mogodore, making little excursions into the country, and visiting patients at Tarudant.

Among the latter was the *cadi* or judge of the town. This I found to be a venerable old man, of about seventy years of age, whose beard was become perfectly white, and whose countenance, though doubtless altered by time, yet still retained a great expression of vivacity and sense, mixed with more apparent goodness of heart than any I had seen in the country. He received me with the greatest respect, and expressed his gratitude for my visit in a manner that appeared strongly marked with sincerity. He seemed fully aware that his complaint was merely a decay of nature, and only wished me to administer something to him which might palliate his most urgent symptoms. With a great share of feeling he expatiated on the inconveniences I must undergo, from being at so great a distance from my friends, and in a part of the world where the manners of the people were so different from what I had been accustomed to, expressing his wish at the same time to render me every service that a person in his situation could offer. Such an uncommon share of sensibility and reflection, from one whose countrymen are in general in a very small degree removed from a savage state, excited in me a warm desire of rendering my patient a service. Among the many questions he put to me, he asked what was customary for our judges in England to receive as a reward for their services. Upon my informing him, the *cadi* was in perfect astonishment: "Good God!" he exclaimed, "the Emperor allows me only fifty ducats (about twelve pounds sterling) a year!"

I wish I could have it in my power to give as favourable an account of my other patients at Tarudant, as of this respectable old man. The generality of them proved insolent, ungrateful, and many, who visited my habitation, notorious thieves. From my apartment being in the house of a Jew, none of whom dare venture to prevent a Moor from entering, I was from morning to night pestered with Arabs, mountaineers, and the worst description of towns-people, who were seldom satisfied with my advice, but insisted on my either giving them money, or something else equal in value. Many I turned out of my room by force, while with difficulty they restrained their resentment at my conduct, and every moment threatened to draw their knives upon me; to others, who behaved a little better, I gave something to get rid of them; and to a third, who were real objects of distress, I with pleasure extended my utmost assistance. On the whole, my situation was such as to oblige me to complain of it to the prince, who afterwards allowed me a soldier to mount guard

constantly at my door, who had directions to permit no person to enter my room without my particular permission.

It was with the greatest pleasure that in about a fortnight after my first attendance on the prince, I observed an amendment in his complaint. His eye now evinced a disposition to recover its former position; at first he was able only to discern light from darkness, but he could now distinguish an apple at about ten yards distance.

These flattering appearances entirely removed every prejudice which at first arose in the minds of the prince's attendants; and His Highness himself acknowledged that he had been too hasty in forming his opinion of me. The confidence which this success occasioned, induced the prince to admit me into his harem, where there were several ladies who had occasion for my services.

Though this afforded me an opportunity of seeing the harem, I shall wave a particular description of it, as it only differed from that of the Emperor (which I shall hereafter very particularly describe) by being upon a smaller scale.

Upon receiving the prince's orders to attend his ladies, one of his friends was immediately dispatched with me to the gate of the harem; with directions to the alcaide* of the eunuchs to admit myself and interpreter whenever I thought it necessary.

The eunuchs, who have the entire charge of the women, and who in fact live always among them, are the children of negro slaves. They are generally either very short and fat, or else tall, deformed, and lame. Their voices have that particular tone which is observable in youths who are just arriving at manhood; and their persons altogether afford a disgusting image of weakness and effeminacy. From the trust reposed in them by their masters, and the consequence which it gives them, the eunuchs exceed in insolence and pride every other class of people in the country. They displayed indeed so much of it towards me, that I was obliged, in my own defence, to complain of them once or twice, and to have them punished.

Attended by one of these people, after passing the gate of the harem, which is always locked, and under the care of a guard of eunuchs, we entered a narrow and dark passage, which soon brought us to the court, into which the women's chambers open. We here saw numbers of both black and white women and children; some concubines, some slaves, and others hired domestics.

Upon their observing the unusual figure of an European, the whole multitude in a body surrounded me, and expressed the utmost astonishment at my dress and appearance. Some stood motionless, with their hands lifted up, their eyes fixed, and their mouths open, in the usual attitude of wonder and surprize. Some burst into immoderate fits of laughter; while others again came up, and, with uncommon attention, eyed me from head to foot. The parts of my dress which seemed most to attract their notice were my buckles, buttons, and stockings; for neither men nor women in this country wear any thing of the kind. With respect to the club of my hair, they seemed utterly at a loss in what view to consider it; but the powder which I wore they conceived to be employed for the purpose of destroying vermin. Most of the children, when they saw me, ran away in the most perfect consternation; and on the whole I appeared as singular an animal, and I dare say had the honour of exciting as much curiosity and attention, as a lion, or a man-tiger just imported from abroad, and introduced into a country town in England on a market-day. Every time I visited the harem

* An officer in the general idea of the word.

I was surrounded and laughed at by this curious mob, who, on my entering the gate, followed me close to the very chamber to which I was proceeding, and on my return universally escorted me out.

The greatest part of the women were uncommonly fat and unwieldy; had black and full eyes, round faces, with small noses. They were of different complexions; some very fair, some fallow, and others again perfect negroes.

One of my new patients being ready to receive me, I was desired to walk into her room; where, to my great surprize, I saw nothing but a curtain drawn quite across the apartment, similar to that of a theatre which separates the stage from the audience. A female domestic brought a very low stool, placed it near the curtain, and told me I was to sit down there, and feel her mistress's pulse.

The lady, who had by this time summoned up courage to speak, introduced her hand from the bottom of the curtain, and desired me to inform her of all her complaints, which she conceived I might perfectly perceive by merely feeling the pulse. It was in vain to ask her where her pain was seated, whether in her stomach, head, or back; the only answer I could procure, was a request to feel the pulse of the other hand, and then point out the seat of the disease, and the nature of the pain.

Having neither satisfied my curiosity by exhibiting her face, nor made me acquainted with the nature of her complaint, I was under the necessity of informing her in positive terms, that to understand the disease it was absolutely necessary to see the tongue, as well as to feel the pulse; and that without it I could do nothing for her. My eloquence, or rather that of my Jewish interpreter, was, however, for a long time exerted in vain; and I am persuaded she would have dismissed me without any further enquiry, had not her invention supplied her with a happy expedient to remove her embarrassment. She contrived at last to cut a hole through the curtain, through which she extruded her tongue, and thus complied with my injunction as far as it was necessary in a medical view, but most effectually disappointed my curiosity.

I was afterwards ordered to look at another of the prince's wives, who was affected with a scrophulous swelling in her neck. This lady was, in the same manner as the other, at first excluded from my sight; but as she was obliged to shew me her complaint, I had an opportunity of seeing her face, and observed it to be very handsome. I was informed that she had been at one period the favourite of the prince, but owing to this defect he had in a great measure deserted her; and this circumstance accounts for the extreme anxiety which she seemed to express to get rid of this disagreeable disease.

As soon as I had examined her neck, she took off from her dress the whole of her gold trinkets, which were very numerous, and of considerable value, put them into my hand, and desired me to cure her; promising a still greater reward if I succeeded. Conscious of the uncertainty of rendering her any material service, I immediately returned the present, and assured her that she might depend on my giving all proper remedies a fair trial, but that I could not be answerable for their success. There is nothing more unpleasant than the inability of giving reasonable ground for hope, when it promises to be productive of so much happiness to a fellow creature. It was with pain I observed that this poor lady, though somewhat cheered, was yet dissatisfied with my reply; she could not refrain from shewing evident marks of disappointment, and even displeasure, at my hesitation, by saying, she always understood that a Christian physician could cure every disease.

During the course of my attendance in the harem, I had an opportunity of seeing most of the prince's women, who, exclusive of the four wives allowed him by his religion, were about twenty in number, and who did not, like his wives, discover that invincible reluctance to the display of their beauty. They at first proved very troublesome patients; for upon my not telling them all their complaints immediately upon feeling the pulse, they considered me as an ignorant empiric, who knew nothing of my profession. Besides this, I found that each of them flattered themselves with almost an instantaneous cure. In short, after many fruitless efforts to teach those to reason who had hitherto never made the smallest use of their understandings, I was at last obliged to adapt my deportment to the capacities of my patients, and soon acquired among them as much undeserved commendation as I had incurred unmerited reproach.

Most of the women in the harem were under thirty years of age, of a corpulent habit, and of a very awkward gait. Their knowledge of course, from having led a life of total seclusion from the world, was entirely confined to the occurrences in their harem; where, as they were allowed a free access to each other, they conversed upon such subjects as their uninformed understandings served to furnish them with. They are never suffered to go out, but by an express order from the prince; and then only when removing from one place of residence to another. I in general found them extremely ignorant, proud, and vain of their persons, even to a degree which bordered upon childishness. Among many ridiculous questions, they asked my interpreter if I could read and write; upon being answered in the affirmative, they expressed the utmost surprise and admiration at the abilities of the Christians. There was not one among them who could do either; these rudiments of learning are indeed only the lot of a few of their men, who on that account are named talbs, or explainers of the Mahometan law.

Among the concubines of the prince there were six female slaves of the age of fifteen, who were presented to him by a Moor of distinction. One of these was descended from an English renegado, another from a Spanish, and the other four were of Moorish extraction.

Where the more solid and useful accomplishments are least cultivated, a taste is often found to prevail for those which are purely ornamental and frivolous. These devoted victims of libidinous pleasure received a daily lesson of music, by order of the prince, from a Moor who had passed some little time in London and Italy, where he had acquired a slight knowledge of that science. I had an opportunity of being present at one of these performances, but cannot say I received much amusement, in a musical view, from my visit. It was a concert vocal and instrumental: the instruments used upon this occasion were the mandoline, a kind of violin with only two strings, and the tabor. The principal object in their performance seemed to be noise; it was without the least attention to melody, variety, or taste, and was merely drawing out a wild and melancholy strain.

Conversation, however, forms the principal entertainment in these gloomy retirements. When I visited the harem, I never found the women engaged in any other employment than that of conversing on the ground in circles. In fact, as all their needle-work is performed by Jewesses, and their cookery, and the management of their chambers, by their slaves and domestics, of which they have a proportionable number, according to the favour they are in with the prince, it is not easy for them to find means of occupying their time, and particularly since none of them are able to read or write. It is impossible, indeed, to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate

women

women without the most lively sentiments of compassion. Excluded from the enjoyment of fresh air and exercise, so necessary for the support of health and life; deprived of all society but that of their fellow-sufferers, a society to which most of them would prefer solitude itself; they are only to be considered as the most abject of slaves — slaves to the vices and caprice of a licentious tyrant, who exacts even from his wives themselves a degree of submission and respect which borders upon idolatry, and which God and nature never meant should be paid to a mortal.

After the lapse of a third week, there was a considerable amendment in the prince's complaint. He began to distinguish very large writing; and he assured me that he had written with his own hand a letter to the Emperor, wherein he informed him of the relief my attendance had afforded him; assuring me, that his father would reward me very handsomely if I effected a cure.

Our intercourse was at this time improved into intimacy. He used to see me without reserve, and often at a time when he had his women with him, which, I was informed, was a mark of confidence with which no other man had ever before been honoured. He made me feel their pulses, and obliged one of them, who was remarkably fat and unwieldy, to be held on the floor by two of the others, while I dropped into her eye some of the same medicine which I had occasion to apply to his. The violent but temporary pain brought on by this application produced an immoderate fit of laughter in the prince, as well as in the other ladies; and the object of it, though in most violent pain, to evince her respect to His Royal Highness, declared it to be a very pleasant sensation.

Upon other occasions he would detain me for two, and sometimes three hours, enquiring concerning European customs, and particularly those of the English, their religion, laws, and government. He made some comments upon what I told him, manifested an earnest desire of information, and appeared greatly interested in the conversation. At other times, when he had been put out of humour, after I had felt his pulse, and administered to him the medicines, he would dismiss me without asking me to sit down, or even allowing me to ask any further questions. — But the curiosity of the reader is probably by this time excited respecting the person and character of this prince; and perhaps it cannot be gratified at a more convenient part of the narrative.

Muley Abfulem is of the middle size, of rather a corpulent habit, and about thirty-five years of age. His features are very much disfigured by the great defect in his eyes; the cataract having entirely obscured one of them, and the other being drawn quite on one side by the violence of the paralytic affection. These circumstances, joined to the great natural size and prominency of both eyes, a bad set of teeth, and a fallow complexion, will not allow me to say that the prince has the smallest pretensions to the character of handsome. His dress was the same as that of other Moors, which I shall hereafter describe, except a silk tassel to his turban, which is in this country a distinctive mark of royalty. When I first saw him, he was covered with a loose surtout, made of red woollen cloth, and edged with fur-skin, which the Moors term a cafran. Indeed the only distinction of dress in this country is in the good or bad qualities of the materials. I have seen instances of private Moors, whose dress was much richer than that of any of the princes, or even of the Emperor himself. The attendants of the prince consisted principally of soldiers, of which he has an unlimited number, pages, who are generally about his person, black eunuchs, and a few black slaves.

The character of Muley Absukm is marked with less of severity and cruelty than that of the greater part of the Moorish princes; it possesses however, at the same time, less of that sagacity, acuteness, and activity, which is so necessary for the government of so uncivilized a people as the Moors. To be explicit, this prince is naturally of a mild and indolent disposition; immoderately indulgent to his passions, when he can enjoy them without much trouble; and very little ambitious of fame.

Till very lately he had accustomed himself to drink, to a very great excess, strong brandy; that he has now entirely relinquished, and his principal passion since has been the love of women, which engrosses the whole of his attention and time. I observed, however, that he allowed his ladies much more indulgence than is in general customary among the Moors; and I found that even in his presence they conversed among each other with as much freedom as if they had been by themselves.

From the sketch which I have given of the prince's character, it will be no difficult matter to discover the reasons why his father's wishes for appointing him his successor were disappointed. He was rich, it is true, but a great part of his wealth was squandered on sensual gratifications; and the total want of energy in his character prevented his securing friends in a country, where cruelty and great activity are considered as the only characteristics of sovereignty.

The advantages of hereditary succession can only be seen by contemplating the state of those monarchies where it does not exist. In Morocco, where there is no regular or fixed order of succession, though the Emperor is indulged in the formality of nominating his successor, yet the sword supplies the place of right; and that prince who can acquire the greatest number of friends, and consequently the strongest army, succeeds to the throne. This circumstance is often attended with the most fatal effects, and has given rise to those bloody revolutions which from one period to another have shaken and depopulated the empire of Morocco. The Emperor Sidi Mahomet, from having no competitors, enjoyed a much more peaceful reign than any of his predecessors. How far his successor, who has several brothers, each feeling an equal claim to the throne, will be equally successful, time only must determine.

CHAP. VI. — *Description of Tarudant. — Country of Vled de Non. — Markets for the Sale of Cattle. — Extraordinary Amendment in the Prince's Complaint. — Great Civility from two Moors. — Singular Adventure. — The Prince ordered on a Pilgrimage to Mecca. — Intercession in Favour of the English Captives. — Unexpected Order to repair to Morocco.*

AS it is quite unfashionable in this country to go even to the next street on foot, and as my situation was at some distance from that of the prince, His Highness made me a present of a horse, which, however, I could not say was one of the best in the country. But as I had once engaged in this service, I conceived it my interest to make the best of every situation. In the hours, therefore, when my personal attendance on my patient was not demanded, I frequently made use of my Rosinante, both for the purpose of exercise, and for the gratification of my curiosity in visiting every thing which appeared worthy of inspection. The following are the principal observations which I was able to collect in the course of my excursions; and I flatter myself they will serve at least to give a general idea of the city where I resided, and its environs.

Tarudant, now the capital of the province of Suz, was formerly, while the empire was divided into petty states, the metropolis of a kingdom. It lies in a fine but uncultivated

uncultivated plain, about twenty miles to the south of the Atlas, and may be considered as the frontier town of that part of the Emperor's dominions. The Emperor, it is true, claims the sovereignty of the desert of Zahara, and the territory of Vled de Non. But his authority over that part of the country is almost nominal; as it entirely depends on the caprice and inclination of the Arabs who inhabit it; and who, from their distant situation from the seat of government, are more properly under the dominion of their own chiefs. They acknowledge the Emperor to be their sovereign, and the head of their church, and occasionally pay him tribute as such; but they pay no attention whatever to his particular orders, and over their interior government he has not the least controul.

These people consist of different tribes of Arabs, who live in tents without any fixed places of residence. They wander over the country in search of plunder, and are supposed, on some occasions, to extend their depredations as far as Nigritia, whence they carry off negroes. They profess the Mahometan religion, though they intermix it with a great portion of idolatry; and in the deserts, where no water can be procured for the purpose of ablution, they substitute sand. Their manner of treating those unfortunate mariners who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on their coast, I shall hereafter have occasion to represent.

The walls of Tarudant, now half in ruins, are very extensive, and enclose a much larger space of ground than is occupied by the buildings. The houses, which are composed of earth and mud, beaten very tight in a wooden case, and left to be dried by the sun, have only apartments on the ground-floor; and as each house is surrounded by a garden and wall, the place altogether bears a greater resemblance to a well-peopled spot of country, or a collection of hamlets, than a town. This idea is much increased by the number of lofty palm, or date trees, which are intermixed with, and overlook the houses affording altogether a very rural appearance. The apartments are in general mean and inconvenient, and principally inhabited by the lower class of mechanics, as there are very few Moors of distinction residing at Tarudant. It is true, when the prince is there, he brings with him all his attendants and friends, but they generally live in the castle, and are by no means to be considered as the inhabitants of the town.

From the irregular and straggling manner in which the town is built, it is impossible to form a conjecture concerning the number of houses and inhabitants it contains. As its extent, however, is considerable, it may be accounted an important and populous city, when compared with most of the others in the Emperor's dominions.

The principal manufactures at Tarudant are making of fine haicks, and the working of copper, which is procured in great plenty from a neighbouring mine. They have a regular market twice a week, where all kinds of cattle and provisions are brought to be disposed of. For the sale of horses and mules the proprietor of the market employs men on purpose to ride, and exhibit the beasts to the best advantage, and afterwards to put them up to public auction. In these sales, if the highest bidder does not offer a price agreeable to the owners, they are at liberty to refuse selling them. This custom prevents many of those impositions in the sale of cattle, which too frequently prevail in European fairs and markets. By thus putting the cattle up to public auction, those persons who have really good ones will in general get their full price for them; and those buyers, who from their ignorance might be liable to be imposed upon, can without much difficulty form a tolerable idea of the real value of the animal by the price which others bid.

The Jewdry is a miserable place, situated about a quarter of a mile from the town. The inhabitants are in the most abject state of poverty and subjection, and when they enter the Moorish town are obliged to go barefooted. The castle, which is very extensive, and situated half-way between the town and Dar Beyda, the residence of the prince, is enclosed in a tolerably neat garden, which was planned by a Frenchman. It is divided into three parts; one for the prince, which he occasionally uses, the other for his women, named the Harem*, and the third for all those who are in the service of the prince.

As the prince's recovery became daily observable, I thought I might venture to try him with a large watch which I had with me, to see whether he could point out the time of the day. In this he succeeded very well, and had discernment enough to observe, that it was an old watch, and in part broken. He therefore begged my acceptance of a very elegant gold one, requesting of me to wear it instead of the other. The handsome manner in which His Highness made this present, gave me a much more flattering idea of his character than his conduct afterwards warranted. But we are to recollect, that he was then in the act of receiving a benefit from me; that the journey which he was afterwards obliged to undertake, put it out of my power to render him any further service; and therefore, to an illiberal and uncultivated mind, the motive for continuing any acts of generosity or kindness no longer existed.

In the course of my visits to the prince, I occasionally met with two Moors, one of whom had been in Italy for some time, and the other in England, who could speak a little of the English language. I mention these men not only from motives of gratitude, but also to evince, that it is by improving the mind, and by conversing with refined and civilized people only, that we are able to conquer illiberal prejudices. From an impulse of benevolence, for it could proceed from no other motive, since they had not received the smallest favour from me, they in a short time contracted so warm a friendship for me, that had I been their nearest relation, they could not have shewn it in a stronger manner than I experienced.

They not only expressed their distress at seeing me in a country where I must be continually subject to insult, and where the manner of living must be so very different from that to which they knew by their own experience I had been accustomed, but they also took me to their houses, introduced me to their wives, and desired them to take the same care of me as of their own family. This was not all; they urged me to allow one of them to go into some other apartments, which they could obtain from the prince, and almost insisted upon my accepting of theirs. To this friendly proposal, however, I could not accede. Indeed I was in daily expectation of taking possession of the apartments promised me by the prince; and had it been otherwise I could never have intruded so much upon their friendship as to have consented to this request. They continually, however, obliged me to accept of tea and sugar, and many other articles, which from their scarcity at Tarudant were very valuable. Of money they knew I was not in want, as I drew upon Mr. Hutchinson's agent for that article; but of those little rarities which they frequently sent to the prince, I was always kindly compelled to take my share. Had these two estimable persons received all the advantages of a liberal education, what an ornament would they have proved to society, and of what extensive utility to their nation!

* Europeans have in general an idea, that the place allotted for the women to live in is named the seraglio. This is quite erroneous. Seraglio means properly a palace, and the women's place of residence is the harem.

On returning home from one of my visits to the prince, and having passed the gateway, which is very lofty, and leads to the town, I was surprized at hearing a number of voices from above calling out very loudly, *tibib, tibib!* (doctor, doctor!) — On looking back I observed Muley Omar, one of Sidi Mahomet's sons, and half-brother to Muley Absulem, sitting in great state on the centre of the wall over the gate-way, with a number of his attendants on each side of him. I immediately rode up to the prince, and found him a tolerably good looking young man, of about two-and-twenty. He was rather of a dark complexion, and his features were strongly marked with goodnature. After the usual salutation, and having answered his question, whether I approved of the horse his brother had given me, I took my leave; but could not possibly conceive the reason why a person of his consequence should be seated in so strange a place. I had not ridden far, before I observed about an hundred Moors on horseback, who were upon the full gallop, and firing at each other in a strange and irregular manner. I now was informed that this was a sham fight, performed for the amusement of the prince, who had chosen the top of the gateway for his place of observation.

As I found it an easier matter to keep my mind employed in the day-time than in the evening, I accustomed myself to go to bed, as well as to rise, very early. One evening I had retired to rest more than three hours, when I was alarmed by a noise, which I at first imagined was occasioned by thieves getting into the house. There had been lately a great number of robberies at Tarudant, committed by the Arabs, who, as the houses in general were constructed of nothing but mud, had a custom of making a hole in the wall large enough to admit themselves through, without occasioning the least alarm to any of the family. This I conceived to be the case, and supposed that the noise I heard arose from the accidental falling down of part of the wall.

I immediately got up and flew to the door, which was already opened by my interpreter, who had risen before me, and there I observed the whole of my neighbours with lights in their hands, and in their shirts and shifts, in a perfect state of consternation. They were standing as if totally unconscious where they were, and without the power of speech. Indeed the alarm had occasioned the same apprehensions in them that it had in me, and they had just advanced as far as the spot where I first saw them, without having the resolution to examine any further into the cause of the noise.

My interpreter, though but little better than the others, had summoned up courage enough to approach the spot whence the noise arose; he there found that one-fourth of the house, which was built in a square, with a court in the centre, had entirely fallen down, and buried in its ruins two Jews, who were sleeping in the fallen apartment. I immediately assisted, and we soon brought the two men into my room, where I examined them very particularly, and found them speechless—but speechless only from fright. I must confess this accident, which had occasioned a crack in my apartment, increased my anxiety to change it, as it was impossible to say how soon I might be in the same predicament with the two Jews whom I and my interpreter had extricated from the ruins; but notwithstanding all my importunities I could not persuade the prince's masons to work fast enough to prove of any utility.

Among the many inconveniences which I experienced at Tarudant, were the frequent insults I received in the streets, for which I could certainly have had redress, but the number of new faces which were daily appearing, made applications for it entirely useless. One day in my way to the prince, I was insulted by an ill-looking Moor,

Moors, who, under the sanction of a sharif*, thought himself justifiable in so doing, and therefore in a very rude manner ran his mule directly upon me, with an intention of either giving me a severe blow, or of frightening my horse. I immediately expostulated with him upon the impropriety of such brutal behaviour; upon which he told me I might go to the devil, for he was a sharif. Upon this I found it necessary to explain to him that I was surgeon to his prince, who from being governor of the province, and from having me under his immediate protection, would pay very little attention to his being a sharif, but would punish him in such a manner as his conduct merited; that I was then going to His Highness, and as I was well acquainted with his name, should make my complaint of him. With a meanness proportioned to his pride, this haughty sharif turned back his mule, and offered any atonement I could point out, even that of going down upon his knees, if I would forgive this offence, for he dreaded the idea of his insolence being made known to the prince. I immediately consented to accept his submission, but admonished him, though a sharif, to be cautious in future how he committed such a breach of hospitality as to insult a stranger.

At the end of the fourth week, the prince informed me that he had received orders from the Emperor to prepare himself to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but that it was his intention to take me up to Morocco, where he would introduce me to his father, whence I was to accompany him to Fez and Mequinez, where he would give me a detachment of soldiers, which should conduct me to Tangier. "By these means," added His Highness, "you will have an opportunity of telling your brother Christians what a number of fine places you have seen in this country." His departure from Tarudant, however, was not to take place for some weeks, so that it would not interfere with the plan of cure which I was at present pursuing.

In the course of our conversation, during the different times I visited the prince, I repeatedly urged him to redeem out of his captivity Captain Irving, the master of the shipwrecked Guineaman, agreeably to his promise, and always received the strongest assurances that my requests would be complied with; but hitherto nothing had been done. I therefore proceeded upon another plan, which as it operated to the interest of the prince, I flattered myself would be attended with more success. I told him that Captain Irving was a physician, whom I knew to be a man of great abilities (for he really was brought up to the profession) and that his advice was highly necessary in order to promote and facilitate my plan of cure, and therefore I wished him to be sent for immediately. The prince, though satisfied with my conduct, was highly pleased with the idea of novelty, and soon obtained the Emperor's permission to send for him up to Tarudant.

Having no European with whom I could converse, and residing among the very worst part of the Moors, who harassed me at one time with their solicitations for relief, and at another with their insolence, it will easily be conceived that my time was not spent in the most agreeable manner possible at Tarudant. My attendance however on the prince, and the apparently great amendment in his health, served in some measure to keep up my spirits, amuse me, and enable me to bear my situation with patience.

At the expiration of five weeks, during which time the prince expressed the most perfect satisfaction at the relief which I had afforded him, an order came down from the Emperor commanding my immediate presence at Morocco. It may well be conceived that I could not receive this order without strong emotions of chagrin and surprise. From the well-known disposition of these people, I was aware that had any

* Sharifs are men who profess themselves to be the descendants of Mahomet, and on that account are held in great esteem.

accident happened to the prince during my attendance on him, such an order would probably have been the consequence; but to remove me from my patient, at a time when His Highness was continually informing his father of his amendment, was a mystery which I could not unfold. I repeatedly urged the prince to explain the reason of this extraordinary conduct in the court; but he was either unable or unwilling to afford me any information.

Conscious how useless and absurd the attempt would be to withstand a positive order of the Emperor, in a government so uncommonly despotic, and reflecting upon the favourable state of the prince's health, after revolving the question again and again within my own mind, I in the end (so ready are our imaginations to flatter us on every occasion) brought myself to hope that the journey might prove rather to my advantage than otherwise. How egregiously deceived I was in those hopes the sequel will sufficiently prove. A gold watch, an indifferent horse, and a few hard dollars, forced into my hand contrary to my inclination, were the princely and magnificent rewards which I received for taking a journey of five hundred miles, and an assiduous attendance on an ungrateful despot!

CHAP. VII.—*Journey over Mount Atlas from Tarudant to Morocco.—Retinue.—Dangerous Passage over Mount Atlas.—Description of Mount Atlas.—Natural Productions.—Animals.—Beautiful Vallies.—Manners and Customs of the Brebes.—Picturesque Views in the Mountains.*

ON the 30th of November, between seven and eight in the morning, I took my leave of the prince, having previously intreated him to continue his course of medicines, and left Tarudant, under the charge of an alcaide and two soldiers of the Negro cavalry, who carried up the annual present from the prince to the Emperor, of six horses and three boxes of money. These, with my interpreter, a Jew, who served both as cook and groom, and a muleteer, who had the charge of my baggage, were my party for the journey.

Between twelve and one at noon we arrived at the foot of Mount Atlas, about twenty miles from Tarudant, where we pitched a very elegant tent, which the prince had procured for me, adjoining to some Moorish huts. We found the country in our way hither a woody and uncultivated plain.

On the following day at six in the morning we struck the tent, and immediately began to ascend Mount Atlas. For near four hours we had one continued, difficult, and fatiguing ascent, owing to the road being narrow, rocky, and steep. From its abrupt and angular turnings the Moors distinguish it by an Arabic name, which signifies the camel's neck.

In many places, and particularly on the higher parts of the mountain, besides the inconvenience of a rocky road, which was only broad enough to allow one mule with difficulty to pass, we had a tremendous perpendicular precipice on one side, and even in some places, where the mountain consisted of only a narrow ridge of rock, on both. It was astonishing to observe with what ease and safety our mules ascended and descended the rough and uneven paths over the mountains, without putting us under the necessity of dismounting. By two in the afternoon we began to descend, and arrived at a small village, in the centre of which we pitched the tent.

On the following morning, at a little before six, we proceeded on our journey, and at five in the evening arrived at the termination of the mountains, where we slept that night. The first part of this day's journey was a descent on a most dreadfully steep and rocky road, which at last brought us into a beautiful vale, between two very high

mountains, which immediately opens into the plains of Morocco, in a manner that is truly picturesque and sublime.

I confess it would have gratified me to have prolonged my stay for a little while in these mountains, so fertile in objects interesting to curiosity. The few observations which I was able to collect in my passage over them I shall, however, present to my readers, without any further apology.

The Atlas are a chain of high mountains, intersected with deep vallies, which extend from the eastern to the western parts of Barbary, dividing it into two parts or sections. Those to the westward, from their height, are named the greater Atlas, and those to the eastward the lesser. So immense is the height of these mountains, and particularly of those in the neighbourhood of Morocco, that though so far to the southward, their summits are perpetually covered with snow. When Muley Abfulem, the following January, passed over the same track which I had passed in December, it snowed the whole way; and from Morocco we at that time could not discover any part of the mountains which was not completely white.

The atmosphere near their summits is intensely cold, to a degree indeed which is frequently found to be destructive to animal life. I was well informed that some Brebes, who had attempted to ascend the highest part of the mountain, died immediately on the spot, while others who were engaged in the same attempt were obliged to return with the utmost precipitancy.

As December was not the most favourable season for botanical researches, I saw little vegetation on the mountains, except the arga-tree, on which I have already made some remarks when speaking of the natural productions of the country in general; but I am informed from the best authority, that in the spring these mountains abound with an innumerable variety of curious plants. Indeed I have great reason to believe the natural philosopher would find a nobler scope in this country for his enquiries than in almost any part of the globe; and that the knowledge of medicine, as well as of tany, would be improved by a philosophical tour over the Atlas.

In the interior parts of the mountains there are, as I have before observed, numerous iron mines, and the Moors have an opinion that there are gold ones also; but the truth of this has not been ascertained. I was informed of several volcanoes which existed in different parts, but as I did not see them I only give this as a mere report; though from the nature of things I cannot help repeating, that I think it highly probable many curious and valuable articles are concealed in the bowels of these unknown mountains, which indolence and want of emulation, so strongly interwoven in the disposition and character of the Moors, will not suffer them to explore.

With respect to animal productions, Mount Atlas abounds with lions, tigers, wolves, wild boars, and monstrous serpents. But except when the necessity produced by an extremely severe winter drives these animals into the vales or tracks of men, they generally confine themselves to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. This remark, however, is not to be understood without exceptions; for when I was at Taradant a tiger was killed quite close to the town; and there have been many instances of their raging far beyond the limits of the mountains. The means made use of by the inhabitants to secure themselves from their attacks at night are by making large and numerous wood-fires, which the wild beasts seldom venture to approach. When I passed over the mountains, I met with no animals of prey, except some remarkably large eagles.

On the upper parts, in some places, there was nothing to be seen but an huge mass of barren and rugged rocks, whose perpendicular and immense heights formed precipices,

cipices, which, upon looking down, filled the mind with inexpressible horror; in others, we passed through thick and extensive forests of the arga-tree, which, though it afforded an agreeable variety, being the only vegetable on the mountains, very little lessened the general appearance of barrenness.

The vallies, however, presented us with a very different scene. Here we observed numerous villages, gardens, and inclosures, which, though in December, were beautifully covered with verdure, and filled with fruit-trees of every description. Corn grew at this season in the greatest abundance, intermixed with plantations of olives and oranges, and served as the resort of a variety of singing birds of every description. In some places small cascades of water issued from the rocks and mountains above, uniting and forming one continued stream, which plentifully watered the plain. In fact, this scene afforded the most pleasing relief to the mind, after the fatigues and dangers we had experienced in the higher parts of the mountains.

The villages consisted of huts, rudely constructed of earth and mud, and walled in. They are very numerous, and are inhabited by a set of people who are named Brebes. These people differ entirely from the Arabs and Moors. They are the original inhabitants of the country, who at the time of the conquest by the Arabs fled into these mountains, where they have ever since continued, and in a great measure maintained their independence. Each village is under the direction of a shaik, who, contrary to the practice in the encampments of the Arabs, is an officer of their own choice.

The Brebes are a very athletic and strong-featured people, patient, and accustomed to hardships and fatigue, and seldom remove far from the spot where they reside. They shave the fore part of the head, but suffer their hair to grow from the crown as far behind as the neck. They wear no shirt or drawers; they are only covered by one woollen garment without sleeves, and belted round the middle though I have seen some few cover it with the haick. Their principal amusement is in the use of their muskets; they are indeed excellent marksmen, and are very dexterous in twirling their muskets round, throwing them very high in the air, and afterwards catching them. So attached are they to these instruments, that they frequently go to the expence of sixty or even eighty ducats, to ornament them with silver and ivory.

Their employment consists principally in cultivating the vallies, looking after their cattle, and hunting wild beasts, the skins of which become a very valuable article for sale. Like the Arabs they have their regular markets for the disposal of cattle, &c. where they either receive money or some other article in exchange. They have fallen, in a great measure, into the customs and religion of the Moors, but they still retain their original language; and a Moor is frequently obliged to use an interpreter to enable him to converse with them.

Besides those who reside in huts in the vallies, which are numerous, there are also others who live in caves in the upper parts of the mountains; so that the number of the whole must be very considerable.

From their secure situation, the Brebes, although inhabiting a considerable tract within the bounds of the empire, have frequently proved very troublesome to the Moorish monarchs, sometimes paying them tribute, and at others refusing it, according to the dictates of their inclination. It is not long since a general revolt took place among the Brebes, which obliged the Emperor to send a large army to subdue them; but he succeeded no farther than to oblige them to disperse, without either conquering them, or gaining the point at which he aimed, which was to compel them to the payment of the tribute he demanded. The situation indeed of these mountains does not admit of the operations of a large army; for the mountaineers, accustomed to climb

climb up into the almost inaccessible recesses, soon get beyond the reach of enemies who never before had made the attempt.

Beside the Brébas, many Jews reside in the vallies, and possess separate habitations or villages. These people are employed in the trifling mechanical occupations which the Brébas require. Indeed I believe there is no part of the world where the Jews are so completely diffused over the face of the country, or where they are so severely oppressed; as in Barbary.

In one of the places where I slept in these vallies, soon after I got under my tent, I was amused with the sound of an instrument very much resembling the bagpipe, and producing a wild and melancholy strain. Curious to know the nature of the instrument, I sent for the person who was playing upon it, and immediately purchased it. It proved to be made of a common cane, about eight inches in length, perfectly hollow, without any cork or stop to it, with six holes before, and one behind for the thumb, between which was a narrow brass plate by way of ornament; it had a common cord fixed to it, for the purpose of hanging it round the neck. It in fact altogether so well corresponded with the description of the pipe which was used by the ancient shepherds, that I have little doubt of this description reviving a few classical and romantic ideas in the minds of some readers.

It is by no means a very easy matter to describe the different sensations which are experienced in passing over these wonderful mountains. Their immense height, the dangerous precipices, the vales, which from their depth appeared like so many abysses, inspired altogether an emotion of awe and terror, which may be better conceived than expressed. On the other hand, the unlimited and great variety of prospects discoverable from their summits, the numerous herds of goats and sheep which were scrambling over the almost perpendicular cliffs, and the universal barrenness of the mountains, contrasted with the beautiful verdure of the vallies immediately below, formed on the whole a scene sufficiently beautiful and picturesque, to counterbalance the inconveniences we otherwise suffered.

CHAP. VIII.—*Arrival at Morocco.—Difficulty of obtaining an Audience.—Description of the Metropolis.—Buildings.—House of the Prime Minister.—The Castle.—The Jewdry.—State of the Jews in Barbary.—Account of Jacob Attal, the Emperor's Jewish Secretary.—Manners of the Jews in Barbary.—Jewesses.—Dress.—Marriages.—Disposition for Intrigue in the Jewish Women.—The Emperor's Palace described.*

ON the 3d of December, between five and six in the morning, we proceeded on our journey, and soon reached a fine plain, on which we continued the whole way to Morocco, where we arrived on the following day about noon, having performed altogether a journey of about one hundred and twenty-five miles.

My first object on my arrival was to secure myself a convenient place of residence in the Jewdry; and having accomplished that to my satisfaction, I immediately took possession of it, expecting anxiously every hour to be summoned before the Emperor. Though, however, His Moorish Majesty was repeatedly informed of my arrival, yet to my great astonishment I continued a whole month in a state of uncertainty and expectation, without having it in my power to obtain an audience, or to be informed of the cause which removed me from Tarudant.

The number of anecdotes in circulation through the town to my prejudice excited in me continual uneasiness, which even increased in proportion to the length of time

that had elapsed since my arrival. By one of the Emperor's confidential friends it was insinuated to me, that His Imperial Majesty had heard I was young; that I was administering internal medicines for diseases of the eye, which was a practice totally new and unaccountable to them; that European medicines were always powerful and violent, and that if I had been suffered to attend the prince much longer, his constitution would have been ruined for ever. Another even went so far as to say, that the Emperor suspected me of having been employed by my countrymen with a view to poison his son.

After much perplexing investigation into the truth of these assertions, I now discovered that my journey to Tarudant was a private affair, settled between the consul and the prince; that the Emperor, who at that time was not upon the best terms with the English court, and who had already stopped all communication between his dominions and the garrison of Gibraltar, was highly displeased that an Englishman should be introduced, unknown to him, for the purpose of attending his son in a medical capacity; that his Moorish physician, out of pique, had persuaded the Emperor, that European medicines were too potent for the prince's constitution, and that in reality his son was in extreme danger while under my care;—that in fine, all these arguments weighed so powerfully with the Emperor, that he not only determined on immediately removing me from the prince, but at the same time ordered some of my medicines to be privately sent up to Morocco, where they were to undergo a strict examination by his physician. The cause of my not being honoured with an audience, I found to arise from a desire in the Emperor to be thoroughly informed of the state of the prince's health before he saw me, that according to circumstances he might give me a favourable or a cool reception.

As some alleviation to the uneasiness occasioned by this state of suspense, I was now much more comfortably situated than I had been before at Tarudant. The apartment which I had procured was one story high, in the house of a very respectable family, and was spacious, clean, and retired. From a Genoese gentleman in the service of the Emperor, I was enabled to procure a table, two chairs, two dishes, a few plates, some knives and forks, and a couple of tumblers. In addition to this, a Jew offered his services as cook, who had lived some time with an European, and who proved an adroit and useful person. Provisions of every kind were remarkably plentiful, good, and cheap. For beef and mutton I paid only about two pence English a pound, for fine fowls about six pence each, and pigeons were frequently sold at the rate of three halfpence a pair. Had I, in addition to all these comforts, been able to have procured a little agreeable society, my situation would have been very supportable; but in that particular I scarcely possessed more advantages than I had during my residence at Tarudant.

The Genoese gentleman, from whose house I had borrowed a part of my furniture, was at Mogadore, and the only Europeans who were at that time at Morocco, if we except a few Spanish artificers in the Emperor's service, were part of the English seamen who had been shipwrecked, a French officer, with some French seamen, who were also captives from a similar accident, and three Spanish friars. Out of these I could only choose for my society the French officer and the friars.

With the first, as I was acquainted with the French language, I could converse pretty fluently, and I really found him a most agreeable companion: he had taken his passage on board a vessel bound for the French settlements on the coast of Guinea, whither he was proceeding to join his regiment, and was shipwrecked on that part of the coast of Africa which lies in the direction of the Canary Islands. This misfortune,

united to the hardships which followed it on his being carried into slavery by the wild Arabs, and the little prospect which then appeared of his redemption, had made a deep impression upon his spirits, and subjected him to occasional attacks of hypochondria. The Emperor, it is true, could not be accused of ill treating any of the captives; on the contrary, he allowed them daily a small sum of money, and permitted them to walk about at liberty. His detention of them, however, in the country, without any immediate prospect of returning home, was a sufficient reason for them still to consider themselves in no other light than that of slaves.

The Spanish friars, who have a small convent in the Jewdry, and who were originally placed there for the purpose of redeeming captives, as they distributed medicines to the poor gratis, considered themselves as being engaged in the same profession with myself, and received me very hospitably; but as, from my not understanding their language, I was obliged to converse with them by means of my interpreter, who spoke Spanish, the society enjoyed with them was very limited indeed. I cannot avoid expressing my concern for the fate of these worthy men, who are destined to spend the whole of their lives on a spot destitute of all civilized society, where they are continually subjected to the caprice and insolence of the Emperor, as well as of the worst part of his subjects. They appeared to me to be men who had received much information from reading, as well as from observation, and they very properly employed their time in the duties of their profession, in the offices of devotion, and administering medicines to the poor, in study, and in such innocent recreations as the limited society of Morocco affords.

To divert my thoughts from the great uneasiness which my situation naturally inspired, during so long a state of suspense, I made daily excursions through different parts of Morocco; though, from the continual insults which I experienced when in the streets, even this amusement was attended with considerable inconvenience.

The city of Morocco, which lies about one hundred and twenty miles to the north of Taradant, ninety to the east of Mogodore, and three hundred and fifty to the south of Tangier, is situated in a beautiful valley, formed by a chain of mountains on the northern side, and those of the Atlas, from which it is distant about twenty miles, on the south and east. The country which immediately surrounds it is a fertile plain, beautifully diversified with clumps of palm-trees and shrubs, and watered by small and numerous streams, which descend from Mount Atlas. The Emperor's out-gardens, which are situated at the distance of about five miles to the south of the city, and are large plantations of olives walled in, add considerably to the beauty of the scene.

Morocco, though one of the capitals of the empire,—for there are three, Morocco, Mequinez, and Fez,—has nothing to recommend it but its great extent, and the royal palace. It is enclosed by remarkably strong walls, built of tabby, the circumference of which is about eight miles. On these walls there are no guns mounted, but they are flanked with square towers, and surrounded by a wide and deep ditch. The city has a number of entrances, consisting of large double porches of tabby, in the Gothic style, the gates of which are regularly shut every night at certain hours. As polygamy is allowed by the Mahometan religion, and is supposed in some degree to affect population, it would be difficult to form any computation near the truth with respect to the number of inhabitants which this city may contain.

The mosques, which are the only public buildings, except the palace, worth noticing at Morocco, are more numerous than magnificent; one of them is ornamented with a very

a very high and square tower, built of cut stone, which is visible at a considerable distance from the city.

The streets are very narrow, dirty, and irregular, and many of the houses are uninhabited and falling to ruin. Those which are decent and respectable in their appearance are built of tabby, and enclosed in gardens. That of the effendi, or prime minister, was among the best which I visited in Morocco. This house, which consisted of two stories, had elegant apartments both above and below, furnished in a style far superior to any thing I ever saw in that country. The court, into which the lower apartments opened, was very neatly paved with glazed blue and white tiling, and had in its centre a beautiful fountain. The upper apartments were connected together by a broad gallery, the balusters of which were painted of different colours. The hot and cold baths were very large, and had every convenience which art could afford. Into the garden, which was laid out in a tolerably neat style, opened a room adjoining to the house, which had a broad arched entrance, but no door, beautifully ornamented with checquered tiling; and at both ends of the apartment the walls were entirely covered with looking-glass. The flooring of all the rooms was covered with beautiful carpetting, the walls ornamented with large and valuable looking-glasses, intermixed with watches and clocks in glass cases. The ceiling was carved wood-work, painted of different colours, and the whole was in a superior style of Moorish grandeur. This and a few others are the only decent habitations in Morocco. The generality of them serve only to impress the traveller with the idea of a miserable and deserted city.

The Elcaisseria is a particular part of the town where stuffs and other valuable articles are exposed to sale. It consists of a number of small shops, formed in the walls of the houses, about a yard from the ground, of such an height within as just to admit a man to sit in one of them cross-legged. The goods and drawers are so arranged round him, that when he serves his customers, who are standing all the time out in the street, he can reach down any article he wants, without being under the necessity of moving. These shops, which are found in all the other towns of the empire, are sufficient to afford a striking example of the indolence of the Moors.

There are three daily markets in different parts of the town at Morocco, where provisions are sold, and two weekly fairs or markets for the disposal of cattle, where the same custom is observed as at Tarudant.

The city is supplied with water by means of wooden pipes connected with the neighbouring streams, which empty themselves into reservoirs placed for the purpose in the suburbs, and some few in the centre of the town.

The castle is a large and ruinous building, the outer walls of which enclose a space of ground about three miles in circumference. It has a mosque built by Muley Abdallah, father to Sidi Mahomet, on the top of which are three large balls; these, the Moors allege, are formed of solid gold, but as no person is permitted to ascend to them, we must trust to their word for the truth of this assertion. The castle is almost a town of itself; it contains a number of inhabitants, who in some department or other are in the service of the Emperor, and all under the direction of a particular alcaide, who is quite independent of the governor of the town.

On the outside of the castle, between the Moorish town and the Jewdry, are several small, distinct pavilions, enclosed in gardens of orange-trees, which are intended as occasional places of residence for such of the Emperor's sons or brothers as happen to be at Morocco. As they are covered with coloured tiling, they have at a small distance

tance rather a neat appearance; but upon approaching or entering them, that effect in a great measure ceases.

It is a singular circumstance, that in the immediate vicinity of Morocco, for some distance round the city, the ground is totally occupied by a great number of rats, of a larger species than any I had ever before seen, which burrow under ground, and, like rabbits, allow strangers to approach very near before they retire to their holes. They indeed gave me every idea of a rabbit warren in miniature.

The Jews, who are at this place pretty numerous, have a separate town to themselves, walled in, and under the charge of an alcaide, appointed by the Emperor. It has two large gates, which are regularly shut every evening about nine o'clock, after which time no person whatever is permitted to enter or go out of the Jewdry, till they are opened again the following morning. The Jews have a market of their own, and, as at Tarudant, when they enter the Moorish town, castle, or palace, they are always compelled to be barefooted.

The Jews in general are obliged to pay to the Emperor a certain annual sum, in proportion to their numbers, which is a considerable income, independent of his arbitrary exactions. Those of Morocco were exempted by Sidi Mahomet from this tax, and in its room he compelled them to take goods of him, of which they were to dispose in the best manner they could, and pay him five times their value; by which means they were far greater sufferers than if they paid the annual tax.

Every part of the empire more or less abounds with Jews, who originally were expelled from Spain and Portugal, and who fled into Barbary as a place of refuge. These people are not confined to towns, but are spread over the whole face of the country, Mount Atlas itself, as was before mentioned, not excepted.

In every country where they reside, these unfortunate people are treated as another class of beings; but in no part of the world are they so severely and undeservedly oppressed as in Barbary, where the whole country depends upon their industry and ingenuity, and could scarcely subsist as a nation without their assistance. They are the only mechanics in this part of the world; and have the whole management of all pecuniary and commercial matters, except the collecting of the customs. They are, however, intrusted in the coinage of money, as I myself have witnessed*.

The Moors display more humanity to their beasts than to the Jews. I have seen frequent instances where individuals of this unhappy people were beaten so severely as to be left almost lifeless on the ground, and that without being able to obtain the least redress whatever, as the magistrates always act with the most culpable partiality when a Moor and a Jew are the parties in a suit. What they lose by oppression, however, they in a great measure make up by their superior address and sagacity, which frequently enables them to over-reach the Moors — as I cannot compliment the Jews of Barbary in general upon their probity and principle.

Jacob Attal, the Emperor's Jewish and favourite secretary, had more influence with his royal master, and did more mischief by his intrigues and address, than all the other ministers put together. This young man, who was a native of Tunis, and who was tolerably well acquainted with the English, Spanish, Italian, French, and Arabic

* Doubloons and hard dollars are current in this country: but the coins peculiar to it are gold *ducati*, of the value of ten hard dollars, some of five, of one and a half, and others of only one; ounces, of the value of about five pence English; and *blanquils*, of five farthings, both silver coins; *succs*, which are of copper, twenty-four being equal to a *blanquil*; but ounces are the money in which bills are usually drawn in the country. All the Emperor's coins have his name in Arabic stamped on one side, and on the other the date, and place at which they were coined.

languages, was of an active and enterprising mind, and had so well informed himself of the natural disposition of the Moors, and particularly of that of Sidi Mahomet, that he had gained an entire ascendancy over the Emperor. As he knew that an unbounded love of money was the ruling passion of his royal master, he not only surrendered to him half of his own gains, but also furnished the Emperor with the earliest and best information concerning those who were in possession of wealth, as well as with a project for extracting it from them. By thus attacking the Emperor on the weakest side, he secured his friendship; but he secured it by means which exposed him to the resentment and revenge of thousands as soon as the Emperor died, which has been since too fatally proved. I must, however, do this young man the justice to add, that throughout the whole of his administration, though in some instances perhaps contrary to his own interest, he shewed an exclusive preference to the English; and of this the Moors in general were so sensible, that they gave him the appellation of the English ambassador.

The Jews in most parts of this empire live entirely separate from the Moors; and though in other respects oppressed, are allowed the free exercise of their religion. Many of them, however, to avoid the arbitrary treatment which they constantly experience, have become converts to the Mahometan faith; upon which they are admitted to all the privileges of Moors, though they lose their real estimation in the opinion of both sects.

In most of the sea-port towns, and particularly at Tetuan and Tangier, the Jews have a tolerable smattering of Spanish; but at Morocco, Tarudant, and all the inland towns, they can only speak Arabic, and a little Hebrew. They nearly follow the customs of the Moors, except in their religious ceremonies; and in that particular they are by far more superstitious than the European Jews.

The Jews of Barbary shave their heads close, and wear their beards long; their dress indeed, altogether, differs very little from that of the Moors (which I shall hereafter describe) except in their being obliged to appear externally in black. For which purpose they wear a black cap, black slippers, and instead of the haick worn by the Moors, substitute the alberoce, a cloak made of black wool, which covers the whole of the under dress. The Jews are not permitted to go out of the country but by an express order from the Emperor; nor are they allowed to wear a sword, or ride a horse, though they are indulged in the use of mules. This arises from an opinion prevalent among the Moors, that a horse is too noble an animal to be employed in the service of such infidels as Jews.

The dress of the Jewish women consists of a fine linen shirt, with large and loose sleeves, which hang almost to the ground; over the shirt is worn a caftan, a loose dress made of woollen cloth, or velvet, of any colour, reaching as low as the hips, and covering the whole of the body, except the neck and breast, which are left open, and the edges of the caftan, as worn by the Jewesses of Morocco, are embroidered with gold. In addition to these is the geraldito, or petticoats, made of fine green woollen cloth, the edges and corners of which are sometimes embroidered with gold. They are fastened by a broad sash of silk and gold, which surrounds the waist, and the ends of it are suffered to hang down behind, in an easy manner. This is the dress they wear in the house, but when they go abroad, they throw over it the haick. The unmarried women wear their hair plaited in different folds, and hanging down behind. They have a very graceful and becoming method of putting a wreath of wrought silk round the head, and tying it behind in a bow. This dress sets off their features to great advantage, and distinguishes them from the married

women, who cover their heads with a red silk handkerchief, which they tie behind, and over it put a silk sash, leaving the ends to hang loose on their backs. None of the Jewish women use stockings, but wear red slippers, curiously embroidered with gold. They wear very large gold ear-rings at the lower part of the ears, and at the upper three small ones set with pearls or precious stones. Their necks are loaded with beads, and their fingers with small gold or silver rings. Round each wrist and ankle they wear large solid silver bracelets; and the rich have gold and silver chains suspended from the sash behind.

Their marriages are celebrated with much festivity for some time previous to the ceremony, and the intended bride, with all her female relations, go through the form of having their faces painted red and white, and their hands and feet stained yellow, with an herb named henna. A variety of figures are marked out on them with a needle, and then this herb, which is powdered and mixed with water into a paste, is worked into the holes made by the needle, and these marks continue on the hands and feet for a long space of time. Upon the death of a Jew (before and after burial) all the female relations, with other women hired for the purpose, assemble in the room of the deceased, and for several days lament his loss by most dreadful shrieks and howlings, and tearing their cheeks and hair.

The Jewesses of this empire in general are very beautiful and remarkably fair. — They marry very young, and when married, though they are not obliged to hide their faces in the street, yet at home they are frequently treated with the same severity as the Moorish women. Like the Moors, the Jewish men and women at Morocco eat separate; and the unmarried women are not permitted to go out, except upon particular occasions, and then always with their faces covered.

A disposition for intrigue in the female sex is always found to accompany tyrannical conduct and undue restraint on the part of ours; and this disposition is again made the excuse for the continuance of these restraints. Thus the effect becomes a cause, and when women cease to be the guardians of their own honour, they derive no credit from the preservation of it, and incur in their own estimation but little disgrace by its loss. The Jews allege, in extenuation of their severity, the licentious inclinations and artful dispositions of their women, and that a single act of criminality in a daughter would be an effectual bar to her ever forming a legal connection. The same objection not being so applicable to their married women, they are permitted to go out without restraint. Indeed many of their husbands, from interested motives, are too apt to connive at a conduct, which, in other countries, would infallibly bring down upon them well-merited contempt.

The palace of Morocco is an ancient building, surrounded by a square wall, the height of which nearly excludes from the view of the spectator the other buildings. Its principal gates are constructed with Gothic arches composed of cut stone, which conduct to several open and spacious courts; through these it is necessary to pass before we reach any of the buildings. These open courts were used by Sidi Mahomet for the purposes of transacting public business, and exercising his troops.

The habitable part of the palace consists of several irregular square pavilions, built of tabby, and whitened over, some of which communicate with each other, others are distinct, and most of them receive their names from the different towns of the empire. The principal pavilion is named by the Moors the douhars, and is more properly the palace or seraglio than any of the others. It consists of the Emperor's place of residence, and the harem, forming altogether a building of considerable extent. The other

other pavilions are merely for the purposes of pleasure or business, and are quite distinct from the *dorhar*.

The Mogodore pavilion, so named from the Emperor's partiality to that town, has by far the fairest claim to grandeur and magnificence. This apartment was the work of Sidi Mahomet, and is lofty and square. It is built of cut-stone, handsomely ornamented with windows, and covered with varnished tiles of various colours; and its elegance and neatness, contrasted altogether with the simplicity and irregularity of the other buildings, produce a most striking effect. In the inside, besides several other apartments, we find in the pavilion a spacious room, floored with blue and white chequered tiling, its ceiling covered with curiously carved and painted wood, and its stuccoed walls variously ornamented with looking-glasses and watches, regularly disposed in glass cases. To this pavilion Sidi Mahomet manifested an exclusive preference, frequently retiring to it both for the purposes of business, and of recreation.

The apartments of the Emperor have in general a much smaller complement of furniture than those of the Moors in the inferior walks of life. Handsome carpetting, a mattress on the ground, covered with fine linen, a couch, and a couple of European bedsteads, are the principal articles they contain. The gardens within the walls of the palace, of which he had several, are very neat; they contain orange and olive trees, variously disposed and arranged, and intersected with streams of water, fountains, and reservoirs. Those on the outside are nothing more than large tracts of ground, irregularly planted with olives; having four square walks, and surrounded by walls.

In introducing the description of the palace in this place, I have rather deviated from the chronological series of my narrative, as the events which brought me acquainted with this sacred residence of the Moorish princes were posterior to my visiting all the other quarters of the metropolis.

CHAP. IX. — *Introduction to the Emperor. — Conversation with His Moorish Majesty. — Account of the Emperor Sidi Mahomet — his Character — his extreme Avarice — his miserable Situation. — Anecdotes relative to the late Emperor. — Anecdotes of Sidi Mahomet — his Deceit and Hypocrisy — his Charity. — Pusillanimous Conduct of the European Powers. — Ceremonies of the Court of Morocco. — Exactions from Strangers. — Account of the principal Officers of State. — Character of the late Prime Minister. — Revenues of Morocco. — Wealth of the Emperor, less than generally imagined. — The Army of the Emperor — how commanded — his Navy. — Internal Government of the Empire. — Bashaws. — Alcaldes. — Ell backum. — Cadi. — Mode of administering Justice. — Criminal Punishments.*

AFTER the lapse of a month without a prospect of obtaining an audience, my anxiety was increased to a degree which in the end proved extremely injurious to my health. From the attention which I had paid to most of the Emperor's ministers, who all of them in their turn had occasion for my services, I thought I had a right to expect some little return. With all that deceit which has characterized the inhabitants of Barbary* from the earliest periods, they professed the warmest friendship for me, and assured me that they would exert their influence upon the Emperor to persuade him to see me. Among the number was a Moor named Sidi Brahim, to

* *Punica fides.*

whom the prince had given me strong letters of recommendation, and who, during a tedious sickness which had prevailed in his family, had received from me the most constant attention. This Moor had directions from the prince to introduce me immediately upon my arrival to the Emperor, and to shew me every civility that was due to such recommendation. All these circumstances I conceived gave me a sufficient right to expect that Sidi Brahim, both from motives of duty to his prince, and gratitude to me, would have exerted himself in a manner correspondent to such obligations. But that was far from being the case. When his family was under my care, he certainly did receive me with attention, and treated me with kindness; but when my advice became no longer necessary, his friendship cooled in proportion; and latterly, when we happened to meet, he scarcely seemed to recollect me. Upon reflection, what was I to expect from a man, who for his notorious crimes, though at that time in great favour, had been punished by his sovereign, having had the greatest part of his beard pulled up by the roots.

Unsuccessful and disappointed through this channel, I had recourse to some others of the Emperor's attendants, on whom I had conferred favours, and who had perhaps still greater influence with the Emperor than even Sidi Brahim. Among this number were the prime minister, and one of the Emperor's principal talbs. From these officers I experienced, however, much the same treatment as from Sidi Brahim; and had I not accidentally been called in to attend the wife of one of the Emperor's principal Jews, it is probable I might have continued in the same state of anxious uncertainty for some weeks longer. As a return for my attendance, the husband of this patient, agreeably to my request, had address and influence enough to persuade the Emperor to appoint an audience for me the very day after the application.

On the day appointed for my reception at court, about twelve at noon, three negro soldiers, with large clubs in their hands, came to my apartments to escort me to the palace, telling me that they had directions to return with me instantaneously, and that they must answer it with their heads, if they delayed a moment in the execution of their orders. Not suspecting that my Jewish friend, for such I must certainly denominate him, could have effected my wishes so immediately, I was by no means prepared for the audience; and I requested them to wait a few moments, till I could enable myself to appear in a decent dress before the Emperor. Far, however, from acceding to my request, the soldiers became quite impatient, and acquainted me that I must either proceed with them immediately, or they would return and inform the Sultan that I had refused to comply with his orders. I now found myself under the necessity of setting off, and we all actually *ran* together to the palace with the utmost expedition. When we arrived there, I was introduced to one of the masters of the audience, who desired me to wait on the outside of the palace till I was called for.

From the abrupt and sudden manner in which I was forced away by the soldiers, I expected to be ushered immediately into the imperial presence; but so far was I still from the consummation of this expectation, that I remained on the spot where they first placed me, from twelve o'clock at noon till five in the evening, revolving in my mind what kind of a person I should find the Emperor, what reception I should meet with, and the answers which I ought to make to any questions he might propose. Situated as I was with respect to the prince whom I had been attending, and considering the malicious reports respecting my conduct which had been circulated about Morocco, the reader may well suppose that I was led to form a variety of conjectures, concerning what was likely to be the result of the audience. I however placed my whole confidence

dence in the prince's recovery, which was a circumstance when clearly known to the Emperor, that must undoubtedly operate in my favour. This idea at last entirely removed a number of uneasy and anxious reflections, which had occurred to me when I first entered the palace; and by the time the messenger came to introduce me to the Emperor I had brought myself to be as calm and collected as if my mind had been perfectly at ease, and had no reason to be otherwise.

From the court yard into which I was first introduced, I was hurried with the greatest precipitancy through two or three others, till I arrived at the gate which opened to the court where the Emperor was waiting to receive me. I was there detained for some time by the master of the audience, owing to my refusal of the present which Europeans are accustomed to make to the Emperor upon being honoured with an audience. I had been previously acquainted that no person was ever permitted to appear in His Majesty's presence, unless accompanied by a handsome present; but I conceived my situation to be in every respect so totally different from that of other strangers who visited the court, that I told the master of the ceremonies, if he persisted in refusing me entrance, I would immediately return home again.

The Moor, finding that I was determined not to comply with his request, and knowing that the Emperor was purposely waiting to see me, was afraid to defer my introduction any longer; I was therefore ushered into His Majesty's presence very expeditiously, and directed to place myself and my interpreter in such a situation as to be seen without approaching too near his person.

The Moor who introduced me, upon appearing in sight of the Emperor, prostrated himself on the earth, kissed it, and in a very humble manner exclaimed in Arabic, "May God preserve the King!" The Emperor then ordered him to approach, and deliver what he had to say. He informed His Majesty, that in compliance with his order, he had brought before him the English doctor; after which, having made a very low bow, he retired, and the Emperor immediately desired me and my interpreter to advance towards him; but as soon as we had got within ten yards of the Emperor, two soldiers came up, pulled us by the coat, and acquainted us that we must not presume to approach any further.

I found the sovereign seated in an European post-chaise, placed in one of his open courts, and drawn by one mule in shafts, having a man on each side to guide it. Behind the carriage were foot soldiers, some negroes and others Moors, in two divisions, forming together a half-moon. Some of these soldiers were only armed with large clubs, while others had muskets which they held close to their bodies, and pointed perpendicularly.

The Emperor, after surveying me minutely and with the greatest attention, accompanied with no small share of *hauteur*, demanded from my interpreter, in a very stern manner, if I was the Christian doctor who had been attending Muley-Abfulem? I desired him to answer, that I was.—"How came you into the country, and were you sent by order of your own king, or by whom?" To render my visit of more importance, I answered, "By order of government."—"Where did you learn your profession, and what is the name of the person who taught it you?" I informed His Majesty.—"What is the reason that the French surgeons are better than the English; and which do you think are the best?" I answered, "The French surgeons are very good, but it must certainly be allowed that the English are in general superior, being more scientifically educated."—The Emperor then observed, that a French surgeon had come into the country, and in the course of his practice had killed several persons.

His

His Majesty next asked, in a very austere manner, "What was the reason I had forbidden Muley Abfulem the use of tea?" My reply was, "Muley Abfulem has very weak nerves, and tea is injurious to the nervous system."—"If tea is so unwholesome," replied His Majesty, "why do the English drink so much?" I answered, "it is true, they drink it twice a day; but then they do not make it so strong as the Moors, and they generally use milk with it, which lessens its pernicious effects. But the Moors, when once they begin to use it, make it very strong, drink a great deal, and very frequently without milk."—"You are right," said the Emperor; "and I know it sometimes makes their hands shake." After this conversation about a dozen distilled waters, prepared from different herbs, were brought for me to taste, and inform the Emperor what they were; which were hot, and which were cold, &c.

His Majesty now condescended to become more familiar and easy in his remarks, and desired me to observe the snow on Mount Atlas, which his carriage immediately fronted, wishing to know if we had the same in my country. I answered, that we frequently had a great deal in the winter season, and that England was a much colder climate than Morocco. The Emperor observed, that if any person attempted to go to the top of the mountain, he would die from excess of cold. He then informed me, that on the other side of the mountain was a very fine, plain, and fertile country, which was named Tafilet.

Observing that the Emperor was now in a good humour, I embraced the opportunity of mentioning to him, how much my feelings had been hurt by the malicious reports which had been for some time past circulating to my prejudice; that they were of such a nature as to make me very desirous of having my character cleared up, by a proper examination into the present state of the prince's health, as well as into the nature of the medicines which I had been administering to him. The Emperor, in reply said, that he had already ordered his Moorish physician to examine very particularly my medicines; who had declared, that he could find nothing improper in them. It is very clear, however, that some suspicion must have taken place in the breast of the Emperor, to have induced him to send privately for these medicines, for the purpose of having them so nicely examined; from which circumstance I could not help feeling it as a very fortunate event for myself, that the prince's health was in so favourable a state.

After a conversation of some length, the heads of which I have endeavoured briefly to state, the evening being far advanced, the Emperor commanded one of his attendants to conduct me home to his Jew, and desire him to take great care of me; adding, that I was a good man; I was Muley Abfulem's physician; and that he would send me home to my entire satisfaction. He then ordered his carriage to drive on.

Considering myself as now acquitted of the charges which had been insinuated against me, and elevated by the Emperor's promises at the audience, I must confess that I returned home with a much lighter heart than I could boast of when I went. I now only waited for the arrival of the prince at Morocco, which I conceived would confirm the Emperor's good wishes towards me, and make my situation as agreeable as I could expect. Such are the sanguine hopes with which we are apt to flatter ourselves, after having encountered difficulties, when the smallest prospect opens of relief.

In the evening my room was filled with a number of the attendants of the Emperor, who came to congratulate me on the honour I had received by a sight of their royal master; at the same time to demand presents, which on such occasions they alleged was a custom to which all Europeans submitted. As therefore I saw there were no other

other means of relieving myself from their impertinent importunities, I was obliged in some degree to comply with their demands.

I found the Emperor Sidi Mahomet to be a tall, thin old man, of near eighty years of age, and of a fallow complexion. From a visage naturally long, and a distortion of one eye, united with an acquired habit of austerity, his appearance at first was rather disgusting to strangers; but that impression was soon worn off by the affability of his conversation, which he generally confined to those subjects he thought most adapted to the person with whom he conversed. At the same time he displayed a great desire to acquire information, as well as to discover the abilities of others. Some years ago he so far lost the use of his feet as to disable him from walking. This disagreeable effect was probably owing to want of use, and to his accustoming himself constantly to be either in his carriage or on horseback. When I saw him, his beard and eye-brows, though before, as I was informed, very dark, had acquired a perfect whiteness, and his voice was much impaired. His dress was exactly similar to that of other Moors, differing only in the fineness of the materials, and he was only distinguished from his subjects by a larger retinue, riding in a carriage, or when on horseback having an umbrella carried before him.

From the general tenour of his conduct throughout his reign, and from his conversation, Sidi Mahomet appears to have possessed strong natural talents, to which had a good education been united, he might have proved a great monarch. But the want of education, and the illiberality and superstition of his religion, betrayed him frequently into cruelty; and the possession of arbitrary power tinged his character with that intolerable caprice which has ever distinguished and disgraced the Moorish princes.

Avaricious from his youth, he gave his whole attention to the accumulation of wealth; and it was from that motive only that he appeared to give more encouragement to European merchants than any of his predecessors. It is at the same time well known, that he occasionally oppressed them with such heavy duties, that they have been obliged to send home their vessels empty. In hopes of adding still more to his treasures, Sidi Mahomet became himself a merchant, took up goods from Europeans, and obliged the Jews to pay him five times their value for them; so that there was not a single resource for becoming rich of which he did not avail himself. Avaricious to this excess, and naturally of a very timid disposition, his great object has been peace: well aware that war could neither enrich him, nor contribute to his enjoyments in any respect.

His reign, it is true, has been distinguished by fewer instances of cruelty than that of any of his predecessors, but he has certainly exceeded them all in the licentiousness of his attacks upon private property. He was always surrounded by people, who, for the sake of rising into favour, were at all times ready to give him information concerning any of his subjects who were rich. It was then his usual course of proceeding, to invent some plea for confining them in prison; and if that did not succeed, he put them in irons, chained them down, and proceeded in a course of severity and cruelty, till at last, wearied out with punishments and disgraces, the unfortunate victims surrendered the whole of their possessions; which alone procured them the enjoyment of liberty, an opportunity of again obtaining subsistence, or perhaps of once more becoming the prey of the rapacious monarch. Such of his sons as were in friendship with him, were continually making him presents, as if apprehensive of the same fate; and since I left the country it has been strongly reported that my patient Muley Abfulem, who was the only son for whom the Emperor professed much affection, was plundered by

by his father of the greatest part of his riches ; which indeed were reputed to be very considerable.

Vices are never solitary ; and those which are most naturally connected with an avaricious and timid disposition, are jealousy and suspicion. Conscious how little he deserved the affection of his people, and latterly sensible of having totally lost it. Sidi Mahomet was in constant fear of assassination and poison. In this state he dragged on a miserable existence ; an example to arbitrary kings, and a living proof that the picture exhibited of the Roman tyrant, by the sarcastic historian, was not overcharged. He seldom stirred out of his palace, unless accompanied by a numerous band of soldiers, and even of these he had always his suspicions. At night he had constantly six blood-hounds in his chamber, and relying more on the fidelity of the irrational creation than on man, he thought these a more certain guard than his soldiers. His victuals were dressed and tasted in his presence ; and at dinner, though no person was permitted to eat immediately with him, yet he always had some of his sons and ministers in the same apartment, who were helped out of his dish. To complete the misery of this unfortunate old man, he lived under the continual apprehension of being conquered by his eldest son Muley Yazid, the late Emperor, who, in consequence of some ill treatment received from his father, retired secretly from court, and took refuge in a sanctuary near Tetuan.

This prince, whose grandmother was an English woman, had acquired the universal esteem of the whole country by his generous conduct and his great abilities ; and though at that time in a state of poverty, and with only four attendants about him, such was his influence that he had only to step forward, and say he wanted money and troops, and he would shortly have been at the head of an army, that must at any time have entirely overwhelmed the late government of Morocco. From motives of duty, and perhaps of policy, this however was a step he did not wish to take, conscious that his father could not long survive, and that upon his death he was certain of the succession. The Emperor, notwithstanding, was still unable to subdue his apprehensions ; and, when I was at Morocco, sent an army of five thousand blacks, with an order to violate the sanctuary, and carry off the prince. This order was not obeyed, for the chief could not place sufficient confidence in his troops ; and the prince continued quiet in the sanctuary till his father's decease.

To evince the policy, as well as the sagacity of Muley Yazid, I must beg leave to relate an anecdote, which occurred a short time previous to that period. The people who have the care of the sanctuary received positive orders from the Emperor to expel the prince by force ; which, if they failed in doing, he assured them he would send and put every man, woman, and child in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary to the sword. The people, though well disposed to the prince, intimidated by these orders, related faithfully to him the Emperor's intentions, and informed him that, as their lives were at stake, they expected him to remove, at the same time recommending him to another sanctuary at no great distance, where he could equally take refuge. The prince, who is one of the best horsemen in the country, and who had a horse of which he had the entire command, immediately promised them to depart, and mounted his horse for the purpose. But what was their surprise, when they found the horse would not stir from the spot, notwithstanding the apparently free use of whip and spur ? Upon this the prince exclaimed, " You see plainly that it is God's will I should continue here, and therefore no other power shall ever drive me out." This had such an effect upon the superstitious multitude, that they preferred risking the resentment of the Emperor, to the violation of what, in their estimation, was so apparently the will of God.

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With respect to the other features of the Emperor's character, his principal vices appear to have resulted from that great corrupter of the human heart, arbitrary power: for he was the most arbitrary of monarchs, having at his absolute disposal the lives and properties of all his subjects. In such circumstances, what man can be trusted, nay, who would trust himself? In such circumstances, can we wonder, when we observe the occasional indulgence of intemperate revenge? Among these we are to account his treatment of an unfortunate Jew who had imprudently written something to his prejudice, and for this slight offence was quartered alive, cut to pieces, and his flesh afterwards given to the dogs.

Upon another occasion, a similar disposition was manifested by Sidi Mahomet. A Moor of some consequence, and very opulent, gave a grand entertainment on the marriage of one of his sons. The Emperor, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, and who well knew that magnificence was a striking proof of wealth, was determined to be present at the festival, in order that he might more fully inform himself of the circumstances of the Moor. For this purpose he disguised himself in a common dress, and entered the house in the midst of all the jollity, and perhaps the licentiousness, of the entertainment. The master of the ceremonies observing a person of a mean appearance intrude himself into the room so abruptly, ordered him out; and upon the refusal of the stranger, he gave him a kick, and pushed him by violence out of the house. For a short space of time after this occurrence the whole affair passed without notice, and probably had escaped the memory of most; and it was a matter of the utmost surprize to the master of the house to receive an order, commanding him immediately to repair to Morocco. Upon being introduced to the Emperor, he was asked if he recollected the circumstances which have just been related, to which he replied in the affirmative. "Know then," says the Emperor, "I was that Moor whom you treated thus contumeliously; and to convince you I have not forgot it, that foot and that hand which insulted me shall perish." — I have seen this unfortunate victim of tyranny walking about the streets with one leg and arm.

The Emperor was as ready to revenge the imaginary or the real injuries of his subjects. To elucidate this assertion; an English and French gentleman were amusing themselves by the diversion of coursing, in the vicinity of Mogodore, when one of their dogs unfortunately attacked the calf of a Moor. This accident soon brought out the villagers, who immediately shot the dog, and entered into a very serious quarrel with the Christians, which terminated in a general contest. The women of the village now thought it a proper occasion for their interference; and among their number was one, who from old age had lost all her teeth except two, and these were so loose that they could be with difficulty retained; and another, who had upon a former occasion fractured her arm, the bone of which had never been reduced or united. In the course of the dispute, these two women were unintentionally thrown down, and by this accident the old lady lost both her teeth, while the other insisted that the Christians had been the occasion of fracturing her arm. To be brief, the Christians were overpowered by numbers, and were obliged to retire to Mogodore, where they immediately made a complaint to the governor of the insults they had received from the Moors, who in their turn also appeared before him with a complaint against the Christians. The whole being referred to the Emperor, both parties were ordered up to court, with a view of giving the matter an impartial hearing, and of administering justice accordingly. It is hardly necessary to intimate, that in this uncivilized country, and with a man of Sidi Mahomet's prejudices, the Moorish evidence would be certain of a favourable hearing. The circumstances indeed of one woman losing her teeth, and

another having her arm fractured, appeared in the eyes of the Emperor so plausible, that upon their being made known to him, without hesitation he ordered the Christians to be put in irons, and confined, till he should determine upon the punishment which such apparent crimes merited. For this purpose, the mufti, or high priest, was desired to refer the matter to the Koran, with a view of punishing the delinquents according to its dictates. The priest soon found out a passage, where it specifies an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. The English gentleman, whom the old lady fixed upon for the person who had been the occasion of her misfortune, was therefore directed to loose two of his teeth, which punishment was immediately put in execution in the presence of the Emperor; while his French companion, as they could not find out a punishment in the Koran for breaking an arm, received the bastinado in a manner which disgraced humanity and the law of nations; the prisoners were then set at liberty.

This circumstance brings to mind how narrowly I escaped falling into a similar predicament in the course of my detention at Morocco. One day, within the walls of the palace, I was grossly insulted by a Moor, at a time when, from the great anxiety I was under, my temper was much disturbed, and which so far had put me off my guard as to induce me to give the offender a blow on the face. Upon this a Moorish soldier, who, unobserved by myself, was sitting behind me in a corner of the wall, exclaimed in Arabic in a very austere tone, "Christian, how dare you strike that Moor?" A full consciousness of having acted imprudently, and a recollection of the Emperor's former treatment of Christians under similar circumstances, now pressed upon my mind with such force that at first I was at a loss what part I should take to extricate myself from this difficulty. To walk away would be an acknowledgement of guilt, and would afford the Moor a greater plea for making a complaint; I therefore determined upon returning back and expostulating with the man, by telling him that I had been grossly insulted, and must therefore be under the necessity of making immediate application to the governor of the town to have the offender severely punished for attacking one, who, from the nature of his employment, was in the Emperor's service, and consequently under his particular protection. In reply, the Moor said, that had I kicked him, horfewhipped him, or punished him in any other way but that of slapping his face, he should have overlooked it; but a blow in the face was in their law a crime of so serious a nature, that he thought it his duty to acquaint the Emperor of it, who had hitherto never pardoned any person convicted of so heinous an offence, but had always cut off that hand of the Moor which had offered the insult; what then could a Christian expect from him? From the knowledge I had already learned of the Moorish character, I still thought it necessary to continue in the same strain, by informing the Moor, that he might act as he thought proper, but that I should still fulfil my resolution, and had no doubt but that it would have its proper effect. The man now began to soften, and said, that as I was in the Emperor's service, he would for this time look over the offence, but cautioned me to be careful how I acted in future. Upon considering every circumstance, I thought it most prudent to let the matter drop here; and I acknowledge that this affair proved a sufficient lesson to me to avoid in future entering into similar contests with the Moors.

Sidi Mahomet was sufficiently conscious of his own power and dignity, and kept every person at the most abject distance; no person daring to approach or speak to him without his permission. Sensible also of the excesses into which he might be betrayed by ungoverned passion, if at any time he found his temper discomposed he indiscriminately ordered every person out of his sight. It may easily be conceived that

that the monarch had no difficulty in securing obedience to this mandate, since all were sensible that to have continued in his presence would have been highly dangerous, if not fatal.

The only persons who possessed any considerable influence over the Emperor were his women; and it was through that channel that the most successful business was transacted with him.

Thus far for the vices of arbitrary power. But deceit, hypocrisy, and falsehood were qualities which could not be immediately ascribed to that source, unless we consider them as the necessary effects of an education in a despotic court. As a cloak to actions which he knew must excite disapprobation and disgust, Sidi Mahomet attempted to persuade his subjects that they proceeded from motives of religion and justice; and to give them a greater sanction he enrolled himself in the fraternity of saints, and paid a strict attention to all the superstitions and forms peculiar to his religion. This conduct answered well with the ignorant part of the community, but the more enlightened could not but observe that he attended more to the ceremonial of his religion than to its principles, which he made no scruple of violating whenever it suited his convenience. What he promised one day he would refuse the next, so that no dependance was ever placed upon his word. Added to these, he possessed a large portion of that low cunning which is common to persons whose minds and sentiments have not been elevated or refined by literature or science. He perhaps, indeed, found this quality not without its uses in governing such a people as the Moors; and no man understood their character and disposition better than he did. He was aware that respect is frequently destroyed by unseasonable familiarities, and therefore kept at a most stately distance from his subjects, and but seldom appeared among them. By these means his consequence was preserved, and his conduct and his talents were involved in that impenetrable and awful mist that surrounds the seraglios of Eastern monarchs.

The few rebellions which occurred during his long reign, proved decisively that he knew how to govern his subjects. Whenever a disposition for revolt prevailed in any of the provinces, a body of troops was immediately dispatched to plunder the whole of the discontented province, and to seize the insurgents, who were immediately conducted to court, and punished according to the magnitude of their respective offences. Some were put to death, others were deprived of their hands and legs; and for lesser crimes the discontented parties underwent the bastinado. This monarch employed persons in different districts to watch the motions of his subjects, and to inform him of every symptom of revolt; and thus by a well-timed interference, he was enabled to crush rebellion in the bud.

In his conduct towards foreign powers Sidi Mahomet discovered the same disregard to truth and justice, the same adroitness and cunning. He readily promised to grant every demand, provided he was to be well paid for the concession. But it must have been valuable presents indeed which would induce him to perform his promise. He protracted negotiations in order that he and his ministers might be enriched by them; but always as much as possible avoided bringing them to a final determination, by either granting or refusing a favour.

If foreign powers omitted to pay him the tribute he demanded, he immediately threatened in the severest manner to commence hostilities; yet in this he was never in earnest, for he was more afraid of his enemies than they had reason to be of him. When he found they were not disposed to contend the matter with him, he increased his demands accordingly.

In order to enhance his consequence, he endeavoured to persuade his subjects that he was remarkably skilled in matters of which they were entirely ignorant. To preserve an appearance of ability, when he was visited by Europeans, if the stranger was a merchant, the subject of conversation was on manufactures, foreign commerce, &c. If he was a military officer, fortifications, attacks, &c. were the topics; and if a seafaring person, he would then scratch on a piece of paper a plan of his coasts and harbours. Though he rarely advanced any thing to the purpose on these subjects; yet as foreigners who visited the court generally appeared there with a view of obtaining some favour, and as it was never customary for any person to contradict the Emperor, they always coincided with his opinions, and pretended at least to admire his extensive abilities. This fully answered the intention of the Emperor; it induced his subjects to form a good opinion of his understanding, and he often collected some real information from the answers which his visitors returned to his questions.

Sidi Mahomet paid more attention to military affairs than to his navy, though if any power refused to repair a frigate, it was a sufficient inducement for him to threaten a war. He thought himself perfectly acquainted with the art of fortification, but his knowledge of it extended no farther than a few loose hints which he had received upon the subject from those Europeans who had visited the court.

In his court and personal appearance, Sidi Mahomet affected great simplicity of manners, not allowing even his own sons to appear in his presence except in a plain Moorish dress. They then were obliged to uncover their cap or turban (for a Moor never pulls off either except when going to bed) and to wear instead of the haik the fulam, which is a cloak made of white or blue woollen cloth, the front parts of which they were obliged to throw over their shoulders, and as soon as they saw the Emperor to prostrate their heads to the ground, and kiss it, exclaiming, "God save the King!" He then ordered them to approach and speak to him.

Though in general of a stately demeanour, he was sometimes known to unbend, and occasionally took pleasure in conversing with his courtiers on various subjects; but they were permitted to advance no opinion of their own, but merely to approve of what he said. He frequently talked upon the subject of religion, and considered himself as well informed in that particular. He sometimes endeavoured to explain to them different parts of the Koran, pointing out its beauties, and impressing on the minds of his auditors the most intolerant prejudices against Christians.

The mixture of good and evil so incident to all human characters, was also to be found in Sidi Mahomet. Notwithstanding what has been remarked of his avarice, his duplicity, and absurd pretensions to religion, there are some circumstances which serve to lessen our indignation, and these it is only consistent with justice and candour to state. It is generally allowed, that though he must necessarily suffer in a comparison with the princes of free and civilized nations, yet when compared with his despotic predecessors, his character greatly rises in the scale of humanity. He was seldom or never wantonly cruel. He was certainly sometimes too hasty in pronouncing sentence on criminals, for which he has been often known to express the strongest sentiments of remorse; and his desire to prevent any ill effects from his passions has been already remarked.

In his administration of justice he generally acted very impartially, except indeed when his own interest was immediately concerned, and then every other feeling gave way. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though himself a most notorious violator of the laws, he so far respected them that he never would permit others to follow his example. Though so extremely avaricious, it has been already stated that

that in some severe instances of public distress, he generously dispensed his treasures to administer relief to the sufferers; and the number of poor people who were daily fed at his palace, of which I was an eye-witness, plainly evinced that he was not destitute of charity. Europeans met with greater encouragement, and the wheels of commerce were less clogged, during the reign of Sidi Mahomet than at any preceding period.

Thus was this monarch a singular compound of liberality and intolerance, of avarice and benevolence, of cruelty and compassion. It is perhaps only in a state of despotism that we behold this confusion of character. The legal restraints of civilized life, form themselves into habits; and the eccentricities and caprices to which circumstances, situation, the state of the health, or perhaps the variations of climate, dispose the human mind, are no longer found to exist in European countries, or exist in an inferior degree. Happy it is, when any restraints are imposed upon us, to prevent us from doing evil. Man is a creature not formed for arbitrary power. So limited are his views, so variable his disposition, so violent and tyrannical his passions, that the wisest of men would certainly not wish for absolute authority, and the best, if entrusted with it, would probably abuse it.

The conduct of the Emperor towards foreign courts has already been noticed. His means of extracting money from them by threatening a war, which perhaps in reality he dreaded, has been likewise stated. It will probably not be unreasonable in this place to introduce a few remarks on their conduct towards him.

The observation that first and most naturally presents itself upon this occasion is — that nothing but gross neglect or inexcusable ignorance could induce the European princes in general to remain in a kind of tributary state to a prince, who had neither an army nor a fleet which deserved the name, and a people whose disposition is less suited to enterprize than perhaps any other.

What had they to fear from him? His whole fleet consisted only of a few small frigates and row-boats, ill managed and worse manned, the whole of which might have been destroyed in one day by two or three well-appointed European frigates. The entrances of those ports where he laid up his shipping, if we except Tangier and Larache, are, as I before observed, so continually choking up with sand, that in a short time they will only admit fishing-boats, or the very smallest craft. The towns are none of them regularly fortified, except Mogodore, and that hardly produces half a dozen men who understand the least of working the guns. And yet this contemptible power gives laws to all the coasts of Portugal and Spain, and may be said in some measure to command the entrance of the Mediterranean!

It may be said, he was too trifling a power to notice; if so, why lavish immense presents for the purpose of keeping him in temper? Those who imagined they secured his friendship by these means were much mistaken; on the contrary, they only added fuel to that flame of avarice which was not to be extinguished. If he was one day presented with a frigate, he asked for two the next; and the more his requests were indulged, the more his inordinate desires were increased.

It is well known to those who have been conversant with the Moors, that to secure their friendship you must first assert your own superiority, and then if you make them a trifling present, its value is trebled in their estimation. The same disposition would have been found in Sidi Mahomet as in the common Moor. So far from courting an alliance, it would rather have been good policy at once to quarrel with him; the loss of a few towns, and particularly Mogodore, to which he was much attached, from its being

uninteresting : I shall therefore, in as few words as possible, point out their respective employments.

The Emperor's court consisted of,

1. A prime minister, named the effendi, or friend ; who was the responsible man, and during that period when the government was carried on in a more regular manner, all letters and orders were signed by him before they were dispatched.
2. A principle secretary to the treasury, united with the office of effendi ; who had the disbursement at large of the Emperor's payments, with six Moorish and seven Jewish undersecretaries.
3. A master of the horse, with one hundred and twenty assistants.
4. A grand chamberlain, a place commonly united with that of prime minister, with seventeen assistants ; nine of whom were sons of Spanish renegadoes, three sons of negroes, and the others Moors.
5. A grand falconer, which is an hereditary place, and perhaps the only one in the country, with twenty assistants.
6. A keeper of the great seal.
7. Two grand stewards, with eight assistants.
8. Five inspectors-general of all the Emperor's affairs, the principal of whom was the effendi.
9. Three masters of ceremonies for public audiences, with forty assistants.
10. An interpreter-general for the German, Dutch, English, French, Spanish, and Latin languages ; this man was a German renegado.
11. A secretary for the Spanish and Italian languages, who was a Genoese.
12. Two grand keepers of the jewels and plate.
13. A grand master of the baths.
14. Two grand keepers of the arsenal.
15. Two keepers of the Emperor's goods and warehouses.
16. Three inspectors of mosques, &c.
17. Five keepers of the provisions.
18. Two keepers of the library.
19. Two astrologers.
20. Four masters of the carriages, with two assistants.
21. Twelve sons of renegadoes, who have never had beards, employed in drawing the small carriages.
22. Three principal assistants for prayers, with seventeen deputies, sons of the great people of the empire.
23. Three bearers of the umbrella, with nine assistants.
24. One bearer of the sabre.
25. Two bearers of the bason.
26. Two bearers of the lance.
27. One bearer of the watch.
28. Five bearers of the Emperor's own firelocks, who are all alcaides, with fifteen inferior assistants.
29. A bearer of the colours and standard.
30. A physician and a surgeon, with several tradesmen, too numerous to mention.

Upon taking a retrospective view of the employments under the Emperor of Morocco, we shall not find that they differ so much from those of other states, as might have been imagined, from the ignorance of the European customs observable in this people in other respects. The places of effendi and principal secretary to the treasury

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being united in one person, bears considerable analogy to the union of the office of prime minister with those of chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury. The appointments of secretary of state, master of the horse, grand chamberlain, keeper of the great seal, and grand falconer, are all places which are well known in European courts; and many others have nearly the same correspondence.

The principal difference between the court of Morocco and those of Europe is, that the possessors of these appointments in European courts enjoy very lucrative incomes from their respective states, while those of Morocco receive none at all from the court. They depend solely on the perquisites which are paid them by those who have business to transact with the court. * Even this, however, sometimes forms a very inconsiderable income, though always subject to defalcation from the rapacious hand of their sovereign, who seizes upon every thing with which he comes in contact.

The effendi to the Emperor had a degree of address, and an elegance of manners, which would have done honour to an European courtier. He received a stranger with a pleasing smile, and a respectful bow; shook him warmly by the hand, enquired after his health, invited him to his house, and offered him his services. As he was rich, he was always extremely timid in the presence of the Emperor, notwithstanding he annually made him a large present to keep him in temper. Some of the princes, and many others, followed his example in this respect, judiciously preferring the enjoyment of a little with a certainty, to the running a risk of the whole.

The Emperor of late had no regular court days, but fixed upon them as inclination or convenience dictated. On those days all the princes who were at Morocco, and every person in the immediate service of the Emperor, were obliged to attend at the machoire, an open part of the palace so named, where they, with the soldiers, were arranged in the form of a crescent; the ministers and strangers in front, and the sovereign, either on horseback or in his carriage, in the centre. Upon these occasions the public business in general was transacted, foreigners were received, grievances were stated, complaints heard (every person being at liberty to apply to the Emperor for redress,) and malefactors were punished in the presence of the sovereign, and the whole court.

The revenues of the Emperor of Morocco consist of a tenth on every article of consumption, being the natural production of the country, as allowed him by the Koran; an annual tax upon the Jews; his custom-house and excise duties; and the tributes which he exacts from his subjects, foreign states, and European merchants, in the form of presents. From the last articles he derives the most considerable part of his income.

* The want of system, and the caprice of Sidi Mahomet, was such, that it is utterly impossible to say what was the annual amount of all these branches of revenue. The duties were frequently changed three or four times in the course of a year, and the tributes were subject to an equal degree of uncertainty. After all, it has been a matter of great doubt and speculation whether Sidi Mahomet was wealthy. From the greater encouragement to commerce during his reign, the trifling expence of his court, every person engaged about it receiving little or no pay from the Emperor, the uncommonly severe exactions he enforced, and the numerous voluntary presents he received, the natural conclusion was, that he must have been very rich. On the other hand, however, his expences at the sieges of Melilla and Mazagan are known to have been very considerable; and these, united to the valuable presents he annually transmitted to the Grand Seignior, and to the sharifs of Mecca, are to be placed in the

opposite scale; and when this is done, it will perhaps appear that his wealth was far from considerable.

The land forces of the Emperor of Morocco consist principally of black troops, the descendants of those negroes which Muley Ishmael imported from Guinea, and some few white, amounting altogether to an army of about thirty-six thousand men upon the establishment, two-thirds of which are cavalry. This establishment, however, upon occasion admits of a considerable increase, as every man is supposed to be a soldier, and when called upon is obliged to act in that capacity. About six thousand of the standing forces form the Emperor's body guard, and are always kept near his person; the remainder are quartered in the different towns of the empire, and are under the charge of the bashaws of the provinces. They are all clothed by the Emperor, and receive a trifling pay; but their chief dependance is on plunder, which they have frequent opportunities of acquiring.

The soldiers have no distinction in dress from the other Moors, and are only marked by their accoutrements, which consist of a sabre, a very long musket, a small red leather box to hold their balls, which is fixed in front by means of a belt, and a powder-horn slung over their shoulders.

The army is under the direction of a commander in chief, four principal bashaws, and alcaides who command distinct divisions. With respect to the alcaides it is proper to remark, that there are three descriptions of persons who bear this appellation: but those to whom I at present allude are military officers, who command soldiers from a thousand to five hundred, twenty-five, or even four men in a division.

The black troops which I have been describing are naturally of a very fiery disposition, capable of enduring great fatigue, hunger, thirst, and every difficulty to which a military life is exposed. They appear well calculated for skirmishing parties, or for the purpose of harassing an enemy; but were they obliged to undergo a regular attack, from their total want of discipline they would soon be routed. In all their manœuvres they have no notion whatever of order and regularity, but have altogether more the appearance of a rabble than of an army.

Though these troops are supposed to be the strongest support of despotism, yet from their avarice and love of variety they frequently prove the most dangerous enemies to their monarchs; they are often known to excite sedition and rebellion, and their insolence has sometimes proceeded to such excesses as nearly to overturn the government. Their conduct is governed only by their passions. Those who pay them best, and treat them with the greatest attention, they will always be most ready to support. This circumstance, independent of every other, makes it the interest of the monarch to keep his subjects in as complete a state of poverty as possible. The Moors are indeed remarkable for insincerity in their attachments, and for their love of variety; a military force, in this kingdom especially, is therefore the only means which a despotic monarch can employ for securing himself in the possession of the throne. Ignorant of every principle of rational liberty, whatever contests this devoted people may engage in with their tyrants are merely contests for the succession; and the sole object for which they spend their lives and their property is to exchange one mercile's despot for another.

The Emperor's navy consists of about fifteen small frigates, a few xebecs, and between twenty and thirty row-gallies. The whole is commanded by one admiral; but as these vessels are principally used for the purposes of piracy, they seldom unite in a fleet. The number of seamen in the service are computed at six thousand.

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I have already noted the bad state of the ports of Morocco, and the probability of their becoming still worse; it is therefore evident, that very little is to be apprehended from the Emperor as a naval power; and indeed I am apt to believe, that though a considerable part of his dominions is apparently maritime, he will in the course of some years be destitute both of fleets and harbours.

When describing the Emperor's character, I observed, that there cannot exist a more absolute government than that of Morocco; the lives and properties of the subjects depending entirely on the will or caprice of the monarch. The forms of order and justice are, however, still preserved, though but very little of the substance remains.

An officer is appointed by the Emperor for the government of every province, who, as I have already stated, is named a bashaw; he is generally a Moor of some distinction, and frequently one of the Emperor's sons. This officer, who is appointed or removed at the will of the sovereign, has almost an unlimited power throughout the province which he commands; he can inflict every punishment but death, can levy taxes, impose fines, and in short, can plunder any individual he pleases; and indeed, if the reader will not smile at the abuse of words, the plundering of the public and of individuals may be considered as a part of the duties of his office. When by every species of rapacity he has amassed a large property, it then becomes the business of the Emperor to divert this treasure into his own coffers. Some frivolous plea is therefore invented for the imprisoning of the bashaw, which is immediately put into execution. The Emperor then seizes upon all his property, and afterwards reinstates him in his government, in order that the same game may be played over again.—So perfectly acquainted with mankind in every state and situation was our inimitable Shakespeare:

Rosencrantz. Take you me for a sponge, my Lord?

Hamlet. Aye, sir; that soaks up the king's countenance, his rewards, his authorities. But such officers do the king best service in the end; he keeps them, like an ape, in the corner of his jaw; first mouthed, to be at last swallowed. When he needs what you have gleaned, it is but squeezing you, and, sponge, you shall be dry again."

Subordinate to the bashaw, the Emperor appoints governors to each town, named *alcaldes*; and officers with a similar authority in every *douhar* or encampment, who are called *shaiks*. These officers have the same power invested in them over their several districts as the bashaws have in their provinces. But in other respects their situation is worse, as they are not only subject to the tyranny and caprice of the Emperor, but also of the bashaw.

The *alcalde*, or governor, is invested with both the military and civil authority in the town where he resides. As a military officer he commands a certain number of soldiers, whom he employs for the public defence and tranquillity, and also for enforcing the payment of taxes, for the punishing of delinquents, and to convey his orders and messages to court, or into the country. As a civil officer, he has the entire cognizance of all criminal matters, for which he discretionally inflicts any punishment short of death.

If we only reflect on the dangerous extent of this almost unlimited power, it is easy to anticipate the abuses of it in a country where so little attention is paid to justice or honour. For the most trifling offences the *alcalde* condemns the delinquent not only to be bastinadoed very severely and imprisoned, but also to pay him a sum of money, or present him with some other article equal in value, which probably the prisoner has

been half his life in acquiring. It frequently happens, indeed, that false accusations are invented purposely against individuals to plunder them of their property. This is not the only inconvenience arising from an abuse of power; — for let a person commit the most notorious crime, if he can carry up a present to the governor of greater value than what was presented by his accuser, he is not only forgiven, but if he has the least ingenuity he will find very little difficulty in even throwing the whole of the crime upon his antagonist. Indeed, in this country, justice, or rather judgment, is most easily procured by purchasing it.

Under the alcaide is an officer named ell-hackum, or deputy governor, whose office bears some analogy to our principal bailiff or constable.

Besides these officers, there is in every town a *cadi*, who is both a civil judge and the chief priest; for it is well known that the civil and religious institutions are united in the Koran. When any dispute happens between individuals, respecting matters of right or property, debts, insults, &c. the person who supposes himself injured may apply for redress to the *cadi*, who is to determine the matter agreeably to the principles of the Koran. In the absence of the *cadi*, any of the *talbs*, who are common priests, are equally authorized to act for him. If the parties choose to employ lawyers, the pleadings must be carried on in writing, otherwise they plead orally their own causes. Upon these occasions the *cadi* or *talbs* cannot openly receive any payment, but it is well known that they are too frequently influenced by private presents.

The chief of the *cadis* is the *mufti*, who is also the supreme head of the church.

When any party in a suit conceives that he has reason to complain of the jurisdiction of these officers, he has a right to appeal to the Emperor, who gives public audiences for the purpose of administering justice. This custom would be a great alleviation to the evils of despotism, were the Emperor always to administer justice impartially; but valuable presents have sometimes too powerful an influence even over the sovereign himself. On this account, as well as on that of the great distance of many of the provinces from the seat of government, the people seldom embrace this last resource in applying for justice.

The mode of punishing criminals in this country depends entirely upon the will of the sovereign. Trifling offences are usually punished by imprisonment and the *bastinado*, which is inflicting a certain number of stripes on the back and legs by leather straps, and which is sometimes executed with great severity. For crimes of a more serious nature, in some cases the hands are cut off, particularly for stealing, in others a leg and a hand. When I was at Morocco, four men who had committed murder, had both their hands and legs cut off, and were afterwards shot. Other criminals are run through with swords, knocked down with clubs, or are beheaded. Another mode of punishment is tossing, which is so contrived that the victim falls immediately upon his head. There were several persons about Sidi Mahomet, who from practice had acquired a habit of throwing persons up, so as at pleasure either to break the head, dislocate the neck, fracture an arm, leg, or both, or to let them fall without receiving any material injury. When I was at Morocco, a man received the latter punishment in the morning, and in the afternoon the Emperor made him a handsome present, as a recompence for what he had suffered.

To sum up all in a few words, there is no mode of cruelty known which has not been practised at Morocco. I am well aware that in the present uncivilized state of the people, severe and exemplary punishments may be necessary to keep them in any degree of subjection; but it must be at least allowed, that such severities should

never be inflicted but when there is a full proof of guilt. The contrary of this I am afraid is too often the case at Morocco. The accused is seldom permitted to make his defence, but is sent out of the world very frequently without knowing for what he suffers.

These punishments were always inflicted in the presence of the Emperor. The former monarchs of this country were their own executioners, and Sidi Mahomet acted in the same capacity when prince; but upon his accession to the throne he resigned that respectable office to his negro soldiers. I never was present at any of these executions, but was informed that legs and arms are taken off by a common knife and saw, and that the stump is afterwards dipped in boiling pitch, which is the only mode of stopping the hæmorrhage with which they are acquainted.

To evince in what a cool light all these things are considered by the Moors, one of the Emperor's sons had undertaken to put a memorial from me into his father's hands, praying to be sent home. Upon my calling upon him to ask if he had complied with my request, he informed me, that when he last saw his father an opportunity had not offered, as he was then very busy in putting some persons to death.

CHAP. X. — *Arrival of Muley Abfulem at Morocco — his pompous Entry. — Adventures of some English Captives. — Account of wild Arabs. — Interview with the Prince. — Flattering Expectations — disappointed. — Unworthy Conduct of the Prince — his Departure for Mecca. — Disagreeable Embarrassments. — Efforts of the Author to procure Leave to return.*

ABOUT ten days after my interview with the Emperor, Muley Abfulem arrived from Tarudant, in his way to Mecca. As this prince was so distinguished a favourite with the Emperor, his public entrance into Morocco was conducted in a much more magnificent style than any other part of the royal family would perhaps have ventured upon. As soon as intelligence arrived that the prince was approaching the city, two of his brothers, Muley Slemma and Muley Ousline, who happened to be at Morocco at the time, the bashaw, and all the principal persons in the city, received orders to proceed on horseback to meet him, which they did in great form, and found him encamped at the distance of about four miles. As soon as he had dined the cavalcade commenced, consisting first, of all the prince's alcaides, about twelve in number, in front, flanked on each side by one standard-bearer, who carried each a red flag, and one lance-bearer, carrying a lance of an uncommon length. Behind them was Muley Abfulem in the centre; on the right of him Muley Slemma, and on the left Muley Ousline. The next in order was the bashaw, with the principal persons of the city; and the rear was brought up by a troop of one hundred cavalry, all abreast, partly negroes and partly Moors, who had the butt end of their muskets resting on their saddles, with the muzzles pointed perpendicularly. In this manner the prince advanced till he approached the walls of the town, where he received orders to halt till the Emperor came to him; an honour which had never been paid by Sidi Mahomet to any person before. The Emperor shortly after advanced on horseback, with his suite, consisting of about fifty soldiers. Upon his approach, Muley Abfulem dismounted and kissed the earth; upon which the Emperor commanded him to rise, and approach close to his person. He then blessed him, laying his hand on the prince's head, and afterwards embraced him with all the affection of a fond father. Having made many enquiries concerning his son's health, the Emperor took his leave, and each retired to their respective places of residence. As soon as the prince had

had got within the walls of his garden, his troops fired three volleys of musketry in an irregular manner, as is customary on these occasions, and there the ceremony concluded.

It may easily be imagined that I lost no time in waiting on His Highness, and I received from him as flattering a reception as I could possibly wish. The prince informed me that he had continued recovering his sight gradually, and that he found himself in every other respect in good health. I took this opportunity of representing to him how disagreeably I was situated with respect to the Emperor, and trusted that he would now clear up every doubt that might have arisen on my account; and with this request he promised to comply. On paying my second visit, the prince informed me that he had obtained the Emperor's permission to have again recourse to his medicines, and that he was certain he should have influence sufficient with his father to persuade him to give me up the English captives, as a compliment for my services.

The prince had brought along with him to Morocco the English captain, the only Englishman that had been left in slavery, the black having died some time before. My reader will easily conceive the pleasure I felt at seeing my unfortunate countryman, who had been left alone in the hands of savages, now out of immediate slavery, and with the cheerful prospect, according to the promises of the prince, of being immediately sent home to his friends and country. My sensations indeed on the occasion may be much more easily felt than described. But if this circumstance had such an effect upon me, what must it have had upon this unfortunate officer, who for some months past had been separated from his people, one of whom was a near relation, and without knowing whether they were dead or alive; who with the evils of slavery had experienced that of a severe fever, without having any person to console him, or afford him that assistance which is so necessary upon such occasions? To be redeemed under such circumstances from his inhospitable situation, to recover from his illness, and to meet with all his companions at Morocco, well taken care of by the Emperor, was a change which he had given up all expectation of ever beholding.

The captain was a well informed young man, and an agreeable companion. He had been brought up, as I before intimated, to the profession of medicine and surgery, in both of which he had received a good education. His first essay in the world was as surgeon to a Guinea-man; after having made several voyages in this capacity, however, finding it a disadvantageous employment, he obtained the command of a small vessel in the same trade, and this was his first voyage as commander.

Contrary to his inclination he was ordered by his owners to sail between the Canaries and the coast of Africa, which is at all times considered as a dangerous navigation. As he approached towards the spot where his misfortune happened, which is inhabited by wild Arabs, he got into a strong current, which drives directly towards the shore, and a perfect calm succeeding, the vessel unavoidably ran aground. The crew immediately took to their boat, carried off all the money on board, which was about five hundred dollars, with a good share of provisions and water, and got safe to shore.

The part of the country where they were wrecked consisted of deep and heavy sands. As upon their first landing they saw nothing to molest them, it was their intention to proceed on foot, along the coast to the northward, till they could reach Santa Cruz or Mogodore, where they could make their situation known. For this purpose they set off with their money, provisions, and water, and met with no disturbance

ance till the end of two days. They then observed a party of wild Arabs, armed with large clubs and knives, and rapidly advancing towards them: their first object was to bury their money in the sands. Overpowered by numbers, they saw no chance of making a successful defence, and therefore every moment expected instantaneous death. The savages, however, had a different object in view. They knew very well that what property the unfortunate people had about them was sufficiently secure, without being under the necessity of destroying their lives in order to obtain it, and they were not ignorant of the value of their persons when offered for sale; their ultimate object therefore was, to bring them to market as slaves.

As each of their conquerors conceived himself equally interested in the capture, they were some time before they could agree among themselves how they should dispose of their prisoners; in the mean time some of the people were knocked down, others had their pockets cut out, and the buttons torn from off their coats. They were at last seized on by different persons, and carried away to different places of residence.

As I had an opportunity of seeing some of these savages at Morocco, and as they appeared to be in some respects different from those Arabs whom I had met with in my travels, I shall beg leave to describe them. Contrary to the custom of the Moors, they wear the hair long, which is a dark black, and starting from their heads like porcupine's quills. Their complexions are of a very dark brown, their noses very pointed, their eyes dark and staring, their beards long, and their features altogether suggest the idea of lunacy or raving madness. In their persons they are very strong and muscular; and many of them go quite naked; others wear only a small garment round their waists. — But to return to my narrative.

The English sailors were put into miserable huts or tents, where for several days they could procure no sustenance, but juniper-berries, brackish water, and now and then a small quantity of milk.

From these people they were soon disposed of to others, who put them into the immediate employments of slavery; these employments were the carrying of water in skins, and performing various other kinds of drudgery, which was at all times accompanied with stripes.

After continuing in this state between two and three months, they contrived to get a letter conveyed to the English vice-consul at Mogodore, expressive of their situation, who forwarded it to the consul-general at Tangier, and at the same time wrote to Muley Abfulem upon the subject. This prince, who commanded the province adjoining to that where Captain Irving and his people were detained, at the expiration of eight months from the time this accident happened, obtained the Emperor's permission to redeem them out of slavery, with orders to send them up to Morocco, where His Moorish Majesty thought proper to keep them, till they were expressly sent for by our Sovereign; or, in other words, till he received an handsome present.

About four days after the prince's arrival, the flattering assurances which he had at first given me respecting these unfortunate persons were apparently confirmed, by his informing me, that he had succeeded to his wishes with the Emperor, in what he had promised relative to the English captives; that in two or three days he was to set off for Fez, in his way to Mecca, and that he was to take us all with him as far as Sallee, whence a party was to be dispatched to conduct us to Tangier.

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Such agreeable intelligence, and from such authority, afforded me the most pleasing hopes that my journey would yet end to my satisfaction. I eagerly flew to the captain to acquaint him with it; but he seemed too much accustomed to disappointments to entertain any very sanguine expectations from my information. I think, however, his spirits appeared somewhat revived upon the occasion.

The day before the prince's departure I was desired to state the number of mules which would be necessary to convey my baggage; at the same time I was told, that in two days we were all to set off. To my very great surprize, however, on the same evening, I was for the first time refused permission to see the prince; an excuse being made that he was then busy, and therefore wished me to call in the morning. At the same time I saw every preparation making for the journey, and was positively told that the prince was to depart from Morocco the very next day.

As I could not help feeling uneasy and alarmed at this circumstance, I repaired early in the morning to the prince's habitation, to know the truth of what I had heard the day before; little enquiry however was necessary, since the first object that presented itself was the baggage-mules ready loaded; and, in addition to this circumstance, I was informed, that the prince was to set off in an hour's time.

It was in vain that I sent in repeated messages to the prince, requesting that he would permit me to see him. The only answer I could obtain was, that he was then engaged, and that I must wait a little. Wearied out at length by the urgency of my solicitations, a particular friend of His Highness came out and told me, that the prince had sent me ten hard dollars, with orders to leave the garden immediately, as no person but the Emperor could send me home.

Enraged at this unworthy treatment, I desired the Moor to acquaint the prince, that it was not money I wanted; I wished him only to fulfil his engagement, and that till I had some prospect of that being accomplished, I would not stir from the garden, unless compelled by force. The result of this message was, that the same man returned with two dollars more, and said that the prince had done all he could for me. If I choose to go to one of the Emperor's secretaries, whose name he mentioned, he would give me the Emperor's letter of dispatch, and I then might proceed home in what manner I pleased, but that the prince had no further business with me. Finding that messages were fruitless, I determined to watch the opportunity of the prince's coming out of his house, and as soon as he had mounted his horse I placed myself directly before him. In this last resource, however, I found myself equally-unsuccessful as before, and experienced the last extreme of rudeness and ingratitude; for before my interpreter could pronounce a single sentence, the prince pushed on, and rode hastily by me, leaving me in as disagreeable situation as can well be conceived.

To whatever point I directed my view, there appeared nothing comfortable in the prospect. I had come purposely into the country to attend the prince, with his most positive assurances that I should be sent back again, when he had no further occasion for my services. How great then must be my mortification to find myself in a worse situation than the crane in the fable? since instead of obtaining from him this negative favour, in return for all the fatigues and inconveniences which I had experienced on his account, I found myself deserted entirely, and left in the charge of a haughty and perfidious Emperor! Doubt after doubt took possession of my mind; and this, joined with the reflection of having so completely disappointed the hopes of the unfortunate seamen, as well as the favourable accounts I had written to the consul on the prince's recovery,

recovery, pressed so forcibly on my feelings, that for the space of two or three hours I was in a state little better than that of insanity.

As soon as I found myself in some degree recovered, I went to the person to whom I was directed for my letter of dispatch, and was informed that he had set off early that morning for Fez; and had the further satisfaction of discovering that the prince had availed himself of this excuse, in order to avoid my importunity. As no stranger who is sent for by the Emperor can stir from the court till he gets his dispatches, I now considered myself in every respect a prisoner. Disappointed in every hope of emancipation, I returned home, and immediately dispatched expresses to the consuls at Tangier and Mogadore, informing them of my situation, and earnestly requesting their immediate interference. In the mean time I omitted no other means which occurred to procure my dispatches, but all without success. The most probable step which I could devise, or at least which I could carry into effect, was to convey to the Emperor's hands the following memorial, by means of one of his sons.

To His Imperial Majesty of Morocco.

MOST AUGUST SOVEREIGN,

With all the respect and submission due to Your Majesty's exalted station, I take the liberty of informing Your Majesty, that I had particular orders from the Governor of Gibraltar, under whose command I have the honour to serve, to return immediately to my duty, upon my services being no longer necessary to Your Majesty's son, the Prince Muley Abfulem. That now being the case, I only wait to know whether I am to have the honour of conveying Your Majesty's commands to Tangier, either for Your Majesty's son Muley Hafem, or for the British Consul-general.

I have the honour to be, most respectfully,

Your Majesty's most humble and devoted servant,

W. LEMPRIERE.

I got the above letter translated into Arabic, worded in the usual compliments of the country, and having inclosed it in a silk handkerchief, the mode in which all letters are presented to royal personages in Barbary, I carried it to Muley Omar, whom I had seen at Tarudant, with a present of Irish linen, in value about six dollars, wrapped up also in a silk handkerchief; and requested him to deliver it into his father's hands the first opportunity. The prince first received the present, and then told me, that as we were always old friends, I needed not to have troubled myself with bringing one; but that I might be assured he would settle the business to my entire satisfaction in a very short time. The result of this application was, a promise from the Emperor of being sent home immediately; but this was attended with the same insincerity which I had usually experienced.

My next effort was, by making presents to the principal ministers to bribe them over to my interest, as my delay might probably arise as much from the Emperor's want of memory as from any other cause; for his faculties were then so much impaired, that he was not able to recollect circumstances from one hour to another. I was in hopes that by means of his ministers he would be continually reminded of me; but, either because my presents were not sufficiently large, or because these rapacious ministers were in hopes I would repeat them, I effected nothing by this plan.

CHAP. XI.—*Departure of Captain Irving.*—*Insolence of the Populace to Christians.*—*Manners and Character of the Moors.*—*Education of the Princes.*—*Persons and Dress of the Moors.*—*Houses and Furniture.*—*Ceremonies.*—*Couriers.*—*Anecdotes illustrative of Moorish Customs.*—*Topics of Conversation at Morocco.*—*Horsemanship.*—*Musical and Poetry.*—*Religion.*—*Mosques.*—*Slaves.*—*Marriages.*—*Funerals.*—*Renegadoes.*—*Caravans to Mecca and Guinea.*—

IN a fortnight after the prince's departure all the English captives were ordered to Mogadore, to remain under the care of a gentleman of that place, till our court should think proper to send for them. Deprived by this circumstance of the society of the captain, whose good sense and agreeable conversation lessened in a great degree the uneasiness I experienced from the irksomeness of my situation, I must confess my spirits did not receive much benefit from the change. My only resource at present for society was the French officer whom I formerly mentioned.

Limited as our society was to that of each other, there existed a further impediment to amusement; for we could not leave the Jewry without being saluted with repeated showers of stones, opprobrious names, and every insult that bigotry and brutality could devise. The ignorant of every nation are intolerant; and there can scarcely exist a more desperate or savage description of people than the Lazzaroni of Morocco: they are a mixed race, consisting of the basest of the citizens, with a number of ferocious mountaineers and wild Arabs, who have wandered thither in hopes of acquiring a subsistence either by labour or by theft.

The description indeed of a mingled race will still more extensively apply even to the more civilized inhabitants of this country. In the towns particularly, the descendants of the different tribes from which they are sprung may still be traced, viz. those of the native Moors, of their Turkish conquerors, and of the negroes who have been introduced in the manner already related.

The complexion of the two first is a fallow white; and from this circumstance, and from their intermarrying with each other, it is not possible always to determine the origin of each individual; I shall therefore class them both under the general appellation of Moors. But the negroes, though they form a large proportion of the Emperor's subjects, are now by no means so numerous as in the reign of Muley Ishmael, who first introduced them into the country. They are better formed than the Moors, and as they are more lively, daring, and active, they are entrusted with an important share in the executive part of government. They constitute in fact the most considerable part of the Emperor's army, and are generally appointed to the command of provinces and towns. This circumstance naturally creates a jealousy between them and the Moors, the latter considering the negroes as usurpers of a power which they have no right to assume.

The negroes are blood-thirsty, capricious, and revengeful. As soldiers, they manifest sufficient ardour when commanded by popular officers; but their attachment depends on the generosity of their chief, and the energy, severity, and cruelty of his disposition: if he slackens in any of these particulars, they either desert him, or deliver him up to his enemy.

Besides the negroes which form the Emperor's army, there are a great many others in the country, who either are or have been slaves to private Moors: every Moor of consequence, indeed, has his proportion of them in his service. To the disgrace of Europe, the Moors treat their slaves with humanity, employing them in looking after their

their gardens, and in the domestic duties of their houses. They allow them to marry among themselves, and after a certain number of years spontaneously present them with the invaluable boon of liberty. They soon are initiated in the Mahometan persuasion, though they sometimes intermix with it a few of their original superstitious customs. In every other respect they copy the dress and manners of the Moors; of which I shall endeavour to give the reader some general idea.

To think justly and with candour of the Moorish character, we must take into our consideration the natural effects of a total want of education, a most rigidly arbitrary government, and a climate calculated, as far as climate has influence, to stimulate and excite the vicious passions, as well as by its debilitating and relaxing influence to weaken and depress the nobler energies of the mind. To these we may add the disadvantages arising from the want of a free intercourse with other nations, and the influence of an absurd and uncharitable religion.

In such a state of things the traveller is not to be surprized if he observes most of the vices of savage nations grafted upon those of luxury and indolence; if he observes superstition, avarice, and lust, the leading features of character, with their natural concomitants, deceit and jealousy; he is not to be surprized if he finds but little of the amiable attachments and propensities, little of friendship or social union with each other, since the nature of the government, and the habits of his private life, are calculated to inspire each man with a distrust and suspicion of his neighbour.

I will not assert, however, that this character will universally apply.—However the customs and government of a nation may militate against virtue and excellence, there are always splendid exceptions to the prevalent vices of every society. There are certainly among the Moors many whose private virtues would do honour to any civilized nation; but I am sorry to add, that those characters are not numerous. Groaning under the severest oppressions of despotism, they lose all spirit for industry and improvement, and suffer indolence and ignorance to reign without controul. Sensible of the uncertainty of enjoying the fruits of labour and ingenuity, the great majority of the people remain content with the bare necessities of life, or when in power endeavour to enrich themselves by the same means which had before kept them in a state of poverty.

Arts and sciences seem to be almost unknown here, or, if at all cultivated, it is only by the Jews, who indeed are the only industrious and ingenious people in the country. The Moors in general may be considered as existing in the pastoral state, following only a few mechanical trades, and leaving every thing that requires invention to the Jews, who have likewise the principal management of their commercial and pecuniary matters; and even those few of the Moors who are merchants are obliged to have Jew agents for the purpose of transacting their business.

Fearful of having it discovered that they are rich, sooner than part with money, which under such circumstances is of little or no use to them, they deprive themselves of the luxuries and even comforts of life; they hoard up and conceal their treasures, though seldom so artfully but they are at length detected, and consequently plundered by the bashaw, the prince, or the emperor. To conceal more effectually their riches, they are obliged to have recourse to every form of dissimulation and deceit; and being exercised in these qualities during the early part of life, at a more advanced period they become an established part of their character.

The Moors are naturally of a grave and pensive disposition, fervid in professions of friendship, but very insincere in their attachments. They have no curiosity, no ambition of knowledge; an indolent habit, united to the want of mental cultivation,

renders them perhaps even more callous than other unenlightened people to every delicate sensation, and they require more than ordinary excitement to render them sensible of pleasure or of pain. It is to this circumstance, and to their religion, which teaches them to impute every thing to a blind predestination, that we may attribute that passive obedience which the Moors discover under all their misfortunes and oppressions. This langour of sentiment is, however, unaccompanied with the smallest spark of courage or fortitude. When in adversity, they manifest the most abject submission to their superiors, and in prosperity their tyranny and pride is insupportable. They frequently smile, but seldom are heard to laugh loud. The most infallible mark of internal tranquillity and enjoyment is, when they amuse themselves with stroking or playing with their beard. When roused by resentment, their disputes rarely proceed further than violently to abuse each other in the most opprobrious language. They never fight or box with their fists, like our peasantry, but when a quarrel proceeds to great extremities, they collar each other, and sometimes terminate a dispute by assassination.

It has been somewhere remarked, that whatever debases the human spirit corrupts at the same time and depraves the heart. That abjectness of disposition, which a state of slavery induces, eradicates every noble, every generous sentiment. The Moors are dishonourable and unfair in all their dealings; nor are the greatest among them exempt from propensities which would disgrace the meanest of the civilized inhabitants of Europe. When the Emperor's army was at Tangier, one of the consuls invited the Moorish general and his particular friend to tea. Soon after their departure the consul missed one of his tea-spoons, and knowing the dispositions of the Moors, sent to the general for it; who immediately returned it, and simply apologized, by saying he had put it into his pocket by mistake.

When we treat of national genius or character, it were to be wished that language supplied us with some term which might serve to indicate that habit or custom is the great framer of the characters of nations. Of this truth there can be no stronger evidence than Morocco affords. Torpid and insensible as I have represented the Moors in general to be, this character is by no means applicable to them in early life. In the state of childhood they possess an uncommon share of vivacity and acuteness, but they sink gradually into indolence and stupidity as they advance in life. It is evident, therefore, that to the want of education only this circumstance is to be attributed. While at school they are scarcely less remarkable for attention than ability; and as they commit their lessons to memory, no small share of application is required. This course is, however, extremely limited, and continues for a very short period; it consists at most of being instructed in certain parts of the Koran, and perhaps learning to write. After this all attention to learning ceases; and though their parents never indulge them, yet they are rarely chastised, and are left to themselves in general almost in a state of nature.

A late eloquent writer has remarked, that "the ancients did not, like Archimedes, want a spot on which to fix their engines, but they wanted an engine to move the mortal world. The press is that engine," — and to the want of it may fairly be attributed the ignorance, the stupidity, the slavery of the African nations. The art of printing is entirely prohibited and unknown in Barbary; and, from some inexplicable cause, most of the manuscripts which were possessed by their Saracen ancestors are lost to the present generation of Moors. A few indeed are still in being, which treat of astronomy, astrology, and physic; but those on astrology only are at present studied.

If any thing could effect an important and beneficial change in these people, it would be the example of some great and magnanimous monarch, who by some singular revolution might be raised to the throne of Morocco. In so despotic a government, where religion conspires with habit in teaching the subject to consider his prince as something more than man, much more might be effected by example, than in a free country, where the sovereign is merely considered as an individual placed on the throne for the public good, subject to all the imperfections and frailties incident to human nature, and where the mind, by being allowed a free scope for reflection, disdains all authority but that of reason and truth.

The plan adopted, however, for the education of the princes of Morocco, so far from tending to the improvement of their minds, or the enlargement of their ideas, serves, on the contrary, too frequently to render them still more remarkable for vice and brutality than even the worst of their subjects. As soon as they become of an age that renders it imprudent to trust them any longer within the walls of the harem, they are taken out, and put under the care of one of their father's confidential negroes, with whom they soon form a close intimacy, from whom they imbibe all the bad qualities which are inseparable from a state of slavery, and by whom they are also initiated in vices of every kind, in debauchery, cruelty, and oppression. Their education extends no further than to read and write; and their knowledge of the world is confined to what they can observe and learn in the course of a pilgrimage to Mecca. They are totally unacquainted with the political history of every foreign power; and their knowledge of their own government is confined principally to its worst parts. To acquaint themselves with the resources of the country, and the improvements which from its situation it would admit of, or to direct any part of their attention to those regulations in their government which might tend to the advantage and ease of their subjects, or to their own real aggrandizement, is as much out of the line of their education, as the principia of Newton. Thus they ascend the throne with all the prejudices of ignorance, with all the vices of barbarism, with a pride that teaches them to look upon their fellow-creatures as inferior beings, and without any sentiments of tenderness, compassion, or true policy, to restrain the arm of despotism from its most cruel and fatal excesses. Thus ill-qualified in general are the sovereigns of Morocco for effecting a reformation in the manners and character of their people.

The ignorance of the Moors is, however, no bar to their loquacity. They speak very loud, and generally two or three at a time, as they are not very exact in waiting for a reply. Useless as the forms of politeness may appear in the eve of the philosopher, there are some of them which probably conduce in no trifling degree to even our intellectual excellence and improvement.

Personal cleanliness has been pointed out by modern philosophers as one of those circumstances which serve to mark and determine the civilization of a people. It was in vain that Mahomet enjoined the frequency of ablution as a religious duty to the Moors. Their dress, which should be white, is but seldom washed, and their whole appearance evinces that they perform this branch of their religious ceremonies in but a slovenly manner. With this degree of negligence as to their persons, we may be justly surprised to find united a most scrupulous nicety in their habitations and apartments. They enter their chambers barefooted, and cannot bear the slightest degree of contamination near the place where they are seated. This delicacy again is much confined to the insides of their houses. The streets receive the whole of their rubbish and filth, and by these means the ground is so raised in most parts of the city of Morocco, that the new buildings always stand considerably higher than the old.

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The persons of the Moorish men are so disguised by their dress, that it is impossible to acquire any good idea of their form or proportion. In height they are commonly above the middle size, and they are rather meagre than fat. Their complexions in general are fallow in the northern parts of the empire, but are darker in proportion to their situation towards the south. Their features have universally a great sameness. Their eyes are black and full, they have an aquiline nose, and in general a good set of teeth.

The dress of the men * consists of a short linen shirt, with large and loose sleeves hanging half-way down to the ground. A pair of loose linen drawers, reaching almost to the ankle; over which they wear another loose pair, made of woollen cloth. Over the shirt they wear two or three woollen cloth waistcoats of different colours, and of European manufacture; these garments are made full as loose as our great coats; they are connected before by very small buttons, and are fastened tight round the waist by a silk belt. Over these waistcoats they throw a velvet cord, which crosses the right shoulder, and suspends on the left side a curved dagger or knife, sheathed in a brass case. This is the dress the Moors wear when in their houses; but when they go abroad they cover it with the haick, a part of dress which has been already noticed. It is thrown over the whole of their other cloathing in a careless but easy manner, something similar to the Scotch plaid. When the weather is wet or cold, instead of the haick, the Moors substitute the fulam; which is a large hooded cloak, reaching to the heels, all of one piece, and made of blue or white woollen cloth of European manufacture, without seams, close before, and ornamented with silk fringes at the extremities, on the breast, and the ends of the hood terminating with a silk tassel. The latter part of the dress is fixed on the head by means of a strong cord of camel's hair; and among the common people it often supplies the place of a cap or turban.

Those Moors who have performed a pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to wear a turban, and are named Ell-hatch. They are always treated with peculiar respect. Even those beasts of burden indeed which have performed this journey are held in great veneration, and upon their return are exempted from labour. The other class of Moors wear only plain red caps. The Moors in general shave their heads close, leaving on the upper part a single lock, and wear their beards long. They use no stockings or shoes, but substitute in the place of the latter yellow slippers. They are very fond of beads, of which the better order always carry a rosary in their hands; but they use them more as a matter of amusement than for any religious purpose. Many also wear plain gold rings on their fingers; and those whose circumstances will allow them to go to that expense, possess likewise watches, which, like the rosary, they consider rather as an ornament than an article from which any great utility can be derived. Very few, in fact, are properly acquainted with their use.

This may serve to give some idea of the dress of the rich; but among the poorer class of people some wear the linen drawers, shirt, and one woollen waistcoat, and over it the haick; and others have merely a coarse woollen frock, belted round the waist, and covered with the haick.

The houses in most of the towns in this empire appear at a little distance like vaulted tombs in a church-yard; and the entrance into the best of them has but a mean appearance. They are of a square form, their apartments are seldom built higher than the ground-floor, and their outer walls are universally white-washed, which, in the streets, and particularly when the sun is out, produce a very unpleasant sensation to

* The dress, and general remarks on the Moorish women will be introduced hereafter, when we speak of the Emperor's harem.

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the eyes. All these circumstances, united to the want of windows, the filthiness, and irregularity of the streets, the dirty appearance and rude behaviour of the inhabitants, and their total ignorance of every art and science, leaves at first sight an unfavourable impression on the mind of the traveller, which perhaps while he continues in the country he can never do away. As the roofs of the houses are all terraces, they serve as *verandos*, where the Moorish women commonly sit for the benefit of the air, and in some places it is possible to pass nearly over the whole town, without having occasion to descend into the street.

As the best apartments are all backwards, a stable, or perhaps something worse, is the place to which visitors are first introduced. Upon entering the house the stranger is either detained in this place, or in the street, till all the women are dispatched out of the way; he is then allowed to enter a square court, into which four narrow and long rooms open by means of large folding doors, which, as they have no windows, serve likewise to introduce light into the apartments. The court has generally in its centre a fountain, and if it is the house of a Moor of property, it is floored with blue and white chequered tiling. The doors are usually painted of various colours in a chequered form, and the upper parts of them are frequently ornamented with very curious carved work. — None of the chambers have fire-places, and their victuals are always dressed in the court-yard, in an earthen stove, heated with charcoal.

When the visitor enters the room where he is received by the master of the house, he finds him sitting cross legged and barefooted on a mattress, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor, or else on a common mat. This, with a narrow piece of carpeting, is in general the only furniture he will meet with in Moorish houses; though they are not destitute of other ornaments. In some, for instance, he will find the walls decorated with looking-glasses of different sizes. In others, watches and clocks in glass cases; and in some the apartments are hung with the skins of lions or tigers, or adorned with a display of muskets and sabres. In the houses of those who live in the very first style, an European mahogany bedstead, with one or two mattresses, covered with fine white linen, is sometimes placed at each end of the room. These, however, are only considered as ornaments, as the Moors always sleep on a mattress, or a mat placed upon the floor, and covered only with their haick, or perhaps a quilt.

As the law of Mahomet strictly proscribes the use of pictures of every description, this delightful species of ornament finds no place in the houses of the Moors. I was however acquainted with a Moor at Morocco, who used to exhibit a raree-show to his friends and acquaintance, all of whom appeared to express infinite surprise and admiration at his exhibition. This, indeed, was not the only instance in which he was guilty of violating the Mahometan law. He scrupled not to drink very freely his bottle of port or claret, which, as it was manufactured by Christians, was from that circumstance an aggravated offence. He employed me to procure for him from Mogodore three dozen of claret, which appeared to administer to him infinite comfort and satisfaction. This affection indeed for the productions of Europe made him perhaps more than usually favourable to its natives. However this may be, he was the only man who shewed me much attention during my residence at Morocco. He repeatedly took me to his house, and made me little presents of various kinds, which at that place proved very acceptable.

When a Moor receives his guests he never rises from his seat, but shakes hands, enquires after their health, and desires them to sit down, either on a carpet or a cushion placed on the floor for that purpose. Whatever be the time of day, tea is then brought

in on a tea-board with short feet. This is the highest compliment that can be offered by a Moor; for tea is a very expensive and scarce article in Barbary, and is only drank by the rich and luxurious. Their manner of preparing it is by putting some green tea, a small quantity of tansey, the same portion of mint, and a large portion of sugar (for the Moors drink their tea very sweet) into the tea-pot at the same time, and filling it up with boiling water. When these articles are infused a proper time, the fluid is then poured into remarkably small cups of the best India china, the smaller the more genteel, without any milk, and, accompanied with some cakes or sweetmeats, it is handed round to the company. From the great esteem in which this beverage is held by the Moors, it is generally drank by very small and slow sips, that its flavour may be the longer enjoyed; and as they usually drink a considerable quantity whenever it is introduced, this entertainment is seldom finished in less time than two hours.

The other luxuries of the Moors are snuff, of which they are uncommonly fond, and smoking tobacco, for which the greater part use wooden pipes about four feet in length, with an earthen bowl; but the princes or Emperor generally have the bowls made of solid gold. Instead of the indulgence of opium, which, from the heavy duty imposed upon that article by the Emperor, is too expensive to be used by the Moors, they substitute the achicha, a species of flax. This they powder and infuse in water in small quantities. The Moors assert, that it produces agreeable ideas, but own that when it is taken to excess it most powerfully intoxicates. In order to produce this effect, they likewise mix with their tobacco an herb, named in this country *khaf*, which by smoking occasions all the inebriating effects of the achicha. The use of spirits as well as wine is strictly forbidden by the Koran; there are, however, very few among the Moors who do not joyfully embrace every private opportunity of drinking both to excess.

With respect to the hours for eating, the people of this country are remarkably regular. Very soon after day-break they take their breakfast, which is generally a composition of flour and water boiled thin, together with an herb which gives it a yellow tinge. The male part of the family eat in one apartment, and the female in another. The children are not permitted to eat with their parents, but take their meals afterwards with the servants; indeed in most other respects they are treated exactly as servants or slaves by their parents. The mess is put into an earthen bowl, and brought in upon a round wooden tray. It is placed in the centre of the guests, who sit cross-legged either on a mat or on the floor, and who form a circle for the purpose. Having previously washed themselves, a ceremony always performed before and after meals, each person with his spoon attacks vigorously the bowl, while they diversify the entertainment by eating with it fruit or bread. At twelve o'clock they dine, performing the same ceremonies as at breakfast. For dinner, from the Emperor down to the peasant, their dish is universally *cuscusoo*, the mode of preparing which has been already described. I believe I have intimated more than once that neither chairs, tables, knives or forks, are made use of in this country. The dish is therefore brought in upon a round tray and placed on the floor, round which the family sit as at breakfast, and with their fingers commit a violent assault on its contents; they are at the same time, however, attended by a slave or domestic, who presents them with water and a towel occasionally to wash their hands. From the want of the simple and convenient invention of knives and forks, it is not uncommon in this country to see three or four people pulling to pieces the same piece of meat, and afterwards with their fingers stirring up the paste or *cuscusoo*, of which they often take a whole handful at once into their mouth. Their manner of eating indeed was to me so disgusting, that though

cuscofoo is in reality a very good dish, yet it required some time to get rid of my prejudice so far as to be induced to relish it. At sun-set they sup upon the same dish, and indeed supper is their principal meal.

Such is the general mode of living among the principal people in towns. There are considerable multitudes, however, who do not fare so well, but are obliged to content themselves with a little bread and fruit instead of animal food, and to sleep in the open streets. This kind of existence seems ill calculated to endure even in an inactive state; far more severe must it therefore be to those who exercise the laborious employment of couriers in this country, who travel on foot a journey of three or four hundred miles, at the rate of between thirty and forty miles a day, without taking any other nourishment than a little bread, a few figs, and some water, and who have no better shelter at night than a tree. It is wonderful with what alacrity and perseverance these people perform the most fatiguing journeys at all seasons of the year. There is a regular company of them in every town, who are ready to be dispatched at a moment's warning to any part of the country their employers may have occasion to send them. They constitute in this empire the only mode of conveyance for all public and private dispatches; and as they are well known in the place to which they belong, they are very punctual in delivering every thing that is put into their hands. From their steady pace in travelling, at the rate of about four miles an hour, and from their being able to pass over parts which from the mountainous state of the country, and from the want of good roads, persons on horseback would find inaccessible, they are indeed by far the most expeditious messengers that could be employed. As a proof of the amazing exertions of which they are capable, I need only mention, that there have been repeated instances of a courier proceeding from Morocco to Tangier, which is a journey of about three hundred and thirty miles, in six days.

As none but the very vulgar go on foot in this country; for the purpose of visiting, mules are considered as more genteel than horses; and the greatest pride of a Moor is to have such as walk remarkably fast; and keep his footmen, of which the number is proportionable to the rank and consequence of the master, on a continued run.

As the Moors are not fond of admitting men into their houses, except upon particular occasions, if the weather is fine they place a mat, and sometimes a carpet, on the ground before their door, seat themselves upon it cross-legged, and receive their friends, who form a circle, sitting in the same manner, with their attendants on the outside of the groupe. Upon these occasions they either drink tea, or smoke and converse. The streets are sometimes crowded with parties of this kind; some engaged in playing at an inferior kind of chess or drafts, at which they are very expert; but the majority in conversation. The people of this country, indeed, are so decidedly averse to standing up, or walking about, that if only two or three people meet, they squat themselves down in the first clean place they can find, if the conversation is to hold but for a few minutes.

At Morocco, when I visited Muley Ouffine, one of Sidi Mahomet's sons, I was always received in the manner which I have now described. I found him sitting cross-legged on a common mat, in the same open place where his horses were kept, and his friends forming a semicircle round him. I was immediately desired to form one of the groupe, and was helped to tea upon the occasion. In the course of our conversation, the prince told me, that the Christians and Moors were brothers; that the English were very good men; but that he had a particular aversion to the friars, for

they were a determined set of knaves; and were neither friends to Christians nor Moors.

I found this prince a handsome young man, of about the age of six-and-twenty, of rather a dark complexion, but accompanied with an open and generous countenance. He had been a few years ago appointed to the government of Taflet, where he so far gained the affections of the people under his government, that they proclaimed him king; and he for some time governed with all the independent authority of a sovereign. This circumstance obliged the Emperor to dispatch an army against him, upon the arrival of which he immediately surrendered, and was brought to Morocco, where he was deprived of all his property, as well as his power; and when I was in the country, he lived in a very retired manner indeed. When at Taflet, he had the character of acting very liberally towards every person with whom he was connected; at Morocco he manifested some proofs of the same disposition towards me: merely for a trifling attention which I shewed to his favourite black, he presented me with a horse, that proved as good as any of which I had possession while in the country.

The only vice to which this young man was addicted was that of drinking to a very great excess. In this respect, however, he was not more culpable than all the rest of his royal brothers. He told me, that if he did not daily take before dinner six tumblers of aquadent, a species of brandy something weaker than spirits of wine, he would not be able to hold up his head the remainder of the day. He wished to know if this custom was bad for his health; and if so, what I would advise him to do. I recommended to him the disuse of spirits, and to supply their place with wine; which he might either procure from the European merchants at Mogodore, or he might use the wine which was made by the Jews. This advice, however, the prince observed he could not follow, since the Mahometan law more particularly forbade the use of wine than that of spirits. This, I replied, might be true, in the strict letter of the law; but when wine was used as a medicine, it became no longer wine. This idea I found satisfied the scruples of the prince, and he promised to follow my advice.

I was afterwards sent for to Muley Slemma, another of the Emperor's sons, who, with the late Emperor Muley Yezid, was the offspring of a woman whose parents were English. This prince, who is about thirty-eight years of age, and of a tall and majestic appearance, with a very expressive and lively countenance, shewed me uncommon attention the whole time I was at Morocco. His pavillion, where he received strangers, and transacted business, was situated at the extremity of a long walk, in a garden of orange-trees. It consisted of one large room on the ground floor, fitted up in the same stile as that of Muley Abfulem at Tarudant. The prince was sitting cross-legged on a large mattress, covered with fine white linen, and placed on the floor fronting the door-way, with his Moorish visitors on each side of him, forming a semicircle. Upon my first introduction he expressed uncommon pleasure at seeing me, exclaiming, *Bono, Bono Anglaise!* and added, that the English were his brothers and best friends. I was then directed to feel his pulse, and to inform him whether or not he was in health; as soon as I assured him he was perfectly well, he desired me to be seated on a narrow carpet, which was placed on the floor for the purpose, and he then ordered one of his pages to bring in tea, though so late as twelve o'clock at noon. Out of compliment to me, for the Moors seldom use it, the prince sent for milk, and said, as he knew the English always drank it with their tea, he would present me with a milch cow, that I might enjoy the custom of my own country.

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This promise, however, entirely escaped His royal Highness's memory, and the cow never made her appearance.

In the course of our conversation the prince manifested many indications of good nature and address; told me, that whilst he was on his travels in Turkey, he had been conducted from one port to another in the Mediterranean by an English frigate, the captain of which shewed him so much attention, that he should always bear it in remembrance. As soon as the ceremony of tea was concluded, the prince ordered out his horse, which was a very beautiful young animal, with a saddle ornamented with a rich velvet cover, and gold stirrups. He then mounted him, and went through all the manœuvres of managing a horse with which the Moors are acquainted, such as putting him upon the full speed, and stopping him instantaneously, rising up on the saddle and firing a musket when the horse is on the full gallop, &c., in the performance of all which exercises he seemed very dexterous. The prince then asked me if we could do such things in England; and without waiting for a reply, ordered one of his attendants to catch a sheep out of his ground, and take it home to my lodgings. He said, that as he always was fond of seeing his brothers the English, he wished I would visit him twice a day during my continuance at Morocco, and then galloped off. — But to return to my observations.

The manner of salutation among the Moors is, when two equals meet, by a quick motion they shake hands, and afterwards kiss each other's hand. When an inferior meets a superior, such as an officer of rank, a judge, or a governor, he kisses that part of his haick which covers the arm, and sometimes, as a higher mark of respect, he will kiss his feet. But the compliment due to the Emperor, or any of the princes of the blood, is to take off the cap or turban, and to prostrate the head to the ground. When two particular friends or relations meet, they anxiously embrace and kiss each other's faces and beards for a few minutes, make a number of enquiries about the health of each party, as well as that of their families, but seldom allow time for a reply.

The common topics for conversation among these people, are the occurrences of the place, religion, their women, and their horses. As curiosity is a quality which naturally attaches to all indolent people, it may easily be conjectured that the Moors are not deficient in this respect. It is incredible with what avidity they lay hold of any trifling circumstance which may occur in the neighbourhood; what pleasure and what pride they seem to take in communicating it; nor are they deficient in the arts of magnifying or adorning the tale with every addition which may serve to render it more palatable, or give it a greater appearance of plausibility.

Religion is also a favourite topic; but this subject is confined principally to those societies which are frequented by their talbs, or men of letters. As these gentlemen, however, are not a little proud of their acquirements in reading and writing, they do not fail to embrace every opportunity of manifesting their superiority over those who are not so happy as to be distinguished by those accomplishments.

Decency of manners and delicacy in conversation are among the most certain marks of refinement and civilization, and the contrary vices are equally universal characteristics of ignorance and barbarism. The conversation of the Moors concerning their women is of the most trifling and disgusting description, and consists of absurd and vulgar observations, equally repugnant to decency and common sense.

The subject, however, on which, like our young men of fashion in England, they appear most calculated to shine, is their horses. It would indeed be truly disgraceful not to be accomplished upon this topic, since it appears to occupy, both day and night,

by far the greatest portion of their attention. I have formerly intimated that these animals are seldom kept in stables in Morocco. They are watered and fed only once a day, the former at one o'clock at noon, and the latter at sun-set; and the only mode which they use to clean them, is by washing them all over in a river two or three times a week, and suffering them to dry themselves.

Notwithstanding the attachment which the Moors manifest to their horses, they most certainly use them with great cruelty. Their highest pleasure, and one of their first accomplishments is, by means of long and sharp spurs to make the horse go full speed, and then to stop him instantaneously; and in this they certainly manifest uncommon dexterity. The iron-work of their bridles is so constructed that by its pressure on the horse's tongue and lower jaw, with the least exertion of the rider, it fills his mouth full of blood, and if not used with the utmost caution throws him inevitably on his back. The bridle has only a single rein, which is so very long that it serves the purpose of both whip and rein. The Moorish saddle is in some degree similar to the Spanish, but the pommel is still higher and more peaked. Their stirrups, in which they ride very short, are so formed as to cover the whole of the foot. They either plate or gild them, according to the dignity, opulence, or fancy of the possessor. Their saddles, which are covered with red woollen cloth, or, if belonging to a person of consequence, with red satin or damask, are fastened with one strong girth round the body, in the European style, and another round the shoulders.

The Moors frequently amuse themselves by riding with the utmost apparent violence against a wall; and a stranger would conceive it impossible for them to avoid being dashed to pieces, when just as the horse's head touches the wall, they stop him with the utmost accuracy. To strangers on horseback or on foot it is also a common species of compliment to ride violently up to them, as if intending to trample them to pieces, and then to stop their horses short and fire a musket in their faces. This compliment I have experienced, and could very well have dispensed with their politeness. Upon these occasions, they are very proud in discovering their dexterity in horsemanship, by making the animal rear up, so as almost to throw him on his back, putting him immediately after on the full speed for a few yards, then stopping him instantaneously, and all this is accompanied by loud and hollow cries.

There is another favourite amusement, which displays perhaps superior agility: A number of persons on horseback start at the same moment, accompanied with loud shouts, gallop at full speed to an appointed spot, when they stand up straight in the stirrups, put the rein, which I have just observed is very long, in their mouths, level their pieces and fire them off; throw their firelocks immediately over their right shoulders, and stop their horses nearly at the same instant. This I am told is their manner of engaging in an action.

Though I am willing to allow the Moors the merit of fitting a horse well, and, as far as is necessary for the above-mentioned exercise, of having a great command over him, yet their horses are ill-bred, and they entirely neglect to teach them those paces which in Europe are considered as the most agreeable for the common purposes of riding. As none of these animals in Morocco are geldings, and as the Moors are unacquainted with the use of the ring, they are obliged to break them in when very young by taking them long and fatiguing journies, particularly over the mountainous and rocky part of the country, where they soon reduce their spirit; they then take the opportunity of teaching them to rear up, stand fire, gallop, and stop short in the manner already related, and having accomplished this they are satisfied without any further qualification. For this reason a Barbary horse seldom can perform any other
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pace than a full gallop or a walk; and from being broken in and worked hard before they have acquired their full strength, these horses in a very few years become unfit for service. The Moors seldom ride the mares, but keep them in the country for breeding; and, contrary to the general opinion in Europe, they consider them so much more valuable than horses, that they are never permitted to be exported.

Like all barbarous nations, the Moors are passionately fond of music, and some few have a taste for poetry. Their slow airs, for want of that variety which is introduced when the science has attained a degree of perfection, have a very melancholy sameness; but some of their quick tunes are beautiful and simple, and partake in some degree of the characteristic melody of the Scotch airs. The poetry of their songs, the constant subject of which is love, though there are few nations perhaps who are less sensible of that passion, has certainly less merit than the music.

Their instruments are a kind of hautboy, which differs from ours only in having no keys; the mandoline, which they have learnt to play upon from their neighbours the Spaniards, another instrument bearing some resemblance to a violin, and played upon in a similar manner, but with only two strings; the large drum, the common pipe, and the tabor. These united, and accompanied with a certain number of voices, upon many occasions form a band, though solo music is more common in this unsocial country.

Upon all days of rejoicing this kind of music, repeated volleys of musquetry, either by men on horseback or on foot, and in the evening a grand attack upon the cuscous, constitute the principal part of the public entertainments. Mountebanks and jugglers also of every description meet with great encouragement from the Moors.

There are no other places of reception for the accommodation of travellers in this country, except in their fondaks, which are only to be met with in large towns. These consist of a certain number of dirty apartments, with no other accommodation whatever but the walls and roof to protect the stranger from the inclemency of the weather; and he must furnish himself with every article of which he may be in want, both in respect to provisions and bedding. There is at the same time an open court, where the horses of all travellers are intermixed.

In most of the towns there are regular schools, where those children whose parents have the means of doing it, and have sense enough to send them (which indeed are but few in proportion to the whole), are instructed by the talbs in reading and writing, and sometimes in the first rules of arithmetic. The greater part of the people, however, learn very little more than to read a few prayers selected from the Koran, which are in common use, and are written in Arabic characters, on paper which is pasted on a board.

To speak particularly on the religion of the Moors would require a volume, and such a volume as would certainly be more extensive than entertaining. It is well known they profess the Mahometan faith, and I may add, that they attend very rigidly to all the bigotry and superstition which is peculiar to that religion.

Since every stranger who enters a mosque is either put to death or is obliged to conform to their religion, a very exact account of their places of worship is not to be expected from an European. The observations I made *en passant*, the doors, which are very large, being in the day-time always open, I shall endeavour to relate.

The mosque is usually a large square building, composed of the same materials as the houses, consisting of broad and lofty piazzas, opening into a square court, in a manner in some degree similar to the Royal Exchange of London. In the centre of the court is a large fountain, and a small stream surrounds the piazzas, where the

Moors

Moors perform the ceremony of ablution. The court and piazzas are floored with blue and white chequered tiling, and the latter are covered with matting, upon which the Moors kneel while repeating their prayers. In the most conspicuous part of the mosque, fronting the east, stands a kind of pulpit, where the talb or priest occasionally preaches. The Moors always enter this place of worship barefooted, leaving their slippers at the door. On the top of the mosque is a square steeple with a flag-staff, whither at stated hours the talb ascends, hoists a white flag (for they have no bells,) and calls the people to prayers, repeating in Arabic three times, and addressing himself each time to a different part of the town, *How great is God! Mahomet is his prophet! Come all ye faithful; come to prayer.* From this high situation the voice is heard at a considerable distance, and the talbs, have a monotonous mode of enunciation, the voice sinking at the end of every short sentence, which in some measure resembles the sound of a bell.

The moment the flag is displayed every person forsakes his employment, and goes to prayers. If they are near a mosque, they perform their devotions within it, otherwise immediately on the spot where they happen to be, and always with their faces towards the east, in honour of the prophet Mahomet, who it is well known was buried at Medina. The prayer which is generally repeated on these occasions is a chapter from the Koran, acknowledging the goodness of God and Mahomet; and it is accompanied with various gestures; such as lifting the hands above the head, bowing twice, performing two genuflexions, bowing again twice, and kissing the ground. The whole of this ceremony they repeat three times.

Their Sabbath is on our Friday, and commences from six o'clock the preceding evening. On this day they use a blue flag instead of the white one. As it has been prophesied that they are to be conquered by the Christians on the Sabbath-day, the gates of all the towns and of the Emperor's palaces are shut when at divine service on that day, in order to avoid being surprised during that period. Their talbs are not distinguished by any particular dress.

The Moors have three solemn devotional periods in the course of the year. The first, which is named *aid de cabier*, is held in commemoration of the birth of Mahomet. It continues seven days, during which period every person who can afford the expence kills a sheep as a sacrifice, and divides it among his friends. The second is the Ramadan. This is a rigorous fast or lent, held at the season when Mahomet disappeared in his flight from Mecca to Medina; and is conducted by the Moors with so much superstition, that for thirty days, from sun-rise to sun-set, they lay aside all worldly acts, and devote their whole attention to exercises of piety; carefully abstaining from eating, drinking, smoaking, washing their mouths, or even swallowing their saliva; and they are indulged with their usual custom of bathing only upon condition that they avoid suffering the water to approach their heads, lest any of it should enter the mouth or ears. To make amends for this strict observance of their lent during the day, they appropriate the whole night to the indulgence of every gratification, and at the expiration of the fast, a general festival takes place, named the *Beyran*, which continues seven days. The third is named *Llathore*, and is a day set apart by Mahomet for every person to compute the value of his property, in order for the payment of Zakat, that is, one-tenth of their income to the poor, and other pious uses. Although this feast only lasts a single day, yet it is celebrated with far greater magnificence than either of the others.

There is also a superstitious custom among the Moors, when any thing of moment is to be undertaken, such as going on a dangerous journey or voyage, the disposal of their

their children in marriage, &c. for some grave person to make an harangue to the multitude, upon which his auditors call for the key of direction. • By this is meant the performance of joining the hands, looking stedfastly on the palms during the admonition, then by a joint concurrence calling on God and the prophet, and concluding the ceremony by stroking their faces with both hands, and joining in chorus, saying *Salem, Salem*, (peace be with you) with much devotion. The due performance of this ceremony they conceive will ensure them certain success in all their undertakings.

The Moors compute time by lunar months, and count the days of the week by the first, second, third, &c. beginning from our Sunday. They use a common reed for writing, and begin their manuscripts from right to left.

The Moors marry very young, many of their females not being more than twelve years of age at their nuptials. As Mahometans, it is well known that their religion admits of polygamy to the extent of four wives, and as many concubines as they please; but if we except the very opulent, the people seldom avail themselves of this indulgence, since it entails on them a vast additional expence in house-keeping, and in providing for a large family. Whatever institution is contrary to truth and sound morality will in practice refute itself; nor is any further argument than this single observation wanting to answer all the absurdities which have been advanced in favour of a plurality of wives. In contracting marriage the parents of both parties are the only agents, and the intended bride and bridegroom never see each other till the ceremony is performed. The marriage settlements are made before the *cadi*, and then the friends of the bride produce her portion, or if not, the husband agrees to settle a certain sum upon her, in case he should die, or divorce her on account of barrenness, or any other cause. The children of the wives have all an equal claim to the effects of their father and mother, but those of the concubines can each only claim half a share.

When the marriage is finally agreed upon, the bride is kept at home eight days, to receive her female friends, who pay congratulatory visits every day. At the same time a talb attends upon her, to converse with her relative to the solemn engagement on which she is about to enter; on these occasions he commonly accompanies his admonitions with singing a pious hymn, which is adapted to the solemnity. The bride also with her near relations goes through the ceremony of being painted afresh; the nature of which custom I shall describe when I speak of the *harem*.

During this process the bridegroom on the other hand receives visits from his male friends in the morning, and in the evening rides through the town accompanied by them, some playing on hautboys and drums, while others are employed in firing volleys of musquetry. In all their festivals the discharge of musquetry indeed forms a principal part of the entertainment. Contrary to the European mode, which particularly aims at firing with exactness, the Moors discharge their pieces as irregularly as possible, so as to have a continual succession of reports for a few minutes.

On the day of marriage, the bride in the evening is put into a square or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, which is covered with fine white linen, and sometimes with gauzes and silks of various colours. In this vehicle, which is placed on a mule, she is paraded round the streets, accompanied by her relations and friends, some carrying lighted torches, others playing on hautboys, and a third party again firing volleys of musquetry.

In this manner she is carried to the house of her intended husband, who returns about the same time from performing similar ceremonies. On her arrival she is placed

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in an apartment by herself, and her husband is introduced to her alone for the first time, who finds her sitting on a silk or velvet cushion, supposing her to be a person of consequence, with a small table before her, upon which are two wax candles lighted. Her shift, or more properly shirt, hangs down like a train behind her, and over it is a silk or velvet robe with close sleeves, which at the breast and wrists is embroidered with gold; this dress reaches something lower than the calf of the leg. Round her head is tied a black silk scarf, which hangs behind as low as the ground. Thus attired, the bride sits with her hands over her eyes, when her husband appears and receives her as his wife, without any further ceremony*: for the agreement made by the friends before the *cadi* is the only specific contract which is thought necessary.

If the husband should have any reason to suspect that his wife has not been strictly virtuous, he is at liberty to divorce her and take another. For some time after marriage the family and friends are engaged in much feasting and a variety of amusements, which last a longer or shorter time, according to the circumstances of the parties. It is usually customary for the man to remain at home eight days and the woman eight months after they are first married; and the woman is at liberty to divorce herself from her husband if she can prove that he does not provide her with a proper subsistence. If he curses her, the law obliges him to pay her, for the first offence, eight ducats; for the second, a rich dress of still greater value; and the third time she may leave him entirely. He is then at liberty to marry again in two months.

At the birth of a child, it is customary for the parents to grieve eight days, at the expiration of which they sacrifice a goat or a sheep, and invite their friends and acquaintance to partake of the feast. Women suffer but little inconvenience in this country from child-bearing; they are frequently up the next day, and go through all the duties of the house with the infant upon their backs. They do not adopt the method of teaching their children to walk which is customary in Europe, but when they are twelve months old they put them on the floor, where from first crawling they naturally in a short time acquire the habit of walking, and as soon as they can be made in the least degree useful they are put to the various kinds of labour adapted to their age and strength. Others, whose parents are in better circumstances, are, as I before observed, sometimes sent to school; and those who are intended for the church usually continue their studies till they have nearly learnt the Koran by rote. In that case they are enrolled among the *talbs* or learned men of the law; and upon leaving school are paraded round the streets on a horse, accompanied by music and a large concourse of people. The procession is conducted in the following manner. Upon the day appointed, one of the most shewy horses in the place is procured for the youth to ride on, who, if he is a person of consequence, is dressed in all the gaiety which silks and brocades can afford, wearing a turban richly ornamented with gold and jewels, and interspersed with flowers. Thus arrayed he mounts his horse, which also is not without its decorations, carrying in his hand his prayers pasted on a board, on which he looks with stedfast attention; and he proceeds with all the sedateness and composed gravity of old age to the different places appointed for the purpose, accompanied by music, and all his schoolfellows on horseback, dressed according to their circumstances. At last they meet at the house of the head boy of the school, where they are treated with a collection of sweetmeats. This custom, which is evidently adopted with a view of promoting an emulation in

* *Interim duæ ministræ nigræ expectant foris, ut notitiam habeant consummationis; quod cum pro certo cognoverint, cantus buccinarum, & bombardarum emissio factum annunciant.*

their youths, is one of the very few good institutions which are observable among these people.

In celebrating the rite of circumcision, the child is dressed very sumptuously, and carried on a mule, or, if the parents are in poor circumstances, on an ass, accompanied with flags flying and musicians playing on hautboys and beating drums. In this manner they proceed to the mosque, where the ceremony is performed.

When any person dies, a certain number of women are hired for the purpose of lamentation (for the men are seldom observed to weep for the loss of a friend), in the performance of which nothing can be more grating to the ear, or more unpleasant, than their frightful moans or rather howlings: at the same time these mercenary mourners beat their heads and breasts, and tear their cheeks with their nails. The bodies are usually buried a few hours after death. Previous to interment the corpse is washed very clean, and sewed up in a shroud composed of seven pieces of fine linen united together, with the right hand under the head, which is pointed towards Mecca; it is carried on a bier supported upon men's shoulders to the burying-place, which is always, with great propriety, on the outside of the town, for they never bury their dead in the mosques or within the bounds of an inhabited place. The bier is accompanied by numbers of people, two abreast, who walk very fast, calling upon God and Mahomet, and singing hymns adapted to the occasion. The grave is made very wide at the bottom, and narrow at the top, and the body is deposited without any other ceremony than singing and praying in the same manner as on their way to the grave.

They have no tombs in this country, but long and plain stones; and it is frequently customary for the female friends of the departed to weep over their graves for several days after the funeral. The Moors will not allow Christians or Jews to pass over their places of interment; as they have a superstitious idea, which is perhaps more prevalent among the lower class of people, than those who are better informed, that the dead suffer pain from having their graves trodden upon by infidels; and I recollect when at Tangier, I received a very severe rebuke from a Moor, for accidentally having passed through one of their burying-grounds.

When a woman loses her husband she mourns four months and eight days, during which period she is to wear no silver or gold; and if she happens to be pregnant, she is to mourn till she is brought to bed. For the above time the relations of her late husband are obliged to support her. I could not learn that any mourning was due from the husband for the loss of his wife; but it is customary, particularly among the great people, for a son to mourn for his father by not shaving his head or any part of his beard, and by not cutting his nails for a certain period.

When a Jew or a Christian is converted to the Mahometan faith, he is immediately dressed in a Moorish habit, and paraded round the streets on horseback, accompanied with music and a great concourse of people. He then chooses himself a Moorish name, and fixes on a person who adopts him as a child, and is ever afterwards called his father. This adoption, however, is only nominal, for he is by no means bound to support him. The new convert is not allowed to marry any other woman than a negro, or the daughter of a renegado; and his descendants are not considered as genuine Moors till the fourth generation.

The renegadoes in the empire of Morocco are principally Spaniards, though there are some few of other nations in the country, who have deserted from Ceuta or Spain, to avoid the hand of justice for some capital crime or misdemeanor — commonly, indeed, murder. I met with many of these people at Morocco, who frankly acknowledged to me that murder had been the cause of their desertion. Though the Emperor may

for various reasons find it convenient to countenance renegadoes, yet the Moors in general so thoroughly detest them, that they cannot be induced upon any terms to allow them to form a part of their society.

I cannot better conclude this section than by submitting to the reader the following account of the caravans to Mecca and Guinea, which I received from a gentleman resident in Barbary, on whose veracity I could place the utmost confidence.

Seven months before the feast Aid de Cabier, or the commemoration of the birth of Mahomet, pilgrims from every quarter assemble at Fez, in order to join the caravan which at that season proceeds for Mecca. They are composed of three classes of people: First, The mountaineers, named brebes: Secondly, The Moorish merchants: and, Thirdly, Persons in public employments, or who are engaged about the court of the Emperor. Thus religion and interest conspire to draw together a large and motley groupe, and to induce them to undertake a journey which is as fatiguing and dangerous as it is expensive.

The first class are not required to ask permission to join the caravan. The second are obliged to present themselves to their respective governors, as well to avoid the inconveniences of debts on their own account, as on that of their families, who might be subject to be molested by creditors during their absence. If a merchant has the least connection with the court, it is expected that he also present himself to the Emperor, who, as he feels disposed, grants or refuses him permission to enter upon the journey. Those of the third class must have an express permission from the Emperor, who never allows any to go whose circumstances will not sufficiently enable them to defray the expences of the pilgrimage.

As there are two modes of performing this pilgrimage, by sea and by land, those who prefer the former are subjected to an examination by the governor of the port whence they embark, to see that they pay the freight of the vessel, and to inform himself whether they have sufficient means to go and return from this sacred object of Mahometan devotion, without being under the necessity of borrowing, or being suspected of using any base and dishonourable means of obtaining a subsistence. Those who proceed by land are liable to be examined also, but not so rigorously as the others, the shaik of the caravan having the power to punish those who are guilty of any irregularities.

The place whence the caravan sets out by land, is from Teza, a town in the province of Tedla, some distance to the east of the city of Fez, the latter being the first place of rendezvous. At Fez, the most commercial city in the whole empire, and abounding with provisions of every description, each person furnishes himself in the best manner he is able, according to his rank and circumstances, with a sufficient supply to last till he reaches Tripoli or Tunis at least.

This grand caravan is always accompanied by many others, of which one goes to Algiers, another to Tunis, and a third to Grand Cairo, &c. Those persons who go to Algiers and Tunis are not under the necessity of asking permission, as they are persons who are accustomed to carry on a trade with those two places; whence they return with a quantity of their respective manufactures. The caps of Tunis are of great use in the empire of Morocco, and their silks also sell at a very good price, though upon the whole those of Algiers are preferable for the girdles used by the Moors, curtains, womens' dresses, and furniture for beds and rooms. The manufactures indeed of both Algiers and Tunis are brought to a greater perfection than those of Morocco. The merchants who go upon these expeditions carry with them ready money, haicks, and slippers, which are the manufactures of Morocco, and dispose of the

the two last articles to the Arabs and inhabitants of the towns in the neighbourhood of Algiers and Tunis, who, though they do not wear the haick as a part of their dress, yet make use of them for a variety of other purposes.

Some time within the first fifteen days of the month Jumeth Tenii, every proper preparation being previously made, the grand caravan sets off from Teza in the following order: After having invoked the true and sole God, and his prophet Mahomet, to give every benediction to this sacred journey, they all meet near the tent of the chief conductor, who is named, in Arabic, Scheck Rebeck, and commence their devotions to the sound of clarinets, tambours, &c. The unloaded camels and mules are then first put in motion, attended by the cooks, watermen, &c. Next to this party follow those who travel on foot, either from devotion or necessity; to these is entrusted the care of the loaded mules and camels. And the rear is brought up by those who are mounted either on horses or mules. The caravan is put in motion at sun-rise, stops at twelve o'clock at noon to dine, and about four in the afternoon the people encamp in the same manner as they did at Teza.

The course which they take is through the interior parts of the country, leaving Tremecen, Algiers, and Tunis to their left. Some of them, indeed, make excursions to the two latter places, and afterwards join the caravan. By these means they are enabled both to obtain a fresh supply of provisions for themselves and beasts, and to sell to the Arabs haicks, slippers and old caps, for which they usually receive a very good price; and the profits enable them frequently to make advantageous purchases at Mecca, Alexandria, and Cairo.

Upon their arrival, after a journey of two months and a half, at that part of the sea-coast where the tower of Salines is situated, and which is about half a day's ride from the city of Tripoli, they rest themselves ten days. At this place all the pilgrims supply themselves with forty or fifty days provisions, which is generally sufficient to support them to Alexandria or Grand Cairo; and on their return they purchase in the neighbourhood of Tunis and Tripoli a large supply of mules, frequently giving only twenty-five hard dollars for what they afterwards sell in Morocco for eighty or an hundred.

From the tower of Salines they continue their route as far as Alexandria and Grand Cairo, where they furnish themselves, in the same manner as at Tripoli, with sufficient provisions for the remainder of the journey, which requires altogether near seven months to accomplish. To those who undertake this journey for the purpose of trade, it generally answers extremely well. By purchasing goods at one place, and selling them at another, they contrive to make upon each sale a profit of ten per cent.

The Arabs from Fez as far as Alexandria and Grand Cairo, though a rude class of people, are very warmly attached to their religion, and on that account give the pilgrims a friendly reception, furnishing them with barley, butter, eggs, mutton, beef, &c. From that place, however, to Mecca the route is not so easy, as the Arabs, instead of the benefactors, frequently become the plunderers of these holy travellers. On these occasions they spare nothing, and leave them not so much as the necessaries of life; particularly if they refuse the contributions which they usually demand for permitting the caravan to pass peaceably through the country. Within the last seven or eight years this passage is become more dangerous than ever. The banditti now assemble in very considerable bodies in these deserts, and at certain passes the travellers may be assailed with great advantage. In passing the isthmus of Suez, for instance, above Alexandria, the caravan may be defeated by an hundred men. These robbers,

therefore, generally endeavour to post themselves in such a manner as to attack it in this place.

Those people who carry on a petty trade endeavour to convert their little stock into ready money upon their arrival at Mecca; where, with the remainder of the caravan, and other Mahometan pilgrims, they commemorate by a feast the nativity of the great prophet Mahomet, when every person is obliged to sacrifice at least one sheep. It is computed that on this day, which is the tenth of the moon Dalaja, above two millions of sheep are slaughtered at Mecca.

After the performance of this solemn rite the majority of the travellers employ themselves in laying out their money to the best advantage. Some purchase muslins, Levant silks, &c.; others essence of roses, amber, musk, Persian silks, &c.; while another part of them save their money to lay it out at Grand Cairo, where they purchase a good stock of raw silk, cottons, and manufactured silks of different kinds. In this city, indeed, every article may be had at nearly the same price as at Mecca. On the whole, we may assert, at a moderate computation, that the value of the articles contained in one of these caravans, joined with the ready money, amounts to two millions of hard dollars.

Those persons who proceed by sea join the caravan after disembarking at Alexandria, and paying the freight of the vessel in which they set sail. On their return also considerable numbers embark at Alexandria, and land at Tetuan or Tangier, whence they depart for their respective homes, and sell the commodities they bring with them for perhaps a third more than their original price. Others continue their journey by land, and add to the riches brought from the Levant the merchandizes of Tunis and Algiers, which are held in great esteem throughout the empire of Morocco. By these means they double the capital they provided themselves with at first setting out.

It would be no very difficult matter for a Christian to join one of these caravans, provided he obtained the recommendation and express permission of his Moorish Majesty, or the shaik of the caravan, who would take him under his protection. This obstacle would be still further removed, if the Christian would consent to wear the Turkish habit, or dress himself in the manner they are obliged to adopt at Grand Cairo. By these means he would obviate every inconvenience to which the European dress subjects a traveller, both with respect to the wild Arabs, and to the weak and illiberal people of the caravan. As the caravan, however, does not go far into the interior parts of the country, the object of discovery would hardly be sufficient to counterbalance the fatigues and dangers of the expedition.

There are no caravans which go directly into the interior parts of the country. It would, in fact, be as dangerous for a Mahometan as for a Christian to penetrate a hundred leagues beyond the known limits of the empire of Morocco, as the inhabitants of these parts are savage, avaricious, and capable of committing any crime for a very trifling emolument. A fatal proof of the cruelty of these Arabs occurred in year 1786, when forty pilgrims, on their return from Mecca, were massacred. The people demanded hospitality from the mountaineers of Zamor, near Mequinez, only one night; but as they brought some valuable goods with them, it is supposed that it was owing to that circumstance that they were all put to death.

The country beyond the mountains of Atlas, about six days journey to the east Morocco, is not even known, though it is probable it might be penetrated with safety provided the same means were used as are employed by the caravans which go to south; that is, a small proportion of force, and a small proportion of generosity.

There is no particular caravan so considerable for the south as that which goes to Mecca. As these, indeed are intended merely for the purposes of commerce, they seldom consist of more than one hundred and fifty, or perhaps two, or at most three hundred persons, including the muleteers, camel-drivers, and other servants. Some of these caravans set out from Morocco, while others go from Tarudant, Fez, and Tetuan. The first pass by way of Domnet, while the others meet at Tafilet, and thence pursue their journey towards the desert. These caravans go no further than Tombut, where there are some merchants of Morocco established for the purpose of carrying on a trade with the inland parts of Guinea, where they traffic for slaves, ivory, gold dust, &c. The merchandizes which the caravans carry from Morocco, Tarudant, &c. consist of haicks and blue cloths, for which they find a good sale throughout the country of the Mohafres and at Thouat.

The city of Thouat is in the interior parts of the country, about thirty days journey from Tafilet. From Thouat the caravans proceed directly to Tombut. There is much greater danger in passing the two deserts between Tafilet and Thouat, than between the latter place and Tombut. As the Arabs of the deserts are much addicted to rapine, the caravans are obliged to make them trifling presents, to enable them to travel without being molested. The other Arabs, who purchase merchandize, such as blue cloths, small daggers, looking-glasses, &c. pay generally in return ostrich-feathers; and this traffic is attended with very tolerable profits.

The articles which the caravans carry immediately to Tombut, are tobacco and salt. It is necessary to pay attention to what camels may be wanted for the purposes of carrying water through the deserts, as in some parts they travel four and in others nine days without meeting with a drop of water. It is in a great measure on this account that the camel becomes so useful an animal in hot climates. Their stomachs, it is well known, are so constructed as to allow them to pass many days without food or drink. In the inner coats of their stomachs there are a number of little cells, in which they retain a large proportion of water for a length of time, nature having provided them with a method of regurgitating it when thirsty. From the size of the stomach also it admits of a large portion of food to be taken in at a time, to which they have recourse by rumination when their appetite calls for a supply of nourishment. Their owners, therefore, have only to give them plenty of barley and water at the entrance of the deserts, and that proves sufficient to last them till a fresh supply can be conveniently procured.

These extraordinary animals are able to carry a very great weight in proportion to their size, and to perform very long journies without much apparent fatigue. They are used both for the purposes of riding and carrying burdens. Their steps are very long and slow, and they are tractable and easily managed. They are taught to kneel down when they are loaded; and when used for the saddle are entirely managed by a short and thick stick, which both serves the purposes of bridle and whip. It is not uncommon in Barbary to see three persons, with furniture in proportion, mounted upon one camel.

Upon the arrival of the caravans at Tombut, they exchange their tobacco and salt for slaves, gold dust, and ivory, which are brought thither from Guinea. Four thousand slaves are supposed to be annually carried from Tombut, great part of whom are sent to Mascar, Algiers, and Tunis. It but seldom happens that any eunuchs are brought away, unless by a particular commission from the Emperor or some of the princes, no other person in the country being permitted to keep them. It is indeed extremely difficult to procure them at all. The place whence they are usually brought is

is the kingdom of Bambara. In Muley Ishmael's reign the number of eunuchs in the empire of Morocco was supposed to amount to seven hundred; but they are now so reduced, that one hundred is the utmost that could be mustered in the whole empire.

Those persons who have been concerned in the trade to Tombut for the last twenty years, compute the value of the merchandizes transported annually thither from the empire of Morocco to amount to at least a million of hard dollars; and the commodities received in return, such as ostrich-feathers, ivory, gold dust, amber, and Guinea slaves, to ten millions; two-thirds of which are carried to Algiers, Tunis, &c. The slaves are purchased near Tombut, at a very cheap rate, there having been instances of a fine negro boy being bought for six pounds of salt.

As a proof that Christians may proceed along the shore by land from Guinea to Morocco, two Frenchmen, in the year 1781, came from Senegal to Morocco, and brought intelligence of some forts having been taken from the English on that river. It is, however, proper to remark, that they were provided with escorts from one place to another.

CHAP. XII. — *Summons to appear before the Emperor. — Admission into the Royal Harem. — Attendance on Lalla Zara. — Introduction to Lalla Batoom, the chief Sultana. — Introduction to Lalla Douyaw, the favourite Wife of the Emperor — her History. — Description of the Harem — its Oeconomy. — Concubines of the Emperor. — Adventure and Altercation with one of those Ladies. — Dress of the Ladies in the Harem. — Opinion of the Moors concerning the Female Sex. — Emperor's Children. — Dress, Manners, and Situation of the Female Sex in Barbary.*

FROM the unsuccessful efforts which I had made for the purpose of procuring my dispatches, I had begun to reconcile myself to the idea of remaining a prisoner at Morocco, when, to my great surprize, at the expiration of a month from the time of the prince's departure, His Moorish Majesty sent to me in particular haste to repair to the palace.

Upon receiving this message my best hopes were excited. I naturally expected an immediate emancipation, as it is necessary that every stranger should see the Emperor previous to his departure; and I flew to the palace with all the alacrity which such an expectation was certain to inspire. What then was my astonishment, when, upon my arrival at the palace, a messenger brought orders from the Emperor, the purport of which was, that I should immediately examine one of his sultanas who was indisposed, and in the afternoon return with proper medicines, and at the same time report my opinion on her case to His Majesty.

It is difficult to say whether disappointment or surprize were the predominant emotion in my mind on receiving this order. After the prejudices which from his dislike to the English, and his ignorance of the effects of internal medicines, the Emperor was known to have entertained against me, and after having detained me at Morocco for such a length of time, with no apparent view but that of manifesting his contempt of me as an Englishman, it appeared unaccountable that he should give orders for my admission into the harem, where, in addition to the former objections, there were also some still stronger in the eyes of the Moors; as the admission of one of our sex into that sacred depository of female charms was almost unprecedented, and I believe totally so with respect to the harem of the Emperor.

Whatever might be the motives with His Imperial Majesty for the violation of Moorish decorum in this instance, I did not conceive that I had much reason to rejoice

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at the event. I had already experienced too much ingratitude from the prince, as well as too much ungenerous treatment from the Emperor, to encourage me to undertake any future engagement of the kind in this country; and the difficulties and prejudices which from experience I knew I had to encounter, when employed in my professional line by the Moors, united to the uncertainty of removing the lady's complaint, rendered it altogether not very safe to administer my advice under such disadvantageous circumstances; and even that curiosity which would naturally be excited in most persons on such an occasion, was not sufficient to reconcile me to this new employment.

Unfortunately in this dilemma I had very little time allowed me to determine, since the messenger was waiting to conduct me to the gate of the harem. My embarrassment, however, continued only for a short period; for I soon recollected that it was in vain to oppose the Emperor's order. I therefore deferred giving a decisive answer till I had seen my patient, and made myself fully acquainted with the nature of her complaint.

The public and usual entrance to the harem is through a very large arched doorway, guarded on the outside by ten body guards, which leads to a lofty hall, where the captain or alcaide, with a guard of seventeen eunuchs, are posted. No person is admitted into this hall, but those who are known to have business in the harem.

The Emperor's order being delivered on the outside of the door to the alcaide, I was immediately, with my interpreter, conducted into the harem, by one of the negro eunuchs. Upon entering the court into which the womens' apartments open, I discovered a motley groupe of concubines, domestics, and negro slaves, who were variously employed. Those of the first description had formed themselves into circles, seated on the ground in the open court, and were apparently engaged in conversation. — The domestics and slaves were partly employed in needle-work, and partly in preparing their cuscofoo. My appearance in the court, however, soon attracted their attention, and a considerable number of them, upon observing me, unacquainted with the means by which I had been admitted into the harem, retreated with the utmost precipitancy into their apartments, while others more courageous approached, and enquired of my black attendant who I was, and by whose orders he had brought me thither.

The moment it was known that I was of the medical profession, parties of them were detached to inform those who had fled that I was sent in by order of the Emperor, to attend Lalla Zara, my intended patient's name, and requesting of them to come back and look at the Christian. Seranio tibib! Christian doctor! resounded from one end of the harem to the other; and in the course of a few minutes I was so completely surrounded by women and children, that I was unable to move a single step.

Every one of them appeared solicitous to find out some complaint on which she might consult me, and those who had not ingenuity enough to invent one, obliged me to feel their pulse; and were highly displeased if I did not evince my excellence in my profession by the discovery of some ailment or other. All of them seemed so urgent to be attended to at the same time, that while I was feeling the pulse of one, others were behind, pulling my coat and intreating me to examine their complaints, while a third party were upbraiding me for not paying them the same attention. Their ideas of delicacy did not at all correspond with those of our European ladies, for they exhibited the beauties of their limbs and form with a degree of freedom that in any

other country would have been thought indecent ; and their conversation was equally unrestrained.

This apparent laxity of conduct in the Moorish ladies does not proceed from a depravity in principle. As the female sex in this country are not entrusted with the guardianship of their own honour, there is no virtue in reserve. A depraved education even serves to corrupt instead of to restrain them. They are not regarded as rational or moral agents ; they are only considered as beings created entirely to be subservient to the pleasure of man. To excite the passions, and to do and say every thing which may inflame a licentious imagination, become therefore necessary accomplishments in the female sex, and their manners and conduct naturally assume a cast totally different from those of women in a more refined and more liberal state of society. In those instances to which I refer, they were not conscious of trespassing the limits of decency ; and in others they manifested a singular attention to what they conceived to be decorum. When I requested to see the tongues of some patients who complained of feverish symptoms, they refused to comply, considering it as inconsistent with their modesty and virtue ; some of them indeed laughed at the singularity of the request, and attributed it either to an impertinent curiosity, or an inclination to impose on their understandings.

As the number of my patients continued to increase rather than to diminish, there appeared but little prospect of an introduction to the sultana Lalla Zara,* whom I was first directed to attend, in any reasonable time. The eunuch, however, wearied out with waiting, exerted all the vigour of authority which his natural effeminacy would admit of in obliging them to disperse, and which was so far effectual at least as to allow me room to pass, though this female crowd still followed me till I had nearly reached the lady's apartment.

From the first court into which I had been introduced I passed through two or three similar, till I at length arrived at the chamber of my intended patient. I was here detained a little time in the court, till my patient and her apartment were ready to receive me. Upon my entrance I found the lady sitting cross-legged on a mattress placed upon the floor, and covered with fine linen, with twelve white and negro attendants, seated on the floor also, in different parts of the chamber. A round cushion was placed for me next to the lady, on which I was desired to be seated. I should have remarked, that, contrary to my expectations, I found that none of the Emperor's women disguised their faces in the manner which I had experienced in the prince's harem, but I saw them all with the same familiarity as if I had been introduced into the house of an European.

Lalla Zara*, who was of Moorish parents, was about eight years ago remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments ; on which account she was then in every respect the favourite wife of the Emperor. So dangerous a pre-eminence could not be enjoyed without exciting the jealousy of those females whose charms were less conspicuous ; and who, besides the mortification of having a less share of beauty, experienced also the disgrace of being deserted by their lord.

Determined to effect her ruin, they contrived to mix some poison (most probably arsenic) in her food, and conducted the detestable plot with so much art and address, that it was not perceived till the deleterious drug had begun its baneful operations. She was seized with most violent spasms and a continual vomiting ; and had she not been possessed of an uncommonly strong constitution, she must immediately have fallen a

* Lalla signifies lady or mistress, but is only applied in this country to the sultanas.

victim to the machinations of her rivals. After a severe struggle, however, between life and death, the effects of the poison in some degree abated; but it left the unhappy lady in a state of dreadful debility and irritation, and particularly in the stomach, from which it was not perhaps in the power of medicine to extricate her. Her beauty too, the fatal cause of her misfortune, was completely destroyed, and her enemies, though disappointed in their aim of destroying her life, yet enjoyed the malignant triumph of seeing those charms which had excited their uneasiness reduced below the standard of ordinary women.

When I saw her, she had such a weakness of digestion, that every species of food which she took, after remaining a few hours on her stomach, was returned perfectly crude and undigested. As she did not receive proper nourishment, her body had wasted away to a shadow, and her frame was in so weak a state, as not to allow her to walk without assistance. Her complexion was entirely altered. Her skin, from being naturally clear and fair, as I was informed, was changed to a sickly brown, which, joined to a ruined set of teeth, and a ghastly countenance, had effaced every trace of that beauty, which she before might have possessed. Upon my first entering her apartment, though from my profession accustomed to behold objects of distress and misery, yet I was so forcibly struck with her unhappy situation and wretched appearance, that I was obliged to exert all the fortitude of which I was master, to avoid the discovery of my feelings.

Lalla Zara was at this time about six-and-thirty years of age, and though in so weak a state, had two beautiful young children; the first was in its sixth year, and the youngest, which was then under the care of a wet-nurse, was very little more than a twelvemonth old. I was quite astonished to observe such strong and apparently healthy children, the offspring of a mother whose constitution was so dreadfully impaired. It was certainly, however, a very fortunate circumstance for Lalla Zara that she had these children; since by the Mahometan law a man cannot divorce his wife provided she bear him children; so that though the Emperor took very little notice of this poor lady, yet he was, for the above reason, obliged to maintain, both herself and her offspring.

From the wretched situation in which I have described this unfortunate female, it is easy to conceive that her spirits must revive at the most distant prospect of procuring relief in her disagreeable complaint. Such, indeed, was the case. She received me with all that satisfaction which hope, united with some degree of confidence, most naturally inspires.

Under these circumstances the predicament in which I felt myself was, I must confess, most truly embarrassing. It was one of those unpleasant situations, in which duty and interest are completely in opposition to each other, or rather when the sympathetic feelings stand opposed to personal safety. Humanity pointed out to me that it was my duty to relieve her if possible; on the other hand, self-preservation no less strongly dictated, that it was absolutely necessary to my safety and happiness to embrace the first opportunity of leaving a country where I existed in the most critical and most disagreeable situation. Both these sentiments for some time pressed equally on my mind, and left me at a loss how to determine. I at length, however, fixed on a middle plan of conduct, which appeared likely to effect the safety of the lady, without endangering my own. This was, to give a proper course of medicines a fair trial for a fortnight; and then, if the least prospect of amendment should appear in consequence of them, I could leave her more, with such directions as might enable her to use them without medical attendance.

This plan I conceived it most prudent not to communicate immediately to my patient : I therefore, without affording her any very flattering hopes of a cure, assured her, that I would use every means with which I was acquainted for the restoration of her constitution. Contrary to most other Moorish females, I found Lalla Zara in every respect affable and polite ; though deprived of her health, she retained her natural vivacity, and with the ravages of her inveterate malady she still remained a pleasing and an interesting character.

I was upon the point of taking my leave of Lalla Zara, when a female messenger appeared to request my attendance upon Lalla Batoom, who, from the priority of her marriage, is called the first wife of the Emperor, and is more properly entitled to the denomination of Sultana than any of the others.

As the Emperor had given directions for my admission to Lalla Zara only, and as I soon perceived that the eunuch regarded me with the most jealous eye, I must confess that, however my curiosity might be excited, yet when solicited to visit the other ladies, I could not help feeling some apprehensions of the danger which I incurred by transgressing the Emperor's order. On the other hand, I reflected, that both the eunuch and the women would be equally involved in the consequences of a discovery ; the first for conducting me, and the others for admitting me into their apartments ; and therefore that it was as much their interest as mine to be cautious, as well in preventing the circumstance from reaching the Emperor's ears, as in not receiving me in their apartments at a time when he was likely to enter the harem. All these arguments, united to the desire which I felt to avail myself of so favourable an opportunity of seeing a place where no European had ever before been admitted, had so much weight, that my objections were speedily removed.

I found Lalla Batoom to be a perfect Moorish beauty ; she was most immoderately fat, about forty years of age, with round and prominent cheeks which were painted a deep red, small black eyes, and a visage completely guiltless of expression. She was sitting upon a mattrass on the floor, which, as usual, was covered with fine white linen, and she was surrounded with a large party of concubines, whom I was informed she had invited to be her visitors on the occasion. Her room bore a much greater appearance of grandeur than that of Lalla Zara, and she was indulged with a whole square to herself.

As soon as I entered her apartment, Lalla Batoom requested of me to be seated close by her side, and to feel her pulse. Her complaint was a slight cold, of which an unconquerable desire of seeing me had most probably been the occasion. As soon as I had felt her pulse, and pronounced my opinion, I was employed in going through the same ceremony with all the other ladies in the room, who desired I would acquaint them with all their complaints, without any further enquiries. From the great experience which I had acquired in this kind of practice at Tarudant, and from the knowledge which I had attained of their complaints, which in general proceeded from too violent an attack upon the coscofoo, I was enabled to make no despicable figure in this mysterious art, and was very successful in my opinions.

From the subject of their own health, the conversation presently changed to criticisms upon my dress. There was not a single part of it which was not examined, and commented on with their usual loquacity. My interpreter was then asked if I was a married man, and if so, whether I had brought my wife with me, with a variety of equally important questions. In the midst of this conversation, tea was introduced, though at eleven o'clock in the morning. A small tea-board, with four very short feet, supplied the place of a table, and held the tea equipage. The cups were about the

size of large walnut-shells, of the very best Indian china, and of which a very considerable number was drank.

After I had concluded my visit to the Queen of the harem, I was next conducted to Lalla Douyaw, the favourite wife of the Emperor, whom I found to be what would be termed in Europe a very fine and beautiful woman. She is a native of Genoa, and was, with her mother, shipwrecked on the coast of Barbary, whence they became the Emperor's captives. At that period, though but eight years of age, her personal charms were so very promising and attractive, that they induced the Emperor to order her to be taken forcibly from her mother, and placed in his harem, where, though at so early a period of life, every means were in vain employed to entice her to change her religion, till at length the Emperor threatened to pull up every hair of her head by the roots if she desisted any longer; and she then found herself obliged to submit to his inclinations.

After remaining some time in the character of a concubine, the Emperor married her; and from her great beauty, address, and superior mental accomplishments, she soon gained his best affections, which she ever after possessed. She had, indeed, so much influence over him, that though he was naturally of a very stubborn disposition, she was never known to fail in any favour she solicited, provided she persevered in her request.

When I saw her she was about thirty years of age; in her person rather corpulent, and her face was distinguished by that expressive beauty which is almost peculiar to the Italian women. Her address was pleasing, and her behaviour polite and attentive. In the harem, from her accomplishments in reading and writing well the Arabic language, she was considered by the other females as a superior being.

From the circumstance of being taken so young into the harem, she had nearly forgotten her native language, and could only converse fluently in Arabic, having but a distant recollection of the events which first brought her into her present situation. She, however, informed me that we were brother and sister (a common phrase used by the Moors to express the affinity which Christians bear to each other in a religious sense), and had discernment enough to observe that she was among a very uncouth and ignorant people. She added, that her mother, whom I had afterwards an opportunity of seeing at a Venetian merchant's house at Mamora, was still a Christian, though she herself was no longer such, and that she hoped I would visit her every time I came to the harem.

Her complaint was a scorbutic affection of the gums, which threatened the loss of some of her front teeth. This circumstance gave her the greatest uneasiness, as she was fearful it might disfigure her other features, and by that means cause an abatement in the affection of the Emperor. On this account she was extremely anxious to have my advice, though when I was in her apartment she always experienced the strongest apprehensions lest my attendance on her should come to the Emperor's knowledge, which might be attended with the most serious consequences to us both.

Lalla Zara, owing to her bad state of health, and the consequent ruin of her personal charms, had long been neglected by the Emperor, who, most probably, admitted of my attendance on her more for the sake of exonerating himself from her constant importunities to see me (for it was a considerable time before she could gain his consent) than from any great anxiety on his part for her recovery. With respect to a person of such a description, it was perhaps a matter of indifference to the Emperor by whom

she was seen or known, and therefore there was no ground for that jealousy to which the Moors in general are so notoriously addicted.

Lalla Douyaw was very differently situated. She was in the bloom of health and beauty, with all those exterior accomplishments which were likely to excite the most ardent passion; and indeed the Emperor's attachment to her was unexampled. Under these circumstances, when we consider with what caution the Moors in general endeavour to prevent any foreign intercourse with their women, it could not be supposed that the Emperor would relish the idea of an European in particular being admitted frequently, and almost alone, to this first object of his dearest affections.

Lalla Douyaw, however, to prevent the possibility of detection, enjoined her female slaves to be particularly assiduous to inform her when there was the smallest reason for an alarm; while, on the other hand, she was continually making presents to the eunuch who attended me, cautioning him at the same time not to intimate to any person out of the harem that I had been admitted into her apartment. She so far gained an ascendancy over him, that I have frequently remained with her for an hour at a time, conversing upon European customs; and though she knew but little of them, yet the subject always seemed to afford her the highest pleasure. As soon as she thought it would be imprudent for me to remain any longer, she requested of me to go, but with a promise to call upon her the next time I visited the harem. Her apprehension of a discovery was not confined to the chance of an alarm from the Emperor, or from the perfidy of the eunuch; it was likewise extended to the jealousy of the other women in the harem, who might probably rejoice in an opportunity of effecting her ruin. It was, however, perhaps a fortunate circumstance for us both, that by most of them admitting me into their apartments, it was equally their interest to be silent, since a discovery of the one would inevitably lead to a detection of the others.

The fourth wife, who is daughter to an English renegado, and mother to the reigning Emperor, being at Fez at the time when I visited the harem, I had not an opportunity of seeing.

When I waited on the Emperor in consequence of my visit to the harem, I was honoured with quite a private audience; for he received me in the court close to his house, where no person is permitted to be present while the Emperor is there, but a few pages, and the people who immediately belong to his carriage.

The Sovereign was in an open four-wheeled carriage, hung very low, of a size just large enough to admit one person, and drawn by the sons of four Spanish renegadoes. As soon as I was observed by him, His Majesty ordered me with my interpreter to approach, and carry him the medicines, desiring me to taste them before him, to convince him, I imagine, that there was nothing in them that was improper. He then examined them with great attention, and ordered me to explain to him what they were, and in what manner they were expected to act. When required to give my opinion concerning the case of my patient, I informed His Majesty, that the Sultana's complaint was of such a nature as to require a very long course of medicines, but which I apprehended it would not be necessary to change; that therefore I proposed to attend her for a fortnight, and then leave her a proper supply, with such directions as might enable her to take them almost with the same advantage as if I was present. I added, that I had received orders from the governor of Gibraltar to return to the garrison immediately, which if I disobeyed I should certainly lose a very good employment; and that, as I was convinced of the Emperor's kind intentions towards me, by

the promises which he had made at my first audience, I was persuaded. His Majesty would not detain me a day longer than the period I mentioned. In reply, the Emperor said, that he only wished me to attend the Sultana for about ten days, at the expiration of which, if the medicines proved likely to be useful, I should then leave her a proper supply, and he would send me home (to use his expression) upon a fine horse. He then gave orders to his prime minister to pay me ten hard dollars as a present; and commanded that free admittance should be granted me into the royal harem, whenever I thought it necessary.

The harem, as I before observed, forms a part of the palace or seraglio, without any other immediate communication with it than a private door, used only by the Emperor himself.

The apartments, which are all on the ground floor, are square, very lofty, and four of them enclose a spacious square court, into which they open by means of large folding-doors. These, as in other Moorish houses, which in general have no windows, serve the purpose of admitting light into the apartments. In the centre of these courts, which are floored with blue and white chequered tiling, is a fountain, supplied by pipes from a large reservoir on the outside of the palace, which serves for the frequent ablutions recommended by the Mahometan religion, as well as for other purposes.

The whole of the harem consists of about twelve of these square courts, communicating with each other by narrow passages, which afford a free access from one part of it to another, and of which all the women are allowed to avail themselves.

The apartments are ornamented externally with beautiful carved wood, much superior to any I have ever seen in Europe, as well for the difficulty of the workmanship, as for the taste with which it is finished. In the inside most of the rooms are hung, with rich damask of various colours; the floors are covered with beautiful carpets, and there are mattresses disposed at different distances for the purposes of sitting and sleeping.

Besides these, the apartments are furnished at each extremity with an elegant European mahogany bedstead, hung with damask, having on it several mattresses placed one over the other, which are covered with various coloured silks; but these beds are merely placed there to ornament the room. In all the apartments without exception the ceiling is wood, carved and painted. The principal ornaments in some, were large and valuable looking-glasses, hung on different parts of the walls. In others, clocks and watches of different sizes, in glass cases, were disposed in the same manner. In some of the apartments I observed a projection from the wall, which reached about half way to the ceiling, on which were placed several mattresses over each other, and each covered with silks of different colours. Above and below this projection the wall was hung with pieces of satin, velvet, and damask, of different colours, ornamented on each edge with a broad strip of black velvet, which was embroidered in its centre with gold.

The whole harem was under the management of the principal Sultana Lalla Batoom: that is in general she was distinguished by the title of mistress of the harem, without having any particular controul over the women. This lady and Lalla Douyaw, the favourite, were indulged with a whole square to themselves; but Lalla Zara, and all the concubines were only allowed each a single room.

Each female had a separate daily allowance from the Emperor, proportioned to the estimation in which they were held by him. Out of this they were expected to furnish themselves with every article of which they might be in want; the
harem

harem is therefore to be considered as a place where so many distinct lodgers have apartments without paying for them, and the principal Sultana is the mistress of the whole.

The daily allowance which each woman received from the Emperor for her subsistence was very trifling indeed. Lalla Douyaw, the favourite Sultana, had very little more than half-a-crown English *per diem*, and the others less in proportion. It must be allowed, that the Emperor made them occasional presents of money, dress, and trinkets; but this could never be sufficient to support the number of domestics and other expences they must incur. Their greatest dependance, therefore, was on the presents they received from those Europeans and Moors who visited the court, and who employed their influence in obtaining some particular favour from the Emperor. Nor had the monarch sufficient delicacy to discourage this mode of negotiation. He well knew that if his women had not obtained supplies by other means, they must have had recourse to his purse; and as he had taken too good precautions to allow any mischief to arise from this custom, he was always well pleased to have business transacted through that channel. Ambassadors, consuls, and merchants indeed, who were acquainted with the nature of the court, perfectly knew that this was always the most successful mode that could be adopted. As an illustration of this assertion, when I was at Morocco, a Jew, desirous of obtaining a very advantageous favour from the Emperor, for which he had been a long time unsuccessfully soliciting, sent to all the principal ladies of the harem presents of pearls to a very considerable amount; the consequence was, that they all went in a body to the Emperor, and immediately obtained the wished-for concession.

The ladies separately furnish their own rooms, hire their own domestics, and in fact, do what they please in the harem; but they are not permitted to go out without an express order from the Emperor, who very seldom grants them that favour, except when they are to be removed from one palace to another. In that case a party of soldiers is dispatched a little distance before them, to disperse the male passengers in particular, and to prevent the possibility of their being seen. This previous step being taken, a piece of linen cloth is tied round the lower part of the face, and afterwards these miserable females cover themselves entirely with their haicks, and either mount mules, which they ride like men, or, what is more usual, are put into a square carriage or litter, constructed for this purpose, which by its lattice-work allows them to see without being seen. In this manner they set off under the charge of a guard of black eunuchs. This journey, and sometimes a walk within the bounds of the palace, with which they are, however, seldom indulged, is the only exercise they are permitted to take.

The Emperor's harem consisted of between sixty and a hundred females, besides their domestics and slaves, which were very numerous. The four wives which I have already noted are by no means to be considered as the first set of which the Emperor was possessed, since some died, and others were repudiated*. So that it is a difficult matter to determine what was the precise number of Sidi Mahomet's wives.

Many of the concubines were Moorish women, who had been presented to the Emperor, as the Moors consider it an honour to have their daughters in the harem; several were European slaves, who had been either made captives or purchased by the Emperor, and some were negroes.

* The Mahometan law allows a man to divorce his wife, provided she does not produce him any children, and he returns her the portion which was agreed upon when the marriage first took place.

In this groupe the Europeans, or their descendants, had by far the greatest claim to the character of handsome. There was one in particular, who was a native of Spain, and taken into the harem at about the same age as Lalla Douyaw, who was indeed a perfect beauty. Nor was this lady quite singular in that respect, for many others were almost equally handsome.

The Moorish women have in general an inexpressive countenance, and a rustic simplicity of manners. Their persons are below the middle stature, of a remarkably fat and square make, with very large hands and feet. Their complexions are either a clear brown, or, what is more usual, of a fallow cast. Their faces are round, and their eyes in general black; the nose and mouth very small, and the latter is usually accompanied with a good set of teeth.

Among my patients in the harem, was one of the Moorish concubines, who with a handsome set of features had united an intolerable share of pride and affectation, the effects of which I experienced in the most disgusting degree. I was desired to administer to her a remedy for a slight complaint of the stomach, with which she had been affected for a few days. The medicine was to be of so gentle a nature as not to create the slightest degree of pain, or any inconvenience whatever. Determined that she should have no reason to complain on that account, I prepared her a powder, which, had she given it to a new-born infant, would have proved as inoffensive as to herself.

The lady, however, still apprehensive of its bad effects, obliged her younger sister, who was likewise a concubine in the harem, to take it by way of trial; and then, if it agreed, it was her intention to have had another dose for herself. Unfortunately for me, the young lady, at the idea of being compelled to take a medicine of which she was not in want, soon after she had swallowed it, became very sick, which so alarmed her sister, that she immediately sent for me, and upbraided me in the severest language, for sending a medicine which had nearly destroyed the young lady, who had been in the most violent agonies the whole day; adding, that had she not been possessed of a very strong constitution, she must inevitably have perished. She tauntingly observed, that she had formed a better opinion of the Christians than she now found they deserved; and asked me imperiously whether I was a proper person to undertake the cure of the sultana? As it was impossible that I could be pleased with these ignorant and unmerited reproaches, and as I was well aware that since I had no directions to attend any person but Lalla Zaira, it was entirely a matter of favour in me to comply at all with her request, I embraced the opportunity of at once silencing her ill-timed loquacity, and effectually putting a stop to similar impertinence from any other quarter. I explained to her in the first place, that so far from the medicines having the tendency of which she accused them, that they in reality were of much too mild a nature for a person of her constitution. I added, that since she entertained such suspicions of them from the first, how could she be so destitute of affection and feeling as to compel her sister to take what she would not venture upon herself, without regard to the difference of her age, or to the state of her health? That her ungrateful behaviour would operate as a discouragement to me, and would perhaps prevent my affording assistance to many of the other ladies, whose complaints might require much more attention than hers did; and that in future she could not expect to receive from me, if it should even be necessary, the smallest assistance. She now began to relent, and acknowledged she had been rather too warm, adding many apologies, and concluded with wishing me a happy return to my country and friends.

I could

I could adduce many other anecdotes to illustrate the ignorance and pride of these unfortunate women; but this I think will be sufficiently convincing to answer the purpose. It may not be improper to add, that this little altercation proved afterwards of great service to me in the harem, by convincing the ignorant part of it that I paid very little attention to their caprice.

Observing that the eunuchs kept a very close and watchful eye over me when I visited the harem, I always took care that my deportment in their presence should be such as to give them no reason for any complaint against me. When in the apartments of my patients I sometimes so far forgot myself, as to enter into a pretty long conversation; but I found that the eunuch was always disposed to interrupt our entertainment, by hinting that I had already staid too long, and must therefore depart. With Lalla Douyaw, however, they seemed to have less influence; and though she thought it prudent to make them occasional presents, yet she never would suffer me to leave the room till by her own request.

In one of my visits, I observed a procession, which upon enquiry I found was intended as an invocation to God and Mahomet for rain, of which there had been a scarcity for several preceding months. The procession was commenced by the youngest children in the harem, who were barely able to walk, two abreast, and these were followed by the next in age, till at length a great part of the women fell into the groupe, making altogether upwards of a hundred persons. They carried on their heads their prayers written on paper, pasted on a square board, and proceeded through all the courts singing hymns, the purport of which was adapted to the solemn occasion. I was informed that they had continued this ceremony every day during the whole of the dry weather, and were to repeat it till their prayers were attended with success.

Though the Emperor occasionally came into the harem, yet it was more usual for him to give notice to those ladies whose company he wished, to attend in his apartment; when they made a point of setting off their charms to the best advantage. When in his presence, they paid him every attention which a common slave would shew to his master, and never ventured to offer their opinion, except by his approbation.—But to return to the Moorish ladies.

From the idea which is so prevalent with this people, that corpulency is the most infallible mark of beauty, the women use a grain which they name Ellhouba, for the purpose of acquiring that degree of personal excellence at which they aspire: this they powder, and eat with their cuscofoo. They likewise take, with the same intention, large quantities of paste, heated by the steam of boiling water, which they swallow in the form of boluses. It is certainly true, that the number of corpulent women in this country is very considerable, but it is probable that this circumstance arises as much from their very confined and inactive mode of life, as from any of the particular means which they employ to produce that effect.

The dress of the ladies consists of a shirt, with remarkably full and loose sleeves, hanging almost to the ground, the neck and breast of which are left open, and their edges are neatly embroidered with gold. They wear linen drawers, and over the shirt a caftan, which is a dress something similar in form to a loose great coat without sleeves, hanging nearly to the feet, and is made either of silk and cotton or gold tissue. A sash of fine linen or cotton folded, is tied gracefully round the waist, and its extremities fall below the knees. To this sash two broad straps are annexed, and passing under each arm over the shoulders form a cross on the breast, and to that part of it which passes between the breast and shoulder of each arm is fixed a gold tortoise, care-
lessly

lessly suspending in front a gold chain. Over the whole dress is extended a broad silk band of the Fez manufacture, which surrounds the waist, and completes the dress, except when they go abroad, and then they invest themselves in a careless manner with the haick.

The hair is plaited from the front of the head backwards in different folds, which hang loose behind, and at the bottom are all fixed together with twisted silk. Over their heads they wear a long piece of silk about half a yard wide, which they tie close to the head, and suffer the long ends, which are edged with twisted silk, to hang behind in an easy manner nearly to the ground. The remainder of the head-dress is completed by a common silk handkerchief, which surrounds the head like a woman's close cap, differing from it only by being fixed in a full bow behind instead of in front. At the upper part of each ear hangs a small gold ring, half open, which has at one end a cluster of precious stones, sufficient nearly to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the opening of the ring. At the tip, or lower part of the ear, is likewise suspended a broad and solid gold ring, which is so large that it reaches as low as the neck, and which, as well as the other, has a cluster of precious stones, in proportion to the size of the ring. The ladies wear on their fingers several small gold rings, set with diamonds or other precious stones, and on the wrists broad and solid gold bracelets, sometimes also set with precious stones. Their necks are ornamented with a great variety of bead and pearl necklaces. Below these a gold chain surrounds the neck, and suspends in front a gold ornament.

Like the men, the Moorish women wear no stockings, but use red slippers, curiously embroidered with gold, which they take off when they enter their rooms. Immediately above the ankle each leg is surrounded with a large solid gold ring, which is narrow in front, but very broad behind.

The ladies paint their cheeks of a deep red, and stain their eye-lids and eye-brows with a black powder, which I apprehend to be antimony. It is a branch of artificial beauty in this country, to produce a long black mark on the forehead, another on the tip of the nose, and several others on each cheek. The chin is stained of a deep red, and thence down to the throat runs a long black stripe. The inside of the hands and the nails are stained of a deep red, so deep indeed that in most lights it borders on black; and the back of the hands have several fancy marks of the same colour. The feet are painted in a similar manner with the hands.

I seldom observed in the harem the women at any employment but that of forming themselves into different circles for the purpose of conversation, sometimes in the open courts, at others in the different apartments. As they are not permitted to enter the mosques, they pray at the appointed times in their own chambers. The Moors, indeed, entertain the prejudice which is commonly attributed to the Mussulmen in general, that the female sex are altogether an inferior species of animals, merely formed to be slaves to the pleasures of men, whose salvation is consequently not of so much importance; and with this sentiment the conduct of the men towards them in every instance corresponds. The Moors likewise assign other reasons for not permitting their females to enter their places of worship: they assert, that it would be not only contrary to the custom which prevails in the country, of not allowing the sexes to meet together in any particular spot, but it might also, by creating loose and improper ideas, draw off the attention from their devotion.

The women have their talbas as well as the men their talbas. These persons, who are either wives or concubines, just as it happens, and whose principal qualifications appear to be reading and writing, teach the younger part of the harem to repeat their prayers, and the older females they instruct in the laws and principles of their religion.

All the Emperor's daughters, and the children of his concubines, as soon as they were of a proper age, were sent to Tafilet, where they finished their education, and by intermarrying with the descendants of his ancestors, they served to people that extraordinary city — extraordinary on this account, that the inhabitants of it are all sharifs, or the supposed lineal descendants of Mahomet, and are most of them collaterally or otherwise related to the present royal family of Morocco. Muley Ishmael, who, as I before observed, was grandfather to the late Emperor, had three hundred children at Tafilet, and their descendants are now supposed to amount to nine thousand, who all live in the same place.

The sons of the Emperor's wives are considered as princes, who have each an equal claim to the empire, and as such are always respected. If they have not disoblged their father, they are generally appointed to the government of some of the provinces, where, in the capacity of bashaws, their principal object is the accumulation of riches.

The reader will have observed that I reserved my observations on the female part of society in this country, till I had given such a general account of the harem as might serve for a proper introduction to that part of my subject. By this arrangement I have relieved myself from the tediousness of repetition, and my readers from that obscurity which naturally ensues when information is imparted in a disjointed state. A few observations will serve to complete the description.

The Moorish women may be divided into two classes; the black or negro women, and the white.

The first are either slaves, or have been so formerly; and from their services, or through the favour of their proprietors, have obtained their freedom. These women have all the characters, both with respect to disposition, features, and complexion, peculiar to the country from which they are brought. Many of them are in the situation of concubines, and others in that of domestics. Their male children are all brought up to serve in the army of the Emperor. — To this class may be added the mulattoes, both male and female, which are the production of a Moor and a negro woman, and are consequently very numerous in this empire; but as they differ but little in character from the negroes, and are only distinguished from them by being indulged with their freedom, I shall pass them over without any further observations.

Those of the female sex who may be properly considered as natives of the country, are of a white, or rather a fallow complexion. From the very limited sphere in which they are allowed to act, and the contempt in which they are held as members of society, their characters admit of very little of that variety which distinguishes the European women. Happy, perhaps, it is for them, that the sun of knowledge has never beamed upon their gloomy prisons, since it could only serve to enlighten them to a sense of their own misery, disgrace, and servitude! Happy is that accommodating power, which Providence has vouchsafed to human kind, which adapts them to their several situations! and happy it is that the information of mankind is generally such as suits the sphere in which they are destined to act!

Educated with no other view than for the sensual purposes of their master, or husband, the chief object of the female sex of this country is to administer to his pleasure, and by the most abject submission to alleviate the rigours of that servitude to which they are doomed. When in the presence of their despot, both wives and concubines are obliged to manifest the same respect as his common slaves; and though all are not confined closely to their houses, as is customary in the Emperor's harem,

yet when they do go out they are obliged to be extremely circumspect in concealing their faces, and cautious in every part of their demeanour. Women of distinction, however, are very seldom allowed to go abroad, it is only those of the lowest class which are usually seen in the streets, and even these are so disguised and wrapped up in their haicks, that they appear more like a bale of cloth put in motion, than a human form.

If they happen to meet an European in the country, at a time when no Moor is in sight, they seldom miss the opportunity of displaying their features, by throwing the haick on one side, and even to laugh and converse with him, though always with the utmost risk, as the eye of jealousy, it is well known, never slumbers.

If an European or a Jew should be caught in a clandestine connection with a Moorish woman, he is obliged to become a convert to the Mahometan faith, or his life would be forfeit; and the woman, I was informed, is punished either by burning or drowning, though I cannot say I ever knew an instance of that dreadful sentence being put in execution. A man, indeed, must have uncommon address, and no small share of caution, to carry on an intrigue of that kind, though on the part of the women of this country he will seldom want for encouragement.

It must, however, be allowed, that the means which the Moors employ for the prevention of intrigues, very often tend to the encouragement of them. By dressing themselves in the female habit, men may very easily pass the streets unobserved, as they may rest assured they will not be addressed or even looked at by the Moors; and if they contrive to call at the house when the master is from home, they need be under no apprehensions of being detected when he returns. If he sees a strange woman's slippers at the door of his harem, he concludes it is a female neighbour, and never approaches the room till the slippers are removed.

The dress of the opulent females among the Moors is similar to that of the Emperor's ladies, differing only in the value of the materials. Those of the inferior class wear linen drawers, and over them a coarse woollen frock, tied round the waist with a band. They plait the hair in two folds, from the upper part of the head all the way down behind, wearing over it a common handkerchief tied close to the head, and when they go out they wear the haick.

CHAP. XIII. — *Duplicity of the Emperor. — Plan of the Sultan to effect his Emancipation — unsuccessful. — Application through another Channel. — Curious Present from the Emperor. — Striking Instance of Tyranny. — Personal Application to the Emperor. — Traits of Despotism. — The Emperor's Dispatches obtained. — Commissions from the Ladies in the Harem. — Anecdotes of an English Mulatto. — Journey to Buluane — Description of that Fortrefs. — Singular Mode of passing the River. — Arrival at Salle. — at Tangier. — Present from the Emperor. — Return to Gibraltar.*

TEN days having elapsed since my first attendance on Lalia Zara, the Emperor desired my patient to acquaint him what effect the medicines had produced; and being informed that she was apparently in a state of recovery, he sent into the harem a doubloon piece, wrapped up in one corner of a silk handkerchief, and ordered the lady to present me with it as a compliment for the service I had already rendered her, accompanied with splendid promises, if I succeeded in restoring her to perfect health.

Little reflection was requisite to convince me, that these manœuvres had an aim and tendency very different from that of fulfilling the Emperor's engagements relative to

my return. It required, therefore, some consideration to determine, whether it would be most prudent to continue my attendance, or exert myself immediately with redoubled vigour to accomplish my emancipation. The latter mode of conduct I resolved upon, for the following reasons.

In the first place, I had been absent from the garrison much longer than was originally intended by government; it was, therefore, impossible to say how far the protraction of my residence in Morocco might interfere with the arrangements of my superiors, or affect the service. Secondly, every European with whom I conversed, or corresponded, advised me by all means to embrace the first opportunity of returning; since, though my patient was for the present in a recovering state, yet, from the caprice and ignorance of the Moors, there was some reason to apprehend that she might tire of her medicines; and considering the matter in the most favourable point of view, supposing she could be relieved entirely from her complaint, it was not improbable that the women, who had been the original occasion of her illness, upon observing her recovery, might, with the same diabolical malignity which induced them to administer the first dose of poison, be inclined to avail themselves of my attendance, and injure her constitution a second time; while all the ill consequences would infallibly be attributed to my treatment. The age and infirmities of the Emperor also rendering my situation very precarious, determined me to employ the earliest opportunity in effecting my escape; and the following was the plan which appeared to promise the most probable success.

I told my patient that I had brought with me very little more medicine than was sufficient for the cure of Muley Absulem; and that those which I had administered to her were the few which had not been used; that as they must necessarily soon be exhausted, and as my attendance on her without medicines could answer no purpose whatever, I would recommend her, for her own sake, to advise the Emperor to send me to Gibraltar for a fresh supply. "Ah!" exclaimed the lady, "there is no occasion for your going, the Emperor can write to the consul for them." For a reply of this kind I was not wholly unprepared; and as I had found it necessary to act a part on this occasion, I determined to go through with it, and reluctantly to play the empiric, by informing my patient that the composition of these medicines was known to no person but myself; and therefore to write for them would be totally useless. This statement appeared unanswerable, and my plan was so far crowned with success. An application, on my account, was immediately made to the Emperor by all the principal women, whom Lalla Zara had engaged in her service for that purpose.

The Emperor, however, whose discernment had been excellent in his youth, and whose intellect was at intervals as vigorous as ever, was not to be imposed on. He promised the women more than he ever intended to perform, and ten days more elapsed, when I found myself as near returning as on my first arrival at Morocco.

Thus baffled in my attempt, though my indefatigable female agents repeated their application not seldom more than twice every day, I applied to a German renegade, who spoke the English language, and who, from his situation at court, had frequent opportunities of seeing the Emperor privately, and intreated of him to procure me a licence to depart. But all that he was able to obtain in my favour, was a renewal of the same fair promises which had been so frequently made, and made with the same sincerity. I must not omit, however, to relate, that in a few days after this application, I received from the Emperor a present of two horses, accompanied with a positive assurance of being dispatched immediately home.

One of the horses was young, but was in so wretched and emaciated a state, that he appeared better calculated to afford food for the canine race than to prove of any utility to a traveller. The other, it must be confessed, was not in so starved and miserable a condition, but then he was completely superannuated, and consequently quite as useless as his companion. He had been presented to the Emperor in the morning by a poor man, who, for some trifling disgrace which he had incurred, had brought this horse as an atonement; the man, however, was committed to prison, and in the afternoon the horse was presented to me.

Before I could get these unparalleled couriers out of the walls of the palace, I was stopped by the porters of four gates, who each demanded a hard dollar as a perquisite annexed to their places. On my arrival at home, two deputy masters of horse also came to my apartment for a present for themselves, and for their chief; so that the reader may easily judge how far I was a gainer by the Emperor's munificence!

After this circumstance, several days having elapsed without any prospect of accomplishing my wishes, I was advised by an European, who had come from Mogodore to Morocco upon business, as the surest means of succeeding, to seize the first opportunity that offered of the Emperor's appearing in public, which he seldom did so as to be seen by strangers, and, trusting no longer to other agents, at once ask His Majesty for my dispatches. Fortunately, as I thought, the Emperor afforded me an opportunity of seeing him the following day; and, though the soldiers would not allow me to approach him so near as to enable me to speak to him, yet I took care to place myself in a conspicuous situation; but after continuing about half an hour, he retired without taking the least notice of me, or even appearing to observe me.

The Emperor, upon this occasion, was in one of his open courts on horseback, with a large umbrella suspended over his head by a soldier of the negro infantry, who was standing in front of the horse; while two other attendants were on each side, and with pieces of silk fixed to a cane, were, by an easy but constant motion, guarding off the flies from the Emperor's face. The ministers of state were placed in front, and behind them were about a hundred foot soldiers in different divisions, forming altogether a kind of crescent. Some of these troops were armed with musquets, which they held in a stiff manner close to their bodies, with the muzzles pointed perpendicularly, while others had no weapon of defence but thick clubs.

The sovereign being at this moment in a good humour, was conversing with his ministers; and, as my interpreter informed me, he was boasting to them of the mighty actions which the Moors had performed against the Christians; remarking, that his predecessors had deprived them of nearly all the places they had formerly possessed in Barbary, and that he had the satisfaction of having taken Mazagar from the Portuguese. The ministers entered very little further into the conversation, than to repeat at the conclusion of each sentence, *Alla Cormus Sidi!* in English, *May God preserve the King!* which was communicated to the nearest party of soldiers, and from those to the next, till they made the palace echo with their voices.

My ill success upon this occasion did not deter me from making an experiment upon another favourable opportunity which offered, after the lapse of a few days. I then had influence enough with the soldiers to allow me to approach so very near the Emperor's person, as rendered it utterly impossible for him to avoid observing me, though not sufficiently close to enable me to speak to him. A messenger was consequently dispatched by the sovereign to know (using his own expression) what the Christian wanted. I returned for answer, that I came to thank His Majesty for the honour

honour he had conferred on me, by presenting me with the two horses, at the same time to remind him of his royal promise to send me immediately home. In consequence of his attention on first seeing me, I expected every moment to be ordered into his immediate presence, but in that respect I was disappointed; for, after conversing near half an hour with his ministers, he retired, and left me in the same state of suspense which I had a few days before experienced. The Emperor was on horseback, and was endeavouring to explain to his auditors the beauties of various parts of the Koran, and laid a particular stress on those passages which teach the followers of Mahomet to detest the Christians.

Such repeated disappointments, after having exerted myself to the utmost in every mode I could devise, it must be allowed were sufficient to induce me to consider my situation as desperate; and I felt myself totally at a loss what further steps could be adopted in this very critical situation. The uneasiness I experienced at this moment was happily not of long continuance, for the day following the German renegade brought me the Emperor's letter of dispatch, consisting merely of a few lines addressed to the governor of Tangier, ordering him to permit me to embark, with my two horses, for Gibraltar.

The reader will too easily anticipate the extreme pleasure I felt at the idea of shortly leaving a country where I had experienced such a continued series of ingratitude, disappointment, and uneasiness, to render it at all necessary for me to enlarge upon that topic. It will be sufficient to say, that I lost no time in making the necessary preparations for the journey, and in availing myself of the earliest opportunity to take my leave of the ladies in the harem, most carefully avoiding to communicate to them the contents of the Emperor's letter. Had they known, indeed, that I was not to return, it is probable they would have employed the same influence for my detention, which they had before exerted in favour of my liberation, and most likely with greater success.

It is humiliating and unpleasant in the highest degree to stoop to deception upon any occasion; to be obliged, therefore, in justice to myself, and for my own personal safety, to carry on a systematical plan of duplicity, was not the least of the hardships to which I was compelled to submit in this country. I could not, however, now retreat; and as I knew that Gibraltar furnished many articles which were not to be procured in Barbary, I made an offer of my services to the ladies; and received the following commissions, for the faithful execution of which, on my return from Gibraltar, I was obliged to pledge myself.

For Lalla Batoom, the Queen of the harem, a set of elegant, but very small cups and saucers.

For Lalla Douyaw, the Emperor's favourite wife, a neat mahogany tea-board, with four short feet, to have two drawers; and to be elegantly ornamented with glasses; a set of very small Indian cups and saucers; a set of different kinds of perfumed waters.

For Lalla Zara, my patient, nine yards of yellow, the same of crimson, and the same of cochineal coloured damasks; the same quantities and colours in satins; one dozen of Indian cups and saucers; one hundred large red beads; one chest of tea and sugar; a large quantity of coffee and nutmegs.

For one of the concubines, a large portion of different coloured satins and silks; a variety of handsome pearls; a set of Indian cups and saucers; two small mahogany boxes for cloaths; two japanned tea-boards, the one to be white and the other yellow.

For another concubine, some perfumed waters; a mahogany bedstead and posts; a green Dutch box.

For Lalla Talba, a priestess, a handsome present, which she leaves to my taste and choice.

For the daughter of Muley Hafem, a mahogany chest with two drawers; a flask of lavender water.

For Lalla Zara's nurse, twelve large red beads.

For two of the eunuchs, each a silver watch.

These commissions may perhaps appear too trifling to deserve insertion; but I have brought them forward to the reader only because these little circumstances frequently display the peculiar taste, the manners, the genius of a country, much better than those weighty and important transactions in which the passions common to human nature must be interested, and in which, of consequence, all people in similar circumstances must act and feel alike.

It would have required no trifling sum of money to purchase all these articles; and even when that obstacle was removed, there would arise one still greater from the difficulty of transportation in this country. As Morocco is an inland city, I was entirely precluded from the safest and easiest of carriages; and by land, many of the articles were so cumbersome and weighty, that in the bad roads it would have been impracticable to employ mules. I should therefore have been reduced to the necessity of hiring camels, the expence of which, joined to that of the commissions, would consequently have been enormous.

Having supplied Lalla Zara with the few medicines which remained, and taken my final leave of the harem, my next object was to find out a new interpreter, since the person whom I had procured at Mogodore, had it not in his power to accompany me to Tangier. In his place I fixed upon a mulatto, who was born a Christian in one of the English West India Islands, and upon coming to Mogodore as a seaman in an English vessel, was immediately, on account of his complexion, claimed by the Moors as a countryman. They committed him immediately to prison, and, by the influence of hard usage, at length compelled him to become a convert to their religion. This man, who is between sixty and seventy years of age, has been in the country about seven years, and was occasionally employed in the public works by the late Emperor. He can speak the English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Arabic languages, but the English is most familiar to him.

The horse presented to me by Muley Absulem I mounted myself, and made my interpreter ride those of the Emperor alternately, that I might give them every possible chance of reaching Tangier alive, in case I could not dispose of them on the road. These, with three horse-soldiers allowed by the Emperor, two mules for my baggage, and a muleteer to take charge of them, formed the whole of my suite on the journey.

We departed from Morocco on the 12th of February 1790, and in three days arrived at the castle of Buluane, which is a journey of about eighty miles, consisting of an uninterrupted series of wild uncultivated heath. This castle was the first piece of architecture which offered itself to our view since we left Morocco; the country being very thinly inhabited by only a few Arabs, who live in tents. In these douhars or encampments I endeavoured, on the score of safety, nightly to pitch my tent.

The castle is situated on the summit of a very high and rugged hill, forming on its northern side a steep precipice, at the bottom of which runs a deep and rapid river, named the Morbeya, which I had previously passed at its termination in the ocean at Azamore. As a piece of architecture this castle has no recommendation but the strength

strength of its walls: it is inhabited by some negroes who were banished to this place, at the time when Sidi Mahomet thought proper to disband a considerable portion of his black troops; intending, by that means, to prevent their raising a mutiny or rebellion in the country, to which, as I have intimated, they are always inclined. To dispose of them in this manner, therefore, was sound policy, as, though they were out of the way of mischief for the present, they might easily be embodied upon any pressing emergency.

The eminent situation of this fortress, the steep and rugged precipice, the depth and rapidity of the river below, with the wildness of the neighbouring country, fill the mind with a mixture of admiration and sublime horror. But what attracted my attention more than any other circumstance was the mode in which they pass this dangerous river. At Azamore, Sallee, Mamora, Larache, &c. where the rivers are too deep to be forded, the traveller is ferried over; and yet at this part, though at no very great distance from any of the above places, the people are totally ignorant what kind of machine a boat is. What is still more remarkable, the first people of the country, who are obliged to pass this river in their way from Morocco to all the northern provinces, and who are as well acquainted with the use of boats as the Europeans, are content to submit to the crazy substitute which they find here, rather than impart to the inhabitants of the castle this easy piece of information.

The mode in which these people cross the river, served to remind me of a puerile amusement, in which most boys at one period or other have taken delight. A raft is formed of eight sheep skins, filled with air, and tied together with small cords; a few slender poles are laid over them, to which they are fastened, and this is the only means used at Buluane to conduct travellers with their baggage over the river.

As soon as the raft is loaded, in other words, as soon as it is charged with as much weight as it will bear without sinking, a man strips, jumps into the water, and swims with one hand, while he pulls the raft after him with the other; and in the mean time a second places himself behind, pushing and swimming in a similar manner. The current at first carries the apparatus a considerable way down the river, but by the activity of the swimmers it is speedily extricated, and its contents as quickly landed. The horses, mules, &c. having every article removed from their backs, are driven in a body to the water side, where the Moors immediately get behind them, and by the violence of their shouts so completely terrify the animals, that one or two of them speedily take to flight, and set the example, by swimming, to the rest, when they immediately follow.

Four days after leaving this river, we arrived at Sallee, which is about a hundred and ten miles from Buluane, and one hundred and ninety from Morocco, without the occurrence of a circumstance worth relating; the country proving a continuance of the same uncultivated heath as far as Mensooria, which has been described in a former part of this Tour.

Sallee being the first town I had seen since my departure from Morocco, which was seven days, I was happy to avail myself of my former introduction to the French consul, and remain with him a couple of nights. After this agreeable relaxation, I departed for Tangier, where I arrived on the 26th of February.

As it was evident that the horses which had been presented to me by the Emperor, were not worth the expence of exportation, and indeed seemed scarcely able to encounter the journey, I took every opportunity that offered on the road to dispose of them, but my efforts were not attended with success; and by the time I arrived at Mamora, they were so completely tired, that they would certainly have died had I
used

used them another day. I therefore found it necessary to leave them in the care of a Venetian gentleman who resided at Mamora, with a request to dispose of them in the best manner he could; and, as I did not like to lose the advantage of the order for embarkation, which is always to be considered as very valuable, since no horses are exported but by an express order of the Emperor, under his sign manual, I requested this gentleman to purchase for me two of the best that were to be procured in the province, and to send them after me to Tangier; but they unfortunately did not arrive in time.

In about a fortnight after my arrival at Tangier, an order came down from the Emperor, desiring the governor to purchase, at the expence of his royal treasury, two oxen, ten sheep, ten milch goats with their kids, a hundred fowls, and a large proportion of fruit and vegetables of every description. These articles were to be presented to me as from the Emperor, in return for my attendance on Lalla Zara; and I was to be allowed permission to embark them free of all duty, for Gibraltar. The same order brought likewise a request from the Emperor, that I would engage to send my patient a fresh supply of medicines.

On the 27th of March I arrived at Gibraltar. It would be trifling with my reader to describe my feelings on the first view of a spot, protected by English laws, and decorated by English manners. My sensations, indeed, may be more easily conceived than they can be expressed. Let it suffice to say, that no wretch, escaped from the gloomy horrors of a dungeon, could experience more lively pleasure on first contemplating the light of day, than I felt on the first view of an English garrison.

As the communication between the garrison and Barbary was not open at the time of my arrival, the present of the Emperor proved more valuable than I at first conceived it. It is obvious, however, that its amount, and indeed the total of all which I received during my residence in the country, could scarcely be more than adequate to my expences; much less could it be considered as a compensation for the great risk, the trouble, and the anxiety which I had encountered. I had been under the necessity of drawing upon the consul for considerable sums, besides what I received through other channels; so that I returned from my expedition with my curiosity satisfied, my mind, I trust, in some degree enlightened, as far as the observation of a different country, and different manners, serves to improve our stock of knowledge; but, in a pecuniary view, I certainly returned very little better than I went*.

* It is certainly incumbent on me to add, that my services in Barbary have since been handsomely rewarded in the appointment of surgeon to the 26th or Jamaica regiment of light dragoons.

EXTRACT
FROM
THE RELATION RESPECTING EGYPT

OF
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AN ARABIAN PHYSICIAN OF BAGDAD,*

Translated into French by
MR. SYLVESTRE DE SACY,

Member of the Legislative Body, of the Legion of Honour, and the National Institute of France; Associate of the Royal Society of Gottingen, of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Copenhagen, and the Royal Institute of Holland, and Ordinary Associate of the Italian Academy; Honorary Member of the Museum of Frankfort, and Correspondent of the Societies of Emulation of Cambray and Abbeville †.

BOOK I.

CHAP. IV.—*Description of the Ancient Monuments seen in Egypt by the Author.*

OF all the countries I have visited, or known by report of others, there are not any can compare with Egypt for the number of its ancient monuments.

The pyramids are one of its wonders: they have engaged the attention of a multitude of writers, who have given in their works the description and dimensions of these edifices.

* The physician from whose work this relation is compiled, abridged from one of much greater volume which he represents himself to have composed respecting Egypt, and into which much detail entered on matters communicated to him by others, which is suppressed in this, that he might relate that only which he had seen himself. He was descended from a family resident at Mouful, but born at Bagdad, and, separate from his other names and titles, is best known among the Arabians by the name of Ebn-Allabad (the son of the felt-monger): he was an individual whose celebrity, great even in his life-time, was much increased by the diffusion of his works, which denote a man of considerable research, deep learning, and sound judgment. His abridged relation respecting Egypt was composed in the year of the hejra 600, answering to our 1203, at Cairo, whither he had travelled, and where he was in the year 597, when that country, owing to the failure of the rising of the Nile, was visited by a famine. This he describes, and it was assuredly in its consequences more shockingly dreadful than any mentioned in history: to that department of science rather than to a relation of voyages it belongs to paint the horrible picture.

The abridgement is divided into two books, the first subdivided into six, the second into three chapters. The first chapter of the first book contains general observations on Egypt, the second a description of plants peculiar to the country, the third its animals, the fourth its ancient monuments, the fifth its buildings and boats, and the sixth the food of the inhabitants.

Of the second book the first chapter treats of the Nile, its rise, and the cause and progress of this phenomenon; the second details the lamentable events of the year of the hejra 597; the third the calamities and events of the year 598 when much of Syria was affected by earthquakes.

† Paris, 4to, 1810.

edifices. They are numerous, and are all of them situate on the same side of the river as Gizeh, on the same line as the ancient capital of Egypt, and are comprized within the space of two days' journey. At Boufir* also there are many. Some of the pyramids are large, others small; some are formed of earth and brick, but the major part of stone: part of them are constructed so as to present steps, or stairs; mostly, however, they are of an exact pyramidal shape, with even surfaces.

Formerly there was a great number of pyramids, small, indeed, at Gizeh; but these were destroyed in the time of Salah-eddin Yoolsoof the son of Ayyout. Their ruin was effected by Karakoufh, a Greek eunuch, one of the âmeers of the army of that prince, and a man of genius. To him was entrusted the superintendence of the buildings of the capital; and he it was who caused the stone wall to be erected which surrounds Fostat, Cairo, the space between the two towns, and the citadel on Mount Mokattam†. He likewise constructed this citadel, and dug the two wells‡ which it still possesses. These wells themselves are with justice reckoned among the wonders of Egypt; they are descended by a staircase of nearly three hundred steps. The arches, yet standing at Gizeh §, were built with the materials of the small pyramids he caused to be demolished; they are structures worthy of admiration, and vie with the works of the giants. There were at one time more than forty of these arches; but this year, the 597th of the hejra (of J. C. 1200), the care of the arches being entrusted to a rash and ignorant man, he had them filled up, flattering himself by this means, that the waters, stopped in their course as by a dam, would spread over the territory of Gizeh, and allow it to participate in the advantages of the inundation. The result of the experiment was adverse: the stress of the waters on the arches was so great that three of them broke and gave way, without any benefit to the lands which this man expected to improve by the flood.

Part of the pyramids ruined by Karakoufh, that is to say, the materials of which the kernel and interior of these edifices were formed, are still visible. As they consisted nearly of the wreck of buildings and small stones, of no utility in the structure of the arches of which I have spoken, they were left on the spot.

As to those pyramids, the object of so many recitals, to which I shall now advert; pyramids distinguished above the rest, and the superior size of which excites admiration, the number of them is three; and they stand in a line at Gizeh, in front of Fostat, at a short distance asunder, their angles pointing to each other, and towards the east||. Two of these pyramids are of enormous dimensions. The poets who have described them, have given the reins to that enthusiasm they are so well calculated to inspire; they

Of these, as modern information is given respecting this country, which is perfectly minute and largely detailed by a variety of authors, but especially by the French *Savans* who accompanied the expedition of Buonaparte to Egypt; the fourth chapter of the first book alone is given in this collection. This is exceedingly curious, throwing much light on the monuments of this country of wonders, exhibiting the state of many of them six centuries ago, and by this exhibition presenting a refutation of the unsubstantial theory of Volney and others respecting their former condition and the object of them.

Attached to the translation of Mr. de Sacy are many notes of considerable length: of these such as appeared indispensable for the illustration of particular passages have been copied, or given, where too voluminous, in substance; others, curious and erudite, but at the same time little pertaining to a work of this description, have been altogether omitted.

* The *Bufris* of Pliny, Mr. de Sacy imagines the pyramids of Boufir to be those now called of Sakhara, and the word *Bufris* to signify, not the tomb of *Osiris*, as reputed by Eudoxius, cited by Plutarch and by La Croze, but pertaining to *Osiris*.

† See Note I.

‡ See Note II.

§ See Note III.

|| See Note IV.

compare them to two immense breasts rising from the bosom of Egypt. They are very near to each other, and are built of white stone: the third, a fourth part less than the others, is of red granite marked with points*, and so extremely hard, that iron with difficulty makes impression on it. The last appears small compared with the other two, but viewed at a short distance, and to the exclusion of these, it excites in the mind a singular oppression, and cannot be contemplated without painfully affecting the sight.

The shape chosen for the pyramids, and their solidity, are alike admirable. To their form is owing the advantage of their having resisted the attack of centuries; but resist, do I say, it seems as if even time itself stood only on defence against these everlasting monuments†. In fact, after mature reflection on the structure of the pyramids, one is forced to acknowledge a combination of efforts of the most intelligent men, an exhaustion of the genius of the most subtil; that the most enlightened minds exercised with profusion, in favour of these edifices, all the talents they possessed; and that the most learned theory of geometry called forth the whole of its resources, to shew in these wonders the utmost term of human ability. We may likewise affirm, that these structures hold discourse with us, even in the present day, respecting those who were their founders, teach us their history, in a manner intelligible to all, relate their progress in the sciences, and the excellence of their genius, and, in short, effectually describe their life and actions.

The most singularly remarkable fact presented by these edifices is the pyramidal form adopted in their structure, a form which commences with a square base, and finishes in a point. Now, one of the properties of this form is, that the centre of gravity is the centre of the building itself; so that it leans on itself, itself supports the whole pressure of its mass, all its parts bear respectively one upon the other, and it does not press on any external point.

Another admirable peculiarity is the disposition of the square of them, in such a manner that each of their angles fronts one of the four cardinal points‡. For, the violence of the wind is broken when cut by an angle, which would not be the case if it encountered a plane surface.

To return to the two pyramids. Those who have taken their dimensions pronounce the base of each to be four hundred cubits long, by as many broad, and their perpendicular height likewise four hundred cubits; the cubit used in the mensuration being the black cubit. Their pyramidal shape is truncated above, and presents at the summit a level of ten cubits square. Of the following fact I was myself an eye-witness. When I visited them, we had an archer in our company, who shot an arrow in the direction of the perpendicular height of one of these pyramids, and another in that of its breadth, at its base, and the arrow fell at about the middle of this space. We were told that in a neighbouring village there were people accustomed to mount to the summit of the pyramids, and who effected it without difficulty§. We sent for one of these men, who for a trifle ascended one of the pyramids in the same manner as, and even quicker than, we should a staircase, and without taking off his shoes, or his dress, which was very wide. I desired him, on attaining the summit, to measure with his turban the breadth of the level. When he came down we ascertained the portion of his turban, which corresponded with that of the level, to be eleven cubits of the natural measure.

A man whom I saw, skilled in the art of measuring, ascribed to this pyramid a perpendicular height of about three hundred and seventeen cubits, and to each of the

* See Note V.

† See Note VI.

‡ See Note IV.

§ See Note VII.

sides of the four triangular planes, which incline to this perpendicular, four hundred and sixty cubits. I think there must be some error in these measures *, and that, if the latter be exact, the perpendicular height must be four hundred cubits; but, if heaven favour my intention, I will myself ascertain the truth.

One of these pyramids is opened, and has an entrance by which the interior may be penetrated. This opening leads to narrow passages, to conduits extending to a great depth, to wells, and precipices, according to the testimony of individuals bold enough to enter; for many, excited by desperate cupidity, and by chimerical expectations, have ventured into the interior of this building. They explore its deepest cavities, and finally arrive at a spot beyond which it is impossible to advance. As for the passage the most frequented, and that which is commonly followed, it is by a glaciis which leads towards the upper part of the pyramid †, where a square chamber is seen containing a sarcophagus of stone.

The opening by which the pyramid is now entered, is not the door formed at the period of its erection, but a hole excavated with great trouble, and directed by chance, the making of which is ascribed to the Calif Mamoun ‡. The major part of our company entered this opening, and ascended to the chamber in the upper part of the pyramid: on their return they detailed the wonderful things they had seen; that the passage was so full of bats and their ordure as to be almost closed; that the bats were as large as pigeons, and that in the upper part openings were seen, and windows, designed apparently for the admission of air and light. On a second visit, I myself, with several others, entered the interior conduit, and penetrated about two-thirds of its length; but, losing my senses, owing to the terror I experienced in the ascent, I returned half dead.

These pyramids are built of large stones from ten to twenty cubits long, by a breadth and thickness of from two to three: but most especially worthy of admiration is the extreme nicety with which these stones are fashioned and disposed, one above the other. The courses fit so exactly, that not even a needle or a single hair can be thrust between the joints. They are cemented together by a mortar, which forms a layer of the thickness of a leaf of paper. With the composition of this mortar I am totally unacquainted §. The stones are covered with writing, in that ancient character of which the meaning is now unknown. I have met with no one in Egypt, who either knew it himself, or had ever heard of any person by whom it was comprehended. So numerous are these inscriptions, that, were those only to be copied which are found on the surface of these two pyramids, they would fill ten thousand pages ||.

In some of the books of the ancient Sabceans, I have read, that, of these two pyramids, one is the sepulchre of Agathodaimon ¶, the other of Hermes. These, according to this authority, were two great prophets; but Agathodaimon is the more ancient, and the greater of the two. They further assert that these two pyramids were resorted to by pilgrims from all countries of the earth.

On this subject I have treated at large in my great work, and have related what others have said of these buildings: to that therefore I refer the reader solicitous of more minute details, confining myself in this to the representation of that alone of which I have myself been witness.

Upon the succession of Mâlik-Alaziz Othman Ben-Yoosof to the throne of his father, he suffered himself to be prevailed upon by certain persons belonging to his

See Note VIII.

§ See Note XI.

† See Note IX.

|| See Note XII.

‡ See Note X.

¶ See Note XIII.

court, men who were strangers to common sense, to demolish these pyramids; the began with the red pyramid, the last and least considerable of the three.

Hither the Sultan dispatched sappers, miners, and carriers, under the conduct of some of the principal officers and amurs of his court, with orders for its destruction. Accordingly they pitched their camp near the pyramid, where they collected from every quarter a vast number of workmen, who were maintained at a prodigious expense. Here they remained the space of eight months, occupied wholly in putting into effect the commission with which they were intrusted, removing every day, after oppressive labour, and almost utter exhaustion of the strength of those employed, at most but two or three stones. Some were appointed with wedges and levers to force them forward, while others, with cords and cables pulled from the bottom. When at length one of them fell, it occasioned a tremendous noise, which resounded at a vast distance, shook the very earth, and made the mountains tremble. In its fall it buried itself in the sand, and it required extraordinary efforts to disengage it; after which notches were wrought for receiving wedges. By means of these the stones were split into several pieces, each of which employed a waggon for its transport to the foot of the mountain, situate a short distance thence, where it was left.

After remaining long encamped on this spot, and expending all their pecuniary means, as their toil and fatigue continually increased, while on the contrary their resolution diminished daily, and their strength became exhausted, those of the commission were forced shamefully to abandon the undertaking. So far from obtaining the promised success and accomplishing their design, all they did was to spoil the pyramid, and exhibit a manifest proof of their inability and weakness. This occurrence took place in the year 593 of the hejra (beginning November 1196 A. C.) Now, when the mass of stones collected by this demolition is contemplated, one feels disposed to consider the pyramid ruined to its foundation; but on looking, on the other hand, at the pyramid, it seems as if it had suffered no injury, a part of its case on one side only having been detached.

Witnessing one day the extreme difficulty experienced in dragging down a single stone, I addressed one of the foremen who superintended the work, and questioned him whether, if a thousand pieces of gold were given him to replace one of these stones in the state it was in before, he thought himself competent to the undertaking; his answer was, that were he offered that sum many times told, he should never be able to accomplish the task, and this he affirmed with an oath.

In front of the pyramids, on the eastern bank of the Nile, is seen a number of immense and very deep excavations, communicating one with the other, of which several are of three stories. The name by which they are known is the town. A man on horseback, with his lance erect, may enter them, and make excursions for a day together without having traversed the whole, so numerous and vast are they, and of such great extent. It is easy in these to recognize the quarries whence the stone was drawn which served for the structure of the pyramids. As for the quarries whence the red granite was taken, they are said to be situate at Kolzom and at Ofsan.

Near these pyramids are yet visible the remains of ancient gigantic edifices, and a number of subterranean cavities of solid structure; and seldom is any part of them found without inscriptions in the ancient, but now unknown character.

At little more than an arrow's flight from these pyramids, is a colossal figure of a head and neck projecting from the earth. The name of this figure is Aboo'lhaul, and the

the body to which the head pertains, is said to be buried under the earth. To judge from the dimensions of the head of those of the body, its length must be more than seventy cubits. On the face is a reddish tint, and a red varnish as bright as if fresh put on. The face is remarkably handsome, and the mouth expresses much grace and beauty. One might fancy it smiling gracefully *.

A sensible man enquiring of me what of all I had seen in Egypt had most excited my admiration, I answered, the nicety of proportion in the head of the sphinx. In fact, between the different parts of this head, the nose, for example, the eyes and the ears, the same proportion is remarked, as is observed by nature in her works. Thus the nose of a child is suitable to its stature, and proportioned to the rest of its frame, while, if it belonged to the face of a full-grown man, it would be reckoned a deformity; thus also the nose of a grown man on the visage of a child would equally be a disfigurement. The same holds good with respect to all the other members; there are none but should have a certain form and dimensions, in order to bear relations to such and such a face; and where these proportions are not observed, the face is spoiled. Hence the wonder, that in a face of such colossal size, the sculptor should have been able to preserve the exact proportion of every part, seeing that nature presented him with no model of a similar colossus, or any at all comparable.

Among the monuments of antiquity in Egypt, those must be comprized which are seen at Ain-Shems, a small town surrounded by a wall still visible, though demolished. It is readily seen that these ruins belong to a temple; here are found frightful and colossal figures in hewn stone, more than thirty cubits long, the members of which all bear a just proportion. Of these, some are upright on pedestals, others seated in various singular postures, and in perfect order. The gate of the town is yet subsisting. Most of the stones (at this place) are covered with figures of men and other animals, and with a multitude of inscriptions in an unknown character. Scarcely a stone is found but bears either an inscription, or some object engraven in basso or alto relievo.

In this town are found the two obelisks, so much celebrated, called the needles of Pharaoh. They consist of a square base, ten cubits every way, of nearly an equal height, and reposing on a solid foundation in the earth: from this base rises a square column of pyramidal form, a hundred cubits in height, which near the base is about five cubits in diameter, and terminates in a point. The summit is covered with a kind of cap, in the shape of a funnel, which descends about three feet from the apex †. The copper, from the action of rain and the lapse of years, is eroded and become green, and a portion of the green erosion has run down the needle of the obelisk ‡. The whole surface of the obelisk is covered with the same kind of writing which we have before spoken of. I saw one of these two obelisks which had fallen, and was broken in twain by the fall, owing to its excessive weight. The copper which covered the top had been taken away. Around these obelisks are an innumerable multitude of others: these are but of half or a third of the height of the larger. Among these small obelisks few are seen formed of a single stone. the major part are of several pieces. The chief of them have been thrown down; but of these the bases remain in their place.

At Alexandria, on the sea shore, I saw in the midst of the buildings two obelisks of greater size than the small ones at Ain-Shems which I have before noticed, but inferior to the two larger †.

* See Note XIV.

† See Note XV,

‡ See Note XVI.

|| See Note XVII.

As for the *berbis**, of the Saïd, however much might be said of their grandeur, the excellence of their structure and their exact proportions, of their innumerable figures, their sculptures in basso or alto relievô, the inscriptions they present to the admiration of all beholders, their solidity and enormous size; these, are already so well known as to render any new description superfluous.

I saw at Alexandria the column (of the pillars), called *Amood-alfawari*. It is of that red spotted granite which is so extremely hard. This column is of surprising dimensions and height: I can readily give credit to its being seventy cubits high; it is five cubits in diameter, and stands on a base very large and proportioned to its height. On the summit of this column is a large capital, which, to have placed with the most nice precision, as it is, must have required a profound knowledge of mechanics and the art of raising great weights, together with surprising skill in practical geometry. . . A person worthy of belief assured me, that, having measured the circumference of this column, he found it to be seventy-five spans of the great measure †.

I likewise saw on the shore, where the sea approaches the walls of the town, more than four hundred columns broken into two or three parts; the stone of them similar to that of the column of pillars, and apparently of from a third to a fourth part of its size. According to the uncontradicted testimony of the whole of the inhabitants of Alexandria, these columns once stood around the column of pillars; but a governor of Alexandria, of the name of Karadja, who held command in this city under Yoofoof, son of Ayyoob (Saladin), thought proper to throw them down, break them in pieces, and cast them on the beach, under pretence of checking the force of the waves, and securing the walls of the city against their violence; and at the same time to prevent the shipping of any enemy from anchoring under the wall. It was the action of an untaught child, or of a man incapable of distinguishing right from wrong.

Round the column of pillars I likewise saw some pretty considerable remains of these columns, part of them entire, and others broken; it was still evident, from these

* *Be bi*, or *birba*, is an Egyptian word, adopted by the Arabs to express the ancient edifices, consecrated by the Egyptians to the worship of their deities.

† Mr. de Sacy (Note l. Book i. Chap. iv.) states the measurement given here by Abd-Allatif on 'hear-say to be much too great; the largest diameter of Pompey's pillar not exceeding, according to Mr. Norry, eight feet four inches, its circumference will be no more than twenty five feet. Mr. de Sacy in this statement, reckons the measure alluded to in the last paragraph to be nine inches (see Note lxiv, Book i. Chap. xi.): but that he is mistaken, will appear from the beginning of this paragraph itself. Abd-Allatif there says it is five cubits in diameter; now the great cubit of the east, the *bachemique*, according to Bionnerod, (*Metrologie Universelle* Paris, 1803,) is five-ninths of a metre; five cubits is consequently 2,7777 metres, or eight feet six inches and a half French, which agrees sufficiently with the measure given by Mr. Norry, of eight feet four inches.

Again, after having declared the diameter to be five cubits, or eight feet six inches and a half French, which gives for the periphery 15,708 cubits and decimals, or 26,867 French feet and decimals; at the close of the paragraph he states its circumference to be, as he had heard, seventy-five spans: now, if the measure to which Abd-Allatif alludes, was, as Mr. de Sacy conjectures, of nine inches, it would require that the diameter should have been, instead of five cubits or eight feet six inches and a half, ten cubits and somewhat more than a half, or 17,95 feet and decimals. Presuming therefore that Abd-Allatif could not have been guilty of so manifest an error, and contradiction; the span by which he reckoned must have been much smaller than nine inches. To make it correspond with the diameter of five cubits, it would be 4,298 French inches and decimals, which even is larger than the *palmus major*, a measure according to Bionnerod but 2,863 decimal parts of a metre, or 3,1952 French inches, or than the common palm according to the same authority, which was but 2,70828 French inches and decimals.

The fancied error of Mr. de Sacy appears to arise from his mode of construing the meaning of the author of the *Kamous*, who describes the measure which Mr. de Sacy has translated *empan*, or span, to be the distance between the extremity of the thumb and the little finger: may not the author of the *Kamous* have meant by the extremity the point of insertion of the finger and thumb, the distance between which will be about that which is presumed to be adverted to by Abd-Allatif. TRANS.

remain

remains, that the columns were once covered with a roof which they sustained*. Above the column of pillars is a cupola which it supports. I conjecture this to have been the portico in which Aristotle gave his lessons, and after him his disciples; that this also was the academy erected by Alexander when he built this city, and in which he deposited the library consigned to the flames, with the permission of Omar, by Amrou-ben-Alas†.

The pharos of Alexandria is too well known to need description. Writers, considered exact, assert its height to be two hundred and fifty cubits.

I have read a note written by a curious and exact person which expressed his having measured the column of pillars with its capital and base; it stated that he found the collective height of the whole sixty-two cubits and a sixth; that the column rises from a small mount, the elevation of which is twenty-three cubits and a half, which, added to the height of the column, gives, for the whole of its elevation (above the surrounding country), eighty-five cubits and two-thirds; that the height of the base is twelve cubits, and that of the capital seven cubits and a half. According to the same note this person had likewise taken the height of the pharos, and found its total elevation two hundred and thirty-three cubits. Of the three stories of which the pharos is formed; the first, which is square, measures a hundred and twenty-one cubits; the second is an octagon, and measures eighty-one cubits and a half; the third, of a circular form, is in diameter thirty-one cubits and a half. From the summit of the pharos rises a chapel nearly ten cubits high.

Let us now pass to other vestiges of the ancient grandeur of Egypt: I would speak of the ruins of the ancient capital of this country, situate in the territory of Gizeh, somewhat above Fostat. This capital was Memphis; here it was the Pharaohs resided, and this was the seat of empire of the kings of Egypt. Of this city, are those words in the Alcoran to be understood which God spake to Abraham, alluding to Moses: "He entered the city at the instant the inhabitants were giving themselves up to sleep." And again "Moses departed from the city, full of fear, and looking about him." For Moses dwelt in a village of the territory of Gizeh, but little distant from the capital called *Dimouh*‡. The Jews have a synagogue there. The ruins of Memphis, at present, cover a space of half a day's journey every way. This city flourished in the days of Abraham, of Joseph, and Moses, and long before their time; and continued to prosper after them, till the reign of Nabuchodonosor. This prince made a waste of Egypt, in which condition it remained for forty years§. The motive which induced Nabuchodonosor to turn his arms against Egypt, was the king of that country affording refuge to the Jews who fled from this conqueror, for he granted them protection; and refused to deliver them up to their enemy. In revenge Nabuchodonosor marched against the King of Egypt, and desolated the whole country. Alexander, in process of time, having subjected it to his dominion, founded the city of Alexandria, and made it the capital of the kingdom. Alexandria maintained this rank to the period that, the musulman religion being established, this city was taken by the Mahometans, under the command of Amrou-Ben-Alas, who transported the seat of government to Fostat. Afterwards Maïzz, coming from Magreb, founded the city of Cairo, and made it the capital of his new domains. From that period things have remained on the same footing. The whole of these events we have related in most ample detail in our great work. Let us now return to the description of the ruins of Memphis, which is termed the *ancient Mifr*.

Notwithstanding the immense extent of this city, and its very high antiquity; notwithstanding the vicissitudes of the different governments by which it has been swayed,

* See Note XVIII.

† See Note XIX.

‡ See Note XX.

§ See Note XXI.

and in spite of the attempts of various nations to annihilate even its most minute traces, by transporting to other parts the different stones and materials of which it was constructed, by demolishing its buildings and mutilating the figures with which they were adorned; and finally, in spite of the addition which upwards of four thousand years have made to so many causes of destruction, its ruins yet present to the spectator a combination of wonders which confound the understanding, and which, to describe, the most eloquent would attempt in vain. The more the collection is considered, the greater admiration it inspires; and every additional glance at the ruins is a source of fresh delight. Scarcely do they give birth in the mind of the beholder to one idea before this originates another still more admirable; this instant he prides himself on his perfect comprehension of them, and again another instant his pride is lowered by the staring conviction of the inadequacy of his conceptions.

Among the wonders of the ruins of Memphis must be placed the chamber or niche, called the green chamber *: it is formed of a single stone, nine cubits high, by eight in length, and seven in breadth. In the midst of this stone a niche has been hollowed out; it is formed by allowing two cubits thickness, as well to the lateral walls, as to the base and roof: the remainder composes the chamber. Without, as well as within, it is entirely covered with sculpture in basso and alto relievo, and inscriptions in ancient characters. Externally is seen a representation of the sun in that part of the heavens where it rises; and likewise of a number of stars, spheres, men, and animals. The men are here represented in various postures and attitudes; some fixed, others walking, some with their legs stretched out, and some again with them at rest; part of them have their garments tucked up in a state for working, others are carrying materials; and, lastly, some are giving directions relative to the work. It is manifestly evident, that these representations were intended to portray important matters, remarkable actions, extraordinary incidents, and, under the figure of emblems, to delineate secrets most profound. It is clear that all this was not effected for mere diversion, that the efforts of art were not exhausted upon familiar works for the mere purpose of embellishment and decoration. This niche was firmly fixed on a base, consisting of large and massive stones of granite. But some insensate and stupid persons, in the chimerical hope of discovering hidden treasures, undermined this base, and thus deranged the position of the niche, destroyed its fixity, and changed the center of gravity of its different parts; which, by their pressure one on the other, have caused several slight cracks in the block. This niche was placed in a magnificent temple, built with enormous stones, united with the nicest precision, and the most perfect art.

On the same spot are seen pedestals fixed on enormous bases. Stones which formed part of the demolished edifices cover the whole surface: in places large fragments of walls are yet standing, constructed with great stones similar to those I have before described; in other places nothing remains but the foundations and heaps of rubbish. I saw here the arch of a very lofty door-way, the two lateral walls of which were each formed of one single stone, the upper arch, likewise a single stone, had fallen before the door-way.

Notwithstanding the nicety with which the stones of these edifices were disposed and joined to each other, between them, the builders had in addition chiselled holes, of a span diameter by two fingers in depth, in which were distinguished verdigris and eroded copper. In this I perceived their design of fastening the stones, and binding them more firmly together, by placing copper between, and pouring lead over them.

* See Note XXII.

Vile and wretched individuals have fought after these bands of copper, and torn away a considerable quantity. In order to get to them, they have broken a number of the stones. Indeed, to obtain them, they have taken a deal of pains, and have left memorials of their meanness and sordid cupidity.

As for the idols found among these ruins, whether their number or extraordinary size be considered, they surpass description, nor can even a conception of them be formed; but most worthy of admiration is the nicety observed in their forms, their exact proportions, and their resemblance to nature. We measured one of them, which, without its pedestal, was more than thirty cubits high: the breadth of it, from the right to the left side, was nearly ten cubits; and in front and behind it was broad in proportion. This statue was formed of a single piece of red granite; it was covered over with a red varnish, which appeared only to receive new freshness from its great antiquity.

Assuredly, nothing can be more marvellous, than the sight of such minute proportion, with respect to the different parts of the body, preserved in a statue of this colossal magnitude. No one is ignorant that all the members of the body, whether they be instrumental or consimiles*, have not only certain appropriate dimensions, but also certain proportions with respect to each other. From these dimensions, and these relative proportions, result the beauty and elegance of the whole figure: if any thing be faulty, in these requisites there follows a deformity, more or less great according to the extent of the defect. Now, in these figures this congruity of all the parts has been observed with a verity that cannot be sufficiently admired; firstly, in the precise dimensions of each member separately taken, and afterwards in the proportions which the members respectively bear to each other.

In fact, if attention be paid, the breast in these statues is seen to separate itself from the neck at the point of the clavicle in the truest manner. Thence the bosom, shaped by the upper ribs, rises gradually to the two paps, which are protuberant above the circumjacent region, and detach themselves from the remainder of the breast, with a surprising exactness of proportion. The paps have a progressive rise to the teats, which likewise are fashioned with the justest conformity to the size of these colossal statues. Thence descending, you examine now the sunken region of the sternum, or breast-bone, now the interstice formed by the false ribs at the point of the heart, and now the part where is noticed, the alternate rising and fall of the ribs and their obliquity, all which are given as in the human frame. You next descend from where the ribs cease to the soft region formed by the exterior integuments of the belly: you see the obliquity of the tendons and muscles of the belly on the right and the left, their tension, and bomb-shaped form; the depression of the parts in the umbilical region adjoining the hypochondria; the exact form of the navel; the tension of the surrounding muscle; the depression of the hypogastrium towards the pubis; the groin; the arteries and inguinal veins; and finally, the passage thence to the two bones of the haunches.

In a similar manner you observe the separation † of the scapula, its articulation with the os humeri, and that of the humerus with the fore-arm, the torsion of the vena cephalica, the salient extremities of the cubitus, and radius, at the part of their articulation with the carpus, the point of the elbow, the two extuberances which form the articulation of the fore-arm with the os humeri, and the muscles of the fore-arm; lastly, the softness of the flesh, the tension of the tendons, and other matters, which to detail would be tedious. Some of these figures are represented holding in their hand a sort of cylinder, a span in diameter, which appears to be a volume; and the artist has not forgotten to express the lines and wrinkles formed on the skin of the hand, when closed,

* See Note XXIII.

† The processus acromion.

at the part adjoining the little finger. The beauty of countenance in these statues, and their just proportions are the ne plus ultra of excellence in the art of sculpture, and as perfect as can be expressed in stone: they want but the imitation of the flesh and blood. The figure of the ear with its sinuosities, is likewise a counterpart of nature.

I saw two lions placed at a short distance from, and opposite to each other; their aspect inspired terror; spite of their size which was colossal and infinitely greater than nature, their form, and its due proportions were exactly preserved; they have now been broken and covered with earth.

We noticed rather a large fragment of the walls of the town, which were constructed with small stones and brick. The bricks are large, of an oblong form*, and about half the size of one of those bricks of Irak of the time of Cosroes†. The same proportion even now exists between the bricks made in the two countries: an Egyptian brick is no larger than half the size of a brick of Irak.

The reflecting man, contemplating these vestiges of antiquity, feels inclined to excuse the error of the vulgar, who imagine that mortals, in those distant ages in which they were constructed, lived to a more advanced period than is usual in our days; that they were of gigantic stature; or that, by striking a stone with a wand, they caused it to obey their orders, and to transport itself to wherever their will dictated. In fact, one is seized with a kind of stupor on picturing to oneself the great resources of genius, the profound knowledge of geometry, the resolution and patience requisite for the completion of similar works; the numerous different instruments, and unintermittent toil they exacted; the diligent attention which must previously have been paid to the members of animals, and especially of man, to their precise dimensions, their relative proportions, the mode of their articulations, and their position, and the distance at which they should respectively be placed.

In man, for example, the inferior portion of the body is longer in a determinate degree than the upper, that is to say, the trunk; whereas, in all other animals the proportion observed is the reverse. A man of exact proportion should be eight spans high; the length from the hand to the bend of the elbow should be two spans; the arm should measure a span and a quarter, the extent of the span being that of the individual. All the other bones, whether great or small; the bones of the leg, the vertebrae, the bones of the fingers, are alike subject to certain rules, as well for the dimensions, whence their particular form results, as the proportions they reciprocally bear to each other. The same holds good in all the other parts of the frame, whether external or internal, as the depression of the sinciput below the summit of the head with elevation above all that surrounds it, the extent of the forehead, and of the two arches of the eyebrows, the sinking of the two temples, the elevation of the two cheekbones‡, the flat form of the cheeks, the blunt blade of the nose, the softness of the cartilage that forms the point of it, the opening of the nostrils, the breadth of the isthmus by which they are separated, the thickness of the lips, the roundness of the chin, the cutting and rounded form of the two jaws, and many other particulars which it is almost impossible to describe, and which can only be well comprehended by the eye, by dissection, and diligent inspection of the parts.

Aristotle, in his eleventh book on animals, employs one chapter in proving that, although some men have displayed much sagacity and address in acquiring a knowledge of the members of animals, and their respective proportions, the extent of their information on this head is very limited and mean, when compared with truth and nature; and if we place a value on this knowledge, imperfect as it is, the cause is to

* See Note XXIV.

† See Note XXV.

‡ This I apprehend to be the meaning of *les deux pommettis*, which is the French expression here. Tr.

be attributed to the conviction we feel of the weakness of our faculties, and the comparison we draw between the man conversant in these matters and him who is not. Hence we admire the ant employed in removing a grain of barley, but suffer the elephant to pass unregarded which carries a burthen of many hundred weight. The following is the substance of his words, according to my interpretation*: "It is matter of astonishment that we should feel such interest in acquiring the talent of representing things in paintings, or in imitating them by means of the art of the sculptor or founder, and that we should succeed in comprehending the process of these arts, yet at the same time feel no anxiety to fathom the works of nature, especially where the possibility exists of our discovering the causes of them. We ought therefore to have no repugnance to the study of the nature of animals, of those even which seem the most vile; but should carefully guard against deeming it a toil, and thus imitating the conduct of children: for there are no works of nature but contain subjects of admiration. Hence we should seek information on the nature of all animals, and hold for certain that there is not one which is destitute of some natural wonder, for none of them were formed without some purpose, by chance, or by a sort of fortune. On the contrary, whatever has received existence from nature was produced for some end, I mean to say, for the perfection of the whole: thus each has its station, its rank, and distinguishing merit." Blessed be God, the most excellent Author of all things!

: As for the interior of animals, the cavities of their bodies, and the wonders they enfold, the description of which is found in the anatomical treatises of Galen and other authors, and in the work of that learned physician, *On the use of the parts*, the study of the smallest portion of these admirable works would be sufficient to make an artist despair of being able to portray them; and in vain would he seek around for one who might assist him, or supply his defect of capacity: he must then acknowledge the truth of what God says in the Alcoran: *Man was created weak*.

I say, moreover, that the admiration excited in us by works of art, forms part of that we experience at those of nature: for the productions of art, under a certain point of view, are the works of nature, seeing they are the effect and offspring of natural faculties. Thus the mechanic is worthy of our eulogies, who succeeds in removing an enormous weight; but would he not have much greater claim on our admiration—could he form an automaton capable of itself to remove a weight, of whatsoever value it might be?

It is God who has created you, you and all that you effect. Blessed be he, whose dominion comprises all things, visible and invisible, and who is lord of your souls! Do you not then comprehend the excellence of his grandeur? The light of his glory is every where diffused, and is hid by no veil whatever. He knows that which escapes the eye, and all that is concealed in the recesses of the heart: for all that exists by him alone is put in motion, or retained at rest, according as he wills; all things rejoice in seeing his behests respecting them fulfilled, and leap with gladness to approach His Holy Majesty. They by their very multitude bear witness to his unity, and the changes they endure attest him everlasting. There is naught but sings his praise.

But it is time we returned to our subject. However great the number of the statues of Memphis, they have experienced the ravage of time to such a degree, that, if a very small number be excepted, they are now all broken in pieces, and form only heaps of rubbish. I saw one statue of very large dimensions, from the side of which a mill-stone had been cut, two cubits in diameter, without its being much deformed by

the detraction, or experiencing any very visible alteration. I likewise saw another, with one smaller standing between its legs, and cut out of the same block; this, compared with the greater, seemed but a child, yet did it exceed in stature the height of the tallest man. It was of such exquisite beauty and grace as rivetted the sight, nor could I tire with admiring it.

At the period these statues were formed, the worship of idols was universally spread over the earth, and reigned among all nations. For this reason is it that God, in the Alcoran, says, speaking of Abraham: "Abraham formed a nation; he was obedient to God, a true believer, and not of the number of polytheists." These words signify that Abraham was the only man of his time who professed the dogma of the Unity, and that he thus formed in himself a nation apart, being distinguished and separated from the rest of men, by a creed opposite to those they professed.

The children of Israel having witnessed the homage paid by the Egyptians to these idols, the profound veneration they manifested for them, and the zeal they shewed in the worship of them; accustomed, moreover, by their long residence among these people, to witness those superstitious practices, and meeting in Syria with nations similarly addicted to the worship of idols, requested Moses to give them gods like other people; this occasioned Moses to use this reproof: "You are a nation void of sense." The chief of the Christians, being either Egyptians or Sabeans, continued to preserve a great predilection for (the worship of) the nation from which they draw their origin, and suffered themselves to be readily drawn over to the ancient customs of their fathers: they in consequence admitted images into their churches and temples, destined to the exercise of their worship. They even carried things to excess, and varied in a number of ways their abuse of this custom, carrying their madness so far as even to figure the divinity they adore surrounded with angels. All this was but a remnant of the practices of their ancestors, which they preserved; but with this distinction, that their ancestors, far from representing the Deity under any figure, had too grand an idea of him to imagine he could either be evident to the senses, or even comprehended by the mind. The Christians were led to this excess, and emboldened to adopt such a custom by the dogma they profess of the divinity of a created being. We have carefully discussed this matter in a treatise composed by us against the Christians.

The different sovereigns were careful at all times of preserving these valuable relics of antiquity; and, though avowed enemies of the people by whom these statues were erected, would not allow of their being damaged, or destroyed at pleasure. Many advantages presented by these monuments dictated this line of conduct.

In the first place, they regarded them as a species of annals which recalled the memory of past ages: secondly, they stood as witnesses of the truth of the books of revelation; for mention is made, as well of these idols as the people who adored them, in the Alcoran: thus the sight of what remains of them adds the testimony of proof to that of authority, and confirms the verity of tradition. These monuments, moreover, are admonitions of futurity, by calling the attention to the lot reserved for things of this world. Besides, they present a sketch of the history and conduct of the ancient inhabitants of the earth; we learn, in studying them, to what eminence they had attained in the sciences, what the extent of their genius, and other similar circumstances. Now these are matters, the knowledge of which is satisfactory to the mind, and of which it delights in forming an idea.

But in latter days men have been left to follow their inclinations unbridled, and none have attempted to curb them in their caprices: left thus to themselves, their whims have been the rule of their actions, and knowing of no impediment to their

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following the direction of their prejudices or passions, they have been carried away by the impulse of their desires, and have given themselves up blindly to their guidance. On seeing monuments of colossal grandeur, the aspect has filled them with terror; they have formed silly and false ideas of the nature of these vestiges of antiquity. As the minds of these people were wholly occupied by the simple object of their wishes, the only thing which had charms for them, I mean to say, gold and silver, they experienced what a certain poet says of a drunkard :

“ Every thing he sees appears to him a goblet; whenever he beholds a man, he takes him for the boy who should pour out the drink.”

Thus every thing, which seemed to them to denote any thing, was in their eyes the token of treasure concealed : did they see an opening in a mountain, they imagined it a road to some hoard : with them a colossal statue was considered the guardian of the money deposited at its feet, and the implacable avenger of any enterprize against its safety. They therefore resorted to every kind of artifice to destroy and damage these statues ; they mutilated their faces, like wretches who thus expected to obtain their ends, and who feared by an open attack to draw down ruin on themselves ; they made openings, and dug holes in the stones, nothing doubting but they were so many coffers full of immense sums ; they likewise penetrated into the chinks in the mountains, like thieves who enter houses by any other way than the door, and who eagerly seize an opportunity to effect their designs unperceived. .

Among these rents are some which can only be entered upon hands and knees ; to penetrate others, it is necessary to draw oneself along upon the bank ; to enter others again, one must creep on the belly, the face close to the ground : some of the last description are so narrow, that only such as are extremely thin can step into them even by this method. Most of these openings are no other than natural rents in the mountains.

Among those covetous men of whom I speak, some, who were in tolerable circumstances, have lost all they possessed in these fruitless researches ; others, poor and destitute of resources, meet with opulent men, whose cupidity they excite, and whose hopes they inflame, as much by oaths, of which they are prodigal, as by secrets which they boast of having themselves discovered, and certain indices they pretend to have seen : by these means they despoil the victims of their seduction at once of their reason and their money ; and these unfortunate beings terminate with finding themselves reduced to the most frightful misery, as a recompence of their credulity.

There are, however, circumstances which really contribute to strengthen their covetousness, and support their constancy ; they occasionally discover, under ground, vast caverns of very solid construction, containing an immense number of corpses, deposited there at some very distant period. The corpses are enveloped in winding-sheets of hempen cloth ; for some of them, more than a thousand yards have been employed. In the first place each separate member, the hand for example, the feet, the fingers and toes, is enveloped separately with bandages extremely fine. The whole body afterwards is swathed in a single piece, so as to resemble nothing but a great bale. The Bedouins, the Arabs established on the cultivated lands, and all those who employ themselves in search of these sepulchral caves, carry away the winding-sheets and every thing which continues to possess a sufficient consistency ; these they employ in making dresses, or sell to the manufacturers of paper, who use them in the fabric of paper for the grocers.

Some of these corpses are inclosed in coffins made of strong planks of the sycamore-fig ; others have coffins of stone, either marble or granite ; and finally some are enclosed in jars of honey. A person of credit informed me, that being once occupied with

others in search of treasures in the neighbourhood of the pyramids, they found a pitcher closely sealed; on opening which, and finding honey, they ate of it. One of them remarked a hair that stuck to his finger; he drew it towards him, and a small infant appeared, the whole of the limbs of which still adhered to each other, and the body of which seemed still to preserve its original freshness; it was decorated with some jewels and rich ornaments. On the forehead, eyes, and nose of these corpses, leaves of gold are seen, resembling a thin skin. The like is noticed on the sexual parts of women; and some bodies are wholly covered with similar leaves of this metal. With others, gold is found, jewels, or precious stones. With the body, very frequently, the instrument is discovered by which the defunct was accustomed to earn his livelihood. I am told by persons worthy of belief, that, by the side of a barber, they have found his razor and hone; with another body the instrument for cupping; and with others again, the tools of a weaver. All this gives room for supposing it was a common practice with these ancient people to inter with the dead the instruments of their professions, or the things they were accustomed to use. I have been told that, among the nations of Abyssinia, there are some who observe the same practice, and who look upon it ominous to touch, or use, any of the furniture of the dead. We had ourselves a relation who settled in Abyssinia, and who, exclusive of other gains, acquired two hundred ounces of gold. When he died, the people of the place obliged an Egyptian, who dwelt with him, to take away this gold, which he did, much against his will, and loading them with reproaches for the benefit he received.

It seems to have been common in remote times, to bury a small quantity of gold with the dead. One of the cadis of Boufir, a village adjoining the spot where the dead are deposited, related to me, that, having opened three sepulchres, on each corpse was found a sheet of gold so thin as not to be removable, and that each of these bodies had likewise a small ingot of gold in the mouth; that he took the three ingots, the collective weight of which was nine mithkals. Relations of this description are too numerous to be admitted in this book.

In the belly and skull of these corpses, is also found in great abundance, the substance called mummy. The inhabitants of the country transport it to the city, where it is sold for a trifle. For half a dirhem I purchased three heads filled with this substance. One of the venders of this drug shewed me a wallet full of it; I saw there the breast and belly of a corpse which likewise were full of it. I noticed that this matter had insinuated itself into the bones, which were so perfectly impregnated as to seem themselves a part of the mummy. I likewise remarked, on the external part of the skull, the traces of the shroud which had served to envelope the body, and the marks of the threads of the cloth; these had made an impression similar to that given to wax laid on cloth to receive a stamp*.

This mummy is as black as pitch. I observed, when exposed to the strong heat of the sun, that it melts, and adheres to any thing that touches it; cast on coals, it boils up and emits a smoke, in smell resembling bitumen or white pitch. The opinion most commonly received is, that this mummy is a mixture of white pitch and myrrh.

As for mummy, properly so called, it is a substance which runs from the summits of mountains, mixed with the waters which carry it down in their course; it afterwards coagulates like mineral pitch, and exhales a smell resembling white pitch mixed with bitumen. According to Galen, mummy springs from the earth in the same manner as mineral pitch and naphtha†; others affirm it to be a variety of mineral pitch,

* See Note XXVII.

† See Note XXVIII.

and call it the *mamtra* of the mountains. The mummy found in the hollows of corpses in Egypt, differs but immaterially from the nature of mineral mummy; and, where any difficulty arises in procuring the latter, may be substituted in its stead.

The most singular curiosity of these tombs, is their containing different kinds of animals, birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles. Each body is enveloped in a greater or smaller quantity of cloth; with this it is entirely surrounded, and under shelter of the envelope, is kept in a state of preservation.

Persons of credit have assured me, that having discovered under ground a room very exactly closed, upon opening it they saw a parcel, surrounded by bandages of hempen cloth, which fell in tatters. They unwound the bandages without being deterred by the great quantity of cloth of which the parcel was composed; and within found a calf, in excellent preservation, which had been swathed with abundance of care and skill*. By another, I was assured of a hawk having been found in the same manner, the envelope of which was formed of so large a quantity of bands of cloth, that it occasioned infinite trouble to unswathe it. It was found not to have lost its feathers†. Similar discoveries of cats, sparrows, scarabæi or beetles were related to me, as well as of other animals, the enumeration of which would be tedious, and unworthy the pains.

An âmeer, a trust-worthy man, related to me likewise, that when he was at Kous, some of his dependents, who made a profession of searching for treasures, came to inform him that an opening had taken place under their feet, presenting an excavation which they suspected to conceal some hidden treasure. He accompanied them to the spot, attended by a body of soldiers, and, on searching it, discovered a large pitcher, the mouth of which was nicely closed with plaister. After it was with much difficulty opened, they found in it small parcels, the size of a finger, surrounded by rags. They unwound the rags, which contained small fish of the species denominated *scor*‡. They were like the minute dust which flies away before the slightest breath. The pitcher was transported to Kous, and deposited in the custody of the provost. In his presence, and that of more than a hundred persons collected on the occasion, the whole of the parcels were unfolded, without any thing being discovered but these little fish.

At an after period, in the burial places of the village of Boufir, I myself saw a multitude of curious things; which the limits of this work will not permit me to enumerate. Among them, I observed caves constructed with much art, in each of which were interred an innumerable collection of skeletons. Some were filled with the skeletons of dogs, others with those of bulls; in others again were skeletons of cats. All of them were enveloped in pieces of hempen cloth. I likewise saw in these places of sepulture some human bones, but so curious that they resembled the white fibres which envelope the lower part of the leaves of the palm-tree§. The greater part, however, of the skeletons I saw, were firm, with all their parts strongly adherent to each other. They seemed even to be more fresh than those of persons who had died in the course of the year 597, of which I shall speak at the close of this writing. This was more especially the case with the ancient corpses which had been plastered over with pitch or tar. These were of the colour of iron, and were equally firm and heavy. I saw an innumerable quantity of the skulls of cattle and sheep; and readily distinguished the heads of the sheep from those of goats, and the heads of the cows from those of bulls. The flesh of the cattle adhered so perfectly to the envelope as to form

* See Note XXIX.
VOL. XV.

† See Note XXX.

‡ See Note XXXI.

§ See Note XXXII.

but one single piece of a blackish red, beneath which the bones appeared of a delicate whiteness; but some of the bones were red, and others black. The like was the case in the instance of human bones. There can be no doubt but the shrouds were moistened with aloes and pitch, and saturated with these substances before they were employed in enveloping the corpses. Hence the shrouds communicated their colour to the flesh, and preserved it. When these aromatic substances penetrated to the bones, it likewise changed their colour to red or black. In different spots I found heaps of carcases of dogs, consisting each, possibly, of a hundred thousand or more. All these carcases are taken away by men who obtain their livelihood by searching for treasures; for there are numbers who have no other means of support than rummaging the burial places, and taking thence whatever they find, such as wood, pieces of cloth, and other things. Although I made a very minute search in all those places to which I was enabled to penetrate, I never once met with the head of a horse, a camel, or an ass. As this singularity struck me greatly, I questioned the old men of the village of Boufir on the subject; and they assured me, without even hearing me to an end, that they had themselves made the same remark, and that in all their researches they had constantly failed of finding any. The coffins are chiefly of the wood of the sycamore-fig. There are some which are still firm and solid, while others are, as it were, reduced to ashes. Certain cadis of Boufir, related to me, among other remarkable singularities, that one day finding a stone coffin, and breaking it, they observed it to contain another: upon forcing this, it presented them a wooden coffin, in which they discovered a lizard of the species termed *sobliyya*; which is the *sam-abras*, well enveloped in shrouds, and interred with much care.

At Boufir we saw a number of pyramids. Of one, that was demolished, there was but the kernel remaining. We measured it by its foundations, and discovered that it had been nothing inferior in size to the pyramids of Gizeh.

Whatever we have said of the burial places of Boufir, applies to those of Aïn-shems, of the Berbis, and others.

It is fit I should remark, that no mention is made, that I remember, of the pyramids, in the pentateuch, or any other (ancient) book. I do not perceive either that Aristotle makes mention of them; in his *Treatise on Politics*, he says, "As was the practice of the Egyptians in the edifices they constructed."* Alexander Aphrodisius is the author of a small chronicle in which he speaks of the Jews, the Magi, and the Sabæans; he likewise says something in this book of the history of the Egyptians. But Galen, I find, in one part of his works makes mention of the pyramids, and derives their denomination from *barm*, which signifies *decrepid old age*†. In his commentary on the treatise of Hippocrates, on *Different Airs and Places*, he likewise says, "He who would study astronomy, ought to go to Egypt, as the inhabitants of that country have applied themselves greatly to that science." Such is the sense of his words. He also observes, in his book of *Anatomical Operations*, "Whoever wishes to comprehend thoroughly the disposition of the bones, cannot do better than repair to Alexandria to examine the ancient corpses there preserved."

The primitive inhabitants of Egypt may be compared to the Nabathæans of Irak, Memphis to Babylon, the Grecian monarchs and the Cæsars of Egypt to the Persian Kings and the Cosroes of Persia, Alexandria to Madaïn, Fostat to Bagdad. All these countries are now united by the profession of Islamism, and acknowledge the dominion of the posterity of Abbas.

* See Note XXXIII.

† See Note XXXIV.

NOTES ON ABD ALLATIF'S RELATION.

NOTE I. p. 803.

THIS citadel, which was denominated the castle of the mountain, is, in the present day, the residence of the pasha, and the quarter occupied by the Janissaries and the Azaps. Its position is east of Cairo, on leaving it by the gate of Zoweïla; it stands north of Kaïtbay, and south of Karafa. A description of this citadel and the buildings it contains, as well as a plan of the city of Cairo, is given by Niebuhr in his *Voyage en Arabie*, (tome 1. p. 92.) A plan of Cairo, and particularly of the castle, may also be seen at the close of the description given of the pyramids of Gizeh by the chief of brigade Grobert (pl. xii.)

Mr. Langles, in the notes affixed to his edition of *Le Voyage de Norden*, confounds this castle of the mountain with the ancient castle or fort called Kafr-alfhama, which belonged to the town of Fostat, and existed previous to the conquest of Egypt by the Mussulmans of Arabian authors; some confound it with Babelgaun (Babylon), while others, whose opinion appears to be better founded, make a distinction. The quarter of Fostat, where this castle stood, is still called the quarter of Kafr-alfhama; and here are situated the church called the Moallaka, and the principal churches of the Christians, as may be seen in Makrisi (*Man. Ar. de la Biblio. Imp. No. 682. folio 159 and 160*), and in Vanleë (*Nouv. Relat. d'Egypte p. 129. p. 237. and seq.*) I shall not say more of the Kafr alfhama, but revert to the citadel of the mountain. This place, and the well admired in it, are known by the name of Joseph, one of the names of Salah-eddin, or Saladin, by whose order they were constructed. Yoosfoof was the name of Salah-eddin, and that of his father Ayyoob, not Joseph or Yoosfoof as supposed by Mr. Langles (*Voyage de Egypte et de Nub. tome iii. p. 309.*) The following is the statement of Makrisi respecting the foundation of the castle of the mountain. (*Man. Ar. de la Biblio. Imp. No. 682. fol. 390 and 392.*)

“ This citadel is built on a great eminence of the mountain: it leans on Mount Mokattam, and overlooks Cairo, Misr, the Nile, and Karafa; it has Cairo on the north, Misr, Karafa, and Birket Alhabesh on the south-west, the main course of the Nile on the west, and behind it on the east, Mount Mokattam. The spot on which it is built formerly bore the name of, Kobbat alhawa.

“ The pavillion of fine air, afterwards the hippodrome of Ahmed-ben-Touloun, was formed above this spot. At a later period this place was converted into a cemetery, where several mosques were erected; and in this state it remained until Mâlik-alnafr Salah-eddin Yoosfoob-ben-Ayyoob, the first of the kings of his race who reigned in Egypt, caused a citadel to be constructed under the direction of the eunuch Boha-eddin Kara Kooth. in the year 562, (commencing October 1166.) From that, to the present day, this castle has constantly been the residence of the sovereigns of Egypt. This is the eighth place made the seat of empire in this country. Before the deluge, the kings resided in the city of Amfous. After the deluge Memphis was the royal city, until it was destroyed by Nabuchodonosor. Alexander, the son of Philip, having ascended the throne, and arriving in Egypt, where he built the city of Alexandria, this new city succeeded Memphis in the title of royal, and retained the prerogative until God established Islamism, when Amroo-ben-Alas entered Egypt at the head of a Mussulman army, made himself master of the citadel, and laid the foundation of Fostat, which, from that period, became the residence of the âmeers, governors of this country. Things remained on this footing to the period of the extinction of the caliphs of the house of Omayya. The armies of the Abbassides entering Egypt, and building without the city of Fostat the quarter called Alasker, the governors inhabited at one time Fostat, at another Alasker. Ahmed-ben-Touloun afterwards built the castle, the hippodrome, and the quarter called Alkataï near Alasker; and Alkataï

became the residence of the âmeers of the family of Touloun: but after the extinction of this dynasty, the âmeers dwelt anew in Alasker, until the general of the armies of Moëzz, Jewhar, coming from the Magreb, laid the foundations of Cairo. From this time to the destruction of the power of the Fatemees, by the sultan Salah-eddin Yoosfoof-ben-Ayyoob, Cairo was made the residence of the caliphs and imâms of Egypt. Salah-eddin became sole master of the country, built the citadel of the mountain, and made it his residence. After him Mâlik-alcamel Mohammed, son of Mâlik-Aladel Aboobekr-ben-Ayyoob, likewise resided there, and his example was followed by the princes of his line. The Mamalukes Baharee, who seized on the sovereignty, and succeeded the family of Ayyoob, have continued down to this time to reside in this citadel.

"The following was the origin of the citadel. The sultan Salah-eddin-Yoosfoof, having terminated the sway of the Fatemees, and constituted himself the sole and absolute sovereign of Egypt, did not on this occasion abandon the palace of the grand vizier, which he before had occupied at Cairo. Nevertheless he was not exempt from apprehension, as much on account of the partizans which the Fatemees still retained in Egypt, as of Mâlik-aladel Nour-eddin Makmoud-ben-Zenghi, sultan of Syria. He made provision before hand against any reverse he might experience from the attacks of Nour-eddin, by sending his brother Mâlik-almoaddham Shemseddaula Fouran-shah into Yemen, to conquer a new kingdom, which might present an asylum. Shems-eddaula completely subdued Yemen; and, on the other hand, God delivered Salah-eddin from all anxiety respecting Nour-eddin, who died the same year. Freed from dread in this quarter, Salah-eddin wished to secure some strong place in Egypt where he might fix his residence; for he had divided the two castles occupied by the Fatemees among his âmeers, who had taken up their abode in them. It is said he determined on the site of the citadel of the mountain, from observing that meat, exposed to the open air at Cairo, became putrid in twenty-four hours, while, suspended on the spot where the citadel is constructed, it experienced no alteration until after the lapse of eight-and-forty hours. He consequently directed the raising of a citadel on this spot, and entrusted the execution of his orders to one of his âmeers, Karakooch, an Afadee. Karakooch began this work, as well as the wall of Cairo, which likewise was confided to his care, in the year of the hejra 572. He destroyed the mosques, suppressed the tombs, and caused the small pyramids at Gizeh, in front of the city of Misr, the number of which was considerable, to be demolished. The stones obtained from the demolition were employed in building the wall, the citadel of Cairo, and the arches of Gizeh. The sultan intended the wall should surround, in one inclosure, Cairo, Fostat, and the citadel; but he died before the wall and the citadel were completed. These works were neglected till the reign of Mâlik-aladel Seif-eddin-Aboobekr-ben-Ayyoob, who fixed his son Mâlik-alcamel Nafr-eddiin Mohammed, in the citadel of the mountain, nominated him his lieutenant in Egypt, and appointed him his successor. This prince put the finishing hand to the citadel, and erected the sultan's palace in the interior, in the year of the hejra 604, (beginning July 1207.)"

Many other details might be extracted from Makrisi, respecting the buildings within the citadel, and the wall of Cairo, but they would here be superfluous. I shall but observe further, that, on the plan of M. Niebuhr may be noticed, east of the citadel, and upon the mountain, a small building in ruins, which bears the name of Kobbat-alhawa, or the pavillion of fine air.

NOTE II. p. 803.

ABD ALLATIF says "the two wells," and not "the well," because the well is divided into two parts by a resting place and reservoir. Many travellers have described the wells; for example Maillet, Pococke, Father Lucas, Niebuhr, Grobert, &c. The two first ascribed its formation to Mohammed-ben-Kelaoon, but Mr. Niebuhr, better informed, and Mr. Savary, who states this to have been the opinion of the inhabitants of the country, more justly ascribe it to Salah-eddin, and conjecture it took its name of the Well of Joseph, from that prince. Did any doubt exist it would at once be removed by the authority of Abd Allatif, who was a cotemporary writer. Shaw knew of this passage of Abd Allatif, but far from drawing thence a just conclusion, he attributes the well to the Babylonians. The error of Maillet and Pococke arises possibly from their having heard that it was the work of a sultan named Mâlik-alnafr, a name common as well to Saladin as to Mohammed-ben-Kilaoon.

Makrisi speaks thus of the well: "The well of the citadel is of the number of those things we admire. It was dug by Karakoosh. Ebn-Abd-Aldhaler says, this well is of wonderful structure. Oxen, at the top, by moving in a circle, draw up the water from a reservoir half the depth of the well; at the station of this reservoir, others by similar means raise the water from the bottom to the reservoir; there is a road cut by which the oxen readily descend to the spring: the whole of this is cut out of the rock without any building. The spot, where this well is seen, is said to be in the same direction as the Pond of the Elephants (*birket alfil*); the water of the spring is soft. I have heard some old men of the country, affirm that when the well was dug, the workmen came to very soft water. Karakoosh and his men, desirous of a more abundant supply, caused the opening in the rock to be increased, after which there issued a water somewhat saline, which injured the softness of the previous spring. The cadi Nafr-eddin Shafiben-Ali, in his Treatise on Wonderful Structures, says, that the well is descended by a stair-case consisting of three hundred steps.

NOTE III. p. 803.

MAKRISI speaks of these arches of Gizeh, quoting the author of the Treatise on the Wonderful Structures, but in the very words of Abd Allatif, from whom this writer doubtless borrowed his recital. Towards the conclusion he adds: "In the year of the hejra 708, (beginning June 1308) Malik-Almodhaffer Bibars Jafschenghir ordered these arches to be repaired. In consequence those in ruins were removed, the damaged parts restored, and they regained their utility. When Karakoosh constructed these arches, he built, with the stones of the demolished pyramids, a raised way, which began at the bank of the Nile in front of Fostat, and resembled a mountain projecting through the country the space of six miles, till it joined the arches."

The arches alluded to here are at this day in existence, as well as a part of the raised way; at least, between Gizeh and the pyramids, there are arches and portions of a causeway, the remains of those noticed by Abd Allatif. Mr. Niebuhr observed at this spot two bridges of ten arches each, and at each extremity and between the bridges a dyke or causeway of masonry, partly constructed of brick and partly of hewn stone, fifteen hundred double paces in length. Nearer to Gizeh, the same traveller saw two other bridges, one of five the other of three arches. These bridges and causeways had before been noticed by Mr. Norden, who recognized in them the work of Mahometans. Pococke, who also observed these works, was therefore much in error in taking the causeway noticed here for that mentioned by Herodotus, which cost ten years of labour, and appeared to the Greek historian a work almost as admirable as the pyramids themselves.

These arches are likewise mentioned by Ebn-alwardi, who observes, "At Gizeh are the bridges; nothing similar to this work was ever before effected. They consist of forty arches in a right line." They have nothing in common with the bridge of boats which, at a certain epoch, joined the island of Roudha with the two banks of the Nile, as imagined by M. Chr. Mar. Fréhu, who published, at Halle, in 1804, the *Ægyptas. auct.* Ibn-Alvardi (see p. 52.)

The causeway raised by Karakoosh, and which extended from the margin of the Nile, opposite to Fostat, to the bridges mentioned, afforded, in all seasons, a commodious road for the transport of materials, destined for the erection of the wall of Cairo, and the citadel of the mountain.

NOTE IV. p. 803.

ABD ALLATIF would have expressed himself with greater exactitude had he stated that the angles of the three pyramids are opposite to each other in a right line, extending from the south-east to the north-west. (See Norden. edit. de Mr. Langlès t. 1. p. 113 and 114. and pl. xliii. Grobert Descrip. des Pyr. de Gizeh, pl. 1.)

NOTE V. p. 804.

IT seems that, at the epoch Abd Allatif composed his work, the three great pyramids had all of them their external coat entire, which induced him to conclude that the third pyramid was constructed

constructed wholly of red granite. In the description of the pyramids of Gizeh by Mr. Grobert, this species of granite is described with much precision; but so many errors of the press have crept into this impression that I deem it requisite to insert the description here with the errors corrected.

"No. 4.—A beautiful rose-coloured antique granite of the island Elephantis, detached from the coat of the pyramid, called Mycerinus.

"It is supposed to be the *pyropœcilon* of Pliny.

"It is the antique Egyptian granite, many monuments of which have been transported to Rome.

"It is formed of large fragments of feldspar, of a rose colour, and of two shades, which are predominant in the stone, and give it its colour; of gray or whitish quartz in small quantity; and, of a blackish schœrle, which in point of prevalence holds a medium between the two former.

"It is one of the most beautiful stones that is known: it receives a magnificent polish, &c. (*Descr. des Pyr. d'Egypte*, p. 99.)

"Its coating," (that of the third pyramid) says Mr. Grobert, "recently removed, lies at the foot of the base. It is of red granite, of the species found in the island Elephantis, opposite to Asouan. The major part of the obelisks of Egypt are of this granite. (*Idem*. p. 30.)

"The coating of the little pyramid has been stripped off at a very late period. The beautiful masses of granite of Elephantis, dispersed, and lying in heaps at its base, still each preserve the length of the two facings fashioned with the square, which incontestably proves that its finished surface was formed in tiers." (*Idem*. p. 97.)

Norden had related that the summit of the second pyramid was coated with granite on the four sides; (*Voy. d'Egypte et Nubie*. t. 1. p. 122.) but this assertion, which contradicts the Arabian authors, is refuted by Grobert, (p. 95. and p. 18.)

NOTE VI. p. 804.

A SIMILAR fancy, according to Makrisi, is expressed by another writer in the following terms: "All other things dread the effects of time, but time itself contemplates the pyramids with dread." If such gigantic expressions need an excuse, they will find one in the beautiful verse of Delille. (*Les Jardins Chant. IV.*)

"Leur masse indestructible a fatigué le tems."

Their mass, imperishable, has wearied time.

Can, adds Mr. de Sacy from another quotation; can Frenchmen fail to engrave it on the pyramids?

NOTE VII. p. 804.

MR. WHITE, in his notes, very opportunely remarks that the passage in Pliny where that writer, speaking of the pyramids, says, (The pyramids) "are situated in a part of Africa, on a stony and barren mountain, between the city of Memphis and what we are accustomed to denominate the Delta, at a distance from the Nile of less than four thousand paces, and at seven from Memphis, NEAR A VILLAGE CALLED BUSIKIS, THE INHABITANTS OF WHICH ARE WONT TO ASCEND THEM," supposes that, in the time of Pliny, the pyramids still had their outward coating (perfect); for, observes this writer, "this would scarcely have been deemed worthy of note if the most perfect evenness in the works, the opposite of what at present is the case, did not render it (the ascending them) a matter of much danger and difficulty.

The text of Mr. White is "*res erat haud fanè memorabilis, si non perfectissima operis lævitas, contra quum nunc est, lubricum et difficile ascensum præbuerit.*" The same observation did not escape Mr. Quatremere de Quincy; and a like conclusion may be drawn from the words of Abd Allatif; hence then the pyramids preserved their coating, at least in a great degree, in the 13th century.

NOTE VIII. p. 805.

THE measurement here given to the pyramid corresponds with that of Mohalli, an Arabian writer cited by Edward Bernard, except the dimensions of the level at the section which Mohalli states to be nine cubits every way. Joseph Ben Altiphafi, according to Kircher, in his work the Garden of the Wonders of the World, agrees exactly with the measure quoted by Abd Allatif.

Abd Allatif observes that these dimensions appear to him erroneous, and that 400 cubits should be taken for the height of the pyramid; but the computation of Abd Allatif is wide of the fact: for, admitting a regular quadrangular pyramid to have a base of 460 cubits, and all its angles to be alike, which will consequently give 460 cubits for the length of all its sides, the height of the pyramid will be $325\frac{1}{2}\%$ cubits: if the same pyramid be truncated by a section, the base of which is every way 10 cubits, the height will be reduced to $318\frac{1}{10}\%$ cubits, which is little distant from the height assigned of 317.

When Abd Allatif says, "The exact perpendicular height must be 400 cubits, he probably alludes to the apothème, which, if the pyramid were entire, would be $398\frac{1}{2}\%$ cubits, and truncated, as it is described to have been, $382\frac{1}{2}\%$ cubits, which comes very nigh 400 cubits." M. de Sacy.

Allowing 460 cubits to be the measure of each side of the base, as in the time of Abd-Allatif, when, presumptively, the pyramids were yet unstripped of their coating, and the sand at the base had not accumulated so high as at present; and taking the hashemik cubit, equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of a metre, or $21\frac{3}{4}\%$ inches English (Metrologie Univ. de Biornerod), the length of each side of the base will then have been 838, and the perpendicular height $579\frac{1}{2}\%$ English feet. Of ancient authors, Herodotus (lib. ii.) describes their measure 850 feet long; Diodorus (lib. i.) 700 feet; Strabo (lib. xvii.) less than 600 feet; and Pliny (lib. xxxvi. cap. 12.) 883 feet. The length of the feet alluded to by the three first writers is not sufficiently evident, and the measures being given in round numbers, they may not have been minutely exact; the Roman foot being to the English as 967 to 1000; the measure of Pliny, which from its being stated precisely 883 Roman feet, may be deemed the correct length of the base in his time; is equal to $853\frac{6}{10}\%$ feet English, which is so little more than the measure given by Abd Allatif, eleven hundred years later, as to make it probable that the difference may have been occasioned by the rise within that lapse of time, of the circumjacent sand about the base. By modern writers different measures have been assigned to the pyramid; but, since the invasion of that country by the French, a very exact account is afforded. That which is given below is extracted from La Geographie Mathematique, Physique et Politique of Mentelle et Le Brun, Paris 1823, tome 12. p. 112. In it, errors which had crept into the work of general Grobert, are corrected from communications made to the author by different learned men, who accompanied the French army, and from memoirs presented to him by Buonaparte himself. The present length of the base is 716 feet 6 inches French, or in English measure 763 feet 8 inches.

The supposed length, before the removal of its external coating of marble, 734 feet 6 inches French, English measure 783 feet.

Measure of the angle made by the four faces with the horizon, 128 degrees.

Perpendicular height to the present platform, $474\frac{1}{10}\%$ feet, 501 feet English measure.

Presumed height, when perfect, with the external coating on, to the summit of the angle, $505\frac{1}{10}\%$ feet French, English measure 538 feet.

Present number of the layers of stone from the base to the truncated summit 203 feet.

Perpendicular height of the opening by which the pyramid is entered, 41 toises 5 feet, or English measure 267 feet 5 inches.

Length of the gallery, which, in a sloping direction, forms a right angle with the side, 12 toises 3 inches, or 77 feet English measure.

Length of the second gallery, which forms, with the interior horizontal platform, an angle of 27 degrees, 40 toises 5 feet, or 261 feet English.

At the upper extremity of this gallery is a chamber, of a square form, which stands in the center of the pyramid, the sides of it sixteen feet, (seventeen English); the height seventeen, (English, eighteen feet one inch and a half).

But

But it must be observed, that above the apparent floor, at the height of three feet, is a second, which protects the other.

At about a fourth-part of the length from the point of departure in the second gallery, there is another gallery, which advances horizontally to the center of the pyramid, and which leads to an apartment 19 toises, or 67 feet square.

At the point where this gallery begins is a well, at first perpendicular, but afterwards sloping gently: the well is scarcely more than two feet wide, and is partly filled with rubbish, the depth to the obstruction in it, from the surface, is 195 French feet, or 208 feet English. The first bend, that is to say the upper bend of the well, or mekias, is 132 feet (140 feet English) below (this should certainly be *above*) the base of the pyramid. Translator.

NOTE IX. p. 805.

IN the foregoing note is stated that the passage forms a right angle with the side of the pyramid, and that the angle of the side with the horizon is 128° . The slope of the glacis noticed by Abd Allatif, previous to arriving at the horizontal passage, must therefore make an angle of 52° with the horizon. Translator.

NOTE X. p. 805.

IT seems to me very doubtful that the first opening of the great pyramid was effected by the caliph Mamoun. I hesitate to credit this from the terms used by Denys, of Telmahre, the jacobite patriarch of Antioch, who accompanied Mamoun into Egypt, in speaking of the pyramid, which was already open when visited by him. Mr. Wahl observes, that some orientalists attribute the first opening in the pyramid to the caliph Mahmoud, and others to Haroon Al-rashid; but cites no authority. In stating my doubt, I must not conceal that the opening in the pyramid is by common tradition ascribed to Mamoun, and stands supported by the testimony of Masoudi, who wrote about a century after the expedition of the caliph. According to Makrisi, this fact is related by Masoudi, in the work entitled *History of the Past Times and the Things destroyed by Fortune*; in it is said, "That Abd-allah Mamoun, son of Haroon Al-rashid, having arrived in Egypt, and visited the pyramids, was inclined to demolish one in order to discover of what it was composed; that, on its being represented to him that he never would be able to succeed in the undertaking; he replied, "I will absolutely have an opening made:" and that on this occasion, in order to satisfy him, the entrance seen at present was effected; that, for the purpose of making it, fire, vinegar, &c. were used." This passage indeed exists in the manuscript in the Imperial library: but as no other Arabian author, that I remember, makes mention of an expedition of Haroon Al-rashid into Egypt, I consider it highly probable that this is an error of our manuscript.

Ebn Haukal, the cotemporary of Masoudi, is satisfied with stating that one of the caliphs of the Abbasside family, whom he conjectures to be Mamoun, or Motasem, had in contemplation to effect the destruction of the pyramids; but renounced the project from calculating that the whole of the revenues he drew from Egypt, would be insufficient to defray the incidental expence. May we not conjecture that the pyramid was opened before Mamoun; and that this prince, from having giving orders that the interior should be further explored, has had the opening of the pyramid attributed to himself?

NOTE XI. p. 805.

ACCORDING to Mr. Grobert, "all the stones of the pyramids are cemented together; the mortar used exactly resembles that made in Europe; the surfaces of the stones are as nicely square of each other as can be expected from their great age. That they had holes wrought on their surfaces is yet to be discerned; but no vestiges announce that the outward coating was supported by intails or grooves."

Abd Allatif possibly speaks of the stones of the outermost coat.

"One cannot sufficiently admire," says likewise Mr. Denon, "the exactitude of the stratification of the pyramids, the unchangeableness of their form, or their structure; and these too

preserved in masses of such magnitude, so gigantic, as to make one consider them the link which joins the colossal works of art to those of nature."

NOTE XII. p. 805.

HERE, assuredly, we must recognize positive testimony; nor can I here refrain from repeating what I have said in my notice of the edition of Mr. White. After due reflection on the style of Abd Allatif, on his constant maintenance upon all occasions of the character of an impartial observer, and faithful historian, his evidence cannot be called in question on a matter of so much weight as this, and respecting which his affirmation is so explicit. It is moreover strengthened by that of many other Arabian writers of greater antiquity, and even though the declaration of our author should be charged with a little exaggeration, still cannot I allow the negative proof, which some would deduce from the silence on this subject of the most respectable historians, to weigh against the authority of an ocular witness, and one so worthy of being believed. The value of this testimony is further augmented by these words, which some lines further on are expressed by Abd Allatif, in speaking of the traditions current on the primitive destination and the origin of the pyramids: "on this subject I have treated at large in my great work, and have related what others have said of these buildings; to this, therefore, I refer the reader solicitous of more minute details, confining myself in this present work to the representation of *that alone of which I have myself been witness.*"

I have observed that several other Arabian writers, anterior to Abd Allatif, agreed with him respecting the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the pyramids; some of them I shall cite.

"The pyramids," says Masoudi, an author of the beginning of the fourth century of the hejra, and who wrote in Egypt, "are very lofty edifices, and of marvellous construction: their surface is covered with inscriptions in the characters of ancient nations and kingdoms, which no longer exist." What this writing is, or its signification, are alike unknown. (Man. Arab. of the Imp. Lib. No. 598, c. 102).

Ebn-Khordadbeh, a traveller and author of a geographical description of mussulman countries, wrote in the third century of the hejra: in a passage cited by Makrisi, he thus expresses himself: "All the secrets of magic, and all the receipts of the medical art, are inscribed on the pyramids, in the *Musnad* character.

The same Makrisi quotes another writer, who says, "We saw the surfaces of these two great pyramids covered with writing from the summit to the base: the lines were close, perfectly even, and opposite one to the other; they were written in characters used by those who constructed these edifices; the letters are now wholly unknown, nor can their sense be divined (Man. Arab. of the Imp. Lib. No. 652, folio 67).

Ebn-Haukal, a traveller and author of the fourth century of the hejra, in a similar manner attests, that the exterior of the great pyramids was full of inscriptions, in a character which he denominates *Græco-Syriac*, at least if there be no fault in the manuscript belonging to the Leyden library which I have now before me, or simply *Greek* according to the quotation of Makrisi.

Guillaume de Baldensel, who travelled to the Holy Land and Egypt in the 14th century, attests his having seen, on the two largest pyramids, inscriptions in divers characters; "in which," he says, "I distinguished writings in different idioms;" and he details an inscription in six Latin verses. Guill. de Baldensel Hœuxpor. in Terr. Sanc. apud Canis. in Lect. Antiq. t. v. part xi. p. 113.

The learned Greaves, (Misc. Works of M. J. Greaves, b. i. p. 125,) in his *Pyramidographia*, calls in question the veracity of the writings of the Arabs respecting these inscriptions; but the authorities before him were not of equal validity to those I have quoted. Herodotus (lib. xi. chap. 125) mentions an inscription engraven on the pyramid of Cheops, which seems not to correspond with the multitude of inscriptions noticed by the Arabs; but he may have spoken of this particular one, on account of the singularity of its intent. I know not whether or no with the learned French translator of his works, we ought to deduce from his observing "the inscription is in Egyptian characters," that this inscription was most probably in the vulgar character, and not in hieroglyphics. Possibly this writing was in the vulgar, and the others in the sacred character. To reconcile the silence of the Greek and Latin writers on the subject of the inscriptions on the pyramids with the testimony of the Arab writers, Mr. White makes a

judicious observation which I transcribe : (the translation from the Latin is as follows,) "Such abundance of hieroglyphical characters were seen in every part of Egypt that they would fail of exciting admiration in the observers, and be deemed unworthy of historical relation. Owing to this it is that in the descriptions of the obelisks, which from the ground to the very summit are covered with hieroglyphics, this circumstance has remained unnoticed by the greatest part of the ancients."

I must not however disguise that, according to the testimony of travellers, the most elevated part of the outermost coating of the second pyramid, which yet subsists, presents no hieroglyphics. This only proves that the entire superficies of the pyramids was not covered with these characters. It is moreover added, that no remains of hieroglyphics are discovered either among the numerous fragments dispersed at the foot of the pyramids, or on the pieces of granite or marble, which formerly made a part of their external coating, and which are now to be seen at Gizeh, and elsewhere; where they serve as lintels, thresholds, and door piers. May it not be allowed to question whether these observations have been made with all the nicety requisite to give strength to this negative contradiction? Mr. de Sacy.

The question of Mr. de Sacy is doubtless well founded. The assertion of those who dispute the truth of the pyramids having once been covered with hieroglyphics, that none are found at Gizeh, or elsewhere, may be true, as respects the present day, but was not the case two centuries back. Pietro della Valle, in the relation of his travels, (tome i. lettre xi. p. 335. Paris, 1745.) after describing the pyramids, and proceeding to relate his visit to the depositaries of the mummies in their neighbourhood, says, "We passed the night in a house of this village (Sakkara): in the evening a contest arose among the inhabitants about who should receive us; when, from the good opinion I entertained of a house, over the door of which there was an hieroglyphic inscription, I selected that, concluding that its owner who had chosen this ornament was, without doubt, more intelligent than his neighbours." Translator.

NOTE XIII. p. 805.

IN the text stands Agadimoun. Jablonski has, in my opinion, proved to demonstration, that Cneph or Cnouphi, and Agathodaimon are no other than the Egyptian and Greek denominations for the same deity. He has given an etymology, according to which Agathodaimon appears to be a literal translation of Cnouphi.

NOTE XIV. p. 807.

I SHALL not dilate much respecting the sphinx, or the mutilations which it has experienced since the time of Abd Allatif. A detail on this subject may be seen in the notes and illustrations affixed by Mr. Langlis to his edition of the travels of Norden: but I cannot refrain from citing two authors of modern date, whose testimony, after the evolution of six hundred years, so fully confirms the recital of our author.

"This monstrous and truly colossal statue," says Mr. Grobert, "was painted yellow; and the colour is preserved even to our time in the parts not broken."

The other passage is much more important, from its minuteness, and the name of its author, an unexceptionable judge on similar subjects. It is Mr. Denon, who thus expresses himself:

"I had not sufficient leisure to observe the sphinx, which is well worthy of being copied with the nicest attention, a manner which it has never been before. Although its proportions be colossal, the outlines which are remaining are equally supple and correct; the expression of the head is mild, benevolent, and tranquil; the character African; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, possesses a softness in the apparent motion of them, and a nicety of execution truly admirable; they are actually flesh and life. At the period a monument like this was formed, the art of sculpture must certainly have been in a high state of perfection. If in this head be wanting that which by convention is considered style, I mean the erect and imposing form which the Greeks have given to their deities, yet do we find and admire in this figure, that truth and simplicity, that expression of nature elevating into what we conceive of supernatural, or rather that softening of the majesty of divinity into the gentleness of nature, which is foreign to this style, and is not found in the productions of the artists of Greece: finally we

have been accustomed to contemplate with amazement merely the huge dimensions of this monument, but the astonishing perfection it displays is still more deserving of admiration."

At the commencement of this note I refer to the notes and illustrations of Mr. Langlès, affixed to the Travels of Norden into Egypt and Nubia, in which, from Makrisi, he points out the epoch of the mutilation of the sphinx. I ought to add, that the adventure there related was known to Van Sleb, who thus speaks of it, (*Relat. dello, Stato presen. dell' Egitto*, p. 266.) *Gli è stato rotto il naso da un certo Moro, di che sogliono raccontare un' istoria, con versi bellissimi in lingua Arabica, che per brevità tralascio, non credendo la vera.* The nose of it was broken by a certain Moor, of whom a tale is related, in most beautiful verse in the Arabic tongue, which for brevity sake I omit, not believing it true.

The same madmen who mutilated the sphinx, likewise mutilated the lions with which Mâlik Aldhaher Bibars Bondokdari had adorned the bridge he caused to be constructed at Cairo, and which was called the Bridge of the Lions. These lions were still seen there in the time of Makrisi; but their heads had then been mutilated, as well as the face of the sphinx, by Sheikh Mohammed, surnamed the "Faster of his Age," who fancied by this to render himself more acceptable to God.

There are several etymologies of the true name of the sphinx, which, according to Makrisi, Soyouti, and others, is belheet; but the one which alone to me seems admissible is that of M. Igu. Rossi, who derives it from the Coptic, *bel* the eye, and *heet* the heart, taking the latter as an adjective, and thus giving for its sense, "a man who has his heart in his eyes, or is without disguise;" as in French they are accustomed to say, "his heart is on his lips," to express a frank and open man. How this characteristic applies to the statue, will be seen in the distinction so well established by Mr. Zolga, (*Etym. Egypt*) between the Egyptian sphinx and that of the Grecian mythology. The former is to be regarded no otherwise than as an emblem of strength united to understanding, of the union of the virtues which render man worthy of approaching the Deity, and of entering his temples; in short, of enlightened wisdom and true courage.

NOTE XV. p. 807.

ST. EPHREM, in his commentary on the thirty-third chapter of Isaiah, makes mention of these obelisks; "This house of the sun," says he, "is the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, where the worship of demons, and the adoration of idols were most sedulously observed. In this place were some enormous columns worthy of admiration. Each of them was sixty cubits high, and the base on which they stood ten cubits. The cap on the head of every column was of white copper, and weighed a thousand pounds and upwards. On these columns were the figures of men and animals, wont to be adored by the idolaters of those days: the columns were likewise loaded with inscriptions in the characters of the priests, which inscriptions related the mysteries of paganism."

NOTE XVI. p. 807.

EBN-KHORDAHBEH, (*Man. Arab. Bib. Imp. No. 682, folio 126.*) a writer of the third century, quoted by Makrisi, had previously made the same remark. "At Aïnshems in Egypt," says he, "are two columns, the remains of a great number which there were at one period at this place: at the summit of each is a collar (cap) of copper. From one of the two, and from beneath this cap distils water: this water descends nearly to the middle of the column, but no farther. The water continues to distil day and night: the part of the column wetted by it, is green and damp; the water does not reach the ground. This is a work of Hoofhenk."

Mohammed, son of Abd-alraheem, gives a description of this obelisk in the *Tohfat-alhalbab*, and the passage is repeated by Makrisi; (*Man. Ar. Bib. Imp. No. 954, fo. 18. and No. 682, fo. 126.*) it runs as follows in the *Tohfat-alhalbab*: "At a place called Aïn-shems in Egypt, there is a square column, nearly a hundred cubits high, and formed of a marble, the colour of which resembles that of the shell of Venus, and is transparent. This column is one single piece, and terminates at top in a point. It stands on a base of marble, which looks like a house. On its summit is a coating of copper, as handsome as gold, on which is represented the figure of a man seated, and looking towards the east. From beneath this coming

water distils, which runs along the stone the space of ten cubits, as nearly as can be ascertained by the eye. This water has generated, and caused to vegetate on the stone, a species of water moss, which is visible. At all times, in summer as in winter, the water is seen to glitter on this verdure, and this I have myself remarked; the inhabitants affirm that it continues thus constantly, in summer as in winter, but that the water never descends to the ground. This column is one of the wonders."

After copying Abd Allatif's relation word for word, Makrisi adds, "Mohammed-ben-Ibrahim Jâzi (or rather Jâzeri) says in his chronicle: "On the 4th of Ramadan this year of 656, (beginning Jan. 1258) fell one of the needles of Pharaoh, which are in Egypt, at a place called Mataria, part of the suburbs of Cairo; within it was found nearly two hundred weight of copper, and from its summit copper was taken of the value of 10,000 dinars."

To the foregoing I have to add the testimony of one of my friends, Mr. de Hammer, who himself observed the phenomenon of the trickling pillar.

"I think it incumbent on me," says this learned man in a letter addressed to me, "to make you acquainted with a phenomenon which I myself observed in Egypt in 1801, and which I do not recollect to have any where seen mentioned by European travellers."

"In the month of August I visited Heliopolis and its obelisk. I could not approach the obelisk nearer than from thirty to forty paces, in consequence of its being surrounded by water of some depth, occasioned by the overflowing of the Nile. I was therefore obliged to content myself with a distant view of it; and was most astonished at seeing, at about a third part of its height, water filtering through the stone, and trickling down the obelisk, without my being able to perceive in the stone either joint, hole, or opening of any description. This phenomenon appears to me to be produced simply by the nature of the capillary tubes of the stone; for being fixed on the soil without any foundation, it may draw up the water and suffer it to escape by its lateral surfaces." The only passage I have hitherto found which relates to this phenomenon is the following, extracted from a work on Egypt, entitled *Ketab al-Ismeen almen Dhoom*, which is in the Imperial library at Vienna. "At Ainsheims are two columns, called the Needles of Pharaoh; they are placed immediately upon the surface of the ground, without any foundation; their height is fifty cubits, and on the summit of each is a kind of cap made of copper. When the Nile rises, water trickles from these two columns."

The learned Zoega (de Orig. et Usu Obel. p. 602.) conjectures, that the obelisk still subsisting at Heliopolis, and that at Rome, whither it was transported by Augustus, and placed in the Campus Martius, make part of the four obelisks erected at Heliopolis by Sithos or Sithosis, who is the same with Sisostris.

NOTE XVII. p. 807.

THESE are the obelisks, or Needles of Cleopatra. It appears that, in the time of Abd Allatif, that which is now fallen was standing. For an account of them, see Denon *Voy. dans la Haute Eg.* t. i. p. 62. Norry *Relab. de l'exéc. d'Égy.* p. 35. Zoega *de or. & usu Obel.* p. 606.

NOTE XVIII. p. 809.

I SHALL not say much on the consequence of this important passage, and the less from its having been treated at large by Mr. Langlis, in his Notes on the Travels of Norden, and by Mr. White* in the learned work he has published under the title of "*Ægyptiaca*;" I shall not either lay much stress on the authority of different other Arabian writers, such as Makrisi and Soyouti, who both attest the same, as these may be suspected of having copied the passage of Abd Allatif, or of Abou'l-sorour, from whom Schultens first extracted the fact we discuss. But I shall here request attention to the value of the testimony of a judicious writer, who relates his having himself seen the wreck of these columns, and founds his account of their destruction, and the epoch at which it occurred, on the uncontradicted recital of all the inhabitants of Alexandria. I must add, that this event, which happened in the reign of Saladin, could have taken place, at most, but thirty years before Abd Allatif travelled into Egypt; and also, that the very name of the column (amoud alsawari, or the column of pillars) speaks power-

* Dr. White of Oxford. Trans.

fully in favour of his narration. I am ready to believe that the number of four hundred columns is rather an exaggeration; and likewise that Karadja will only have consumed the ruin of an edifice already much injured by time, disposing of the wreck of it in a manner worthy an ignorant Mussulman: still the truth of the relation is not, on this account, either less positive or less incontrovertible. The only thing to be desired for more firmly establishing the fact, is, that it might have the testimony of some Mussulmen writers of date anterior by one or two centuries to Abd Allatif, who, in describing the city of Alexandria, should have noticed these porticoes as subsisting in their time.

This desideratum is in a measure supplied by Mr. White in a passage which he quotes from the abbreviator of Edrifi, (Egypt, p. 88.) who states that the column in discussion stood within a building in the middle of the city: "the columns of which are yet standing, as well as the piers of the doors. This building forms a parallelogram: on each of its shorter sides are sixteen columns; on each of the longer sixty-seven. Towards the northern side is a large column surmounting a capital, and resting on a base of marble, &c." Edrifi, of whose works this author only gave an abridgment, wrote about the year of the hejra 548, (beginning March 1153) consequently near fifty years earlier than Abd Allatif: his testimony, therefore, confirms what our author relates of the demolition of this edifice, in the time of Salaheddin.

I am able to cite other authorities not less positive than the preceding. The first, afforded by a writer, whose name is unknown to me, but whose work, found in a very imperfect state in the Imperial library, is improperly mistaken for one of Edrifi. The anonymous author of this work wrote in the year 460 of the hejra, as he himself avers in several places. The following are his words in describing Alexandria: "The same author (I am ignorant of whom he speaks, as there is a blank in the manuscript) says, the great palace at Alexandria is at present in ruins: it stands on a large hill fronting the gate of the city; the length of it is five hundred cubits, and the breadth about half as much. Nothing of it subsists at present but the columns, the whole of which are now standing, as well as the portal, which is of greatest solidity, and most elegant structure. Each pier is formed of a single stone, as is the threshold. The columns of the palace exceed in number a hundred, and are all of them nearly ten spans in thickness. In the northern part of this palace stands a large column thirty-six spans thick (here the periphery is meant); it is of such height that a stone cannot be thrown to its top. It supports a capital of very solid structure, which evinces its having once supported some edifice. Its base consists of a red stone, square and remarkably hard: each side of this base measures twenty-two spans, and its height is eight. The column stands on a pivot inserted in the earth: when the wind blows with violence, stones are placed beneath the column, which by the force of its motion are ground to dust." (Man. Arab. Imp. Lib. No. 580, fo. 61.)

A second authority is that of the author of the Tohfah-alhalbab, who visited Alexandria in the year of the hejra 511. His remarks on the column of Pompey, and the edifice of which it formed a part, are given in the following words: "The genii constructed at Alexandria, for Solomon, a large hall, which is one of the wonders of the world. It is formed of columns of red marble, with shades of different colours, shining like the shell of Venus of Arabia the Happy, and polished so as to resemble a mirror: on looking at these columns, such is the glossiness of their surface, a man standing behind can be seen reflected. These columns are in number about three hundred: each of them is thirty cubits in height, and rests on a marble base; and on the summit of the column is a capital, likewise of marble, and very solidly fixed. In the middle of this hall is a column of marble, a hundred cubits in height, each of ten cubits; (either these words are misplaced here, or there is something omitted); it is formed of marble of various colours, as are the other columns. The genii, in order to form the roof of this hall, which was the hall of audience of Solomon, had hewn and fashioned one green stone of a squared form; but when informed of his death, they cast it on to the bank of the Nile, in the most distant part of Egypt. Among the columns of this hall is one which moves of itself, and inclines towards the east and the west at the instant of sunrise or sunset. Every body perceives this motion of the pillar, without being able to assign a cause. This is a marvellous thing."

These authorities, notwithstanding the fables with which they are mingled, and the exaggerations they may contain, suffice to remove any doubt, that the column of Pompey owes its Arabian name of the "column of the pillars" to the porticoes by which it was surrounded, and which were

standing.

standing, at least part of them, in the time of Salaheddin : this opinion also is adopted by Mr. Gmelin, or by one of the learned men who contributed with him to the additions given to the German abridged translation of Bruce's Travels, and by Mr. Paulus, in his edition of the *Description de l'Egypt ancienne* of Th. J. Dittmar.

To the authorities extracted from the Arabian writers, I cannot refrain from adding one of much greater antiquity, to which sufficient attention appears not to have been paid, but which was not overlooked by Mr. Zoega. It is taken from the works of the Rhetor Aphthonius.

Aphthonius, after describing the site of what he denominates the *acropolis* of Alexandria, the elevation of the ground, the different roads leading thither, the hundred steps which were ascended in order to arrive there, and the propyleum with which the entrance of it was decorated, thus continues :

“ On entering the citadel you find a site bounded by four equal sides ; so that the shape of the building on it is that of a brick mould. In the middle is a court surrounded by columns, and to this court porticoes succeed : the porticoes also are separated by columns of equal size. (I here omit some words of dubious import). Each portico terminates at the angle of termination of another portico ; and there is a double column, which at the same time belongs to one and the other portico, being the last of the one and the first of another. Within the porticoes cabinets are constructed : some, which serve for containing books, are open to those inclined to the study of philosophy, and present to all the city ready means of acquiring wisdom, others are consecrated to the worship of the ancient deities. These porticoes have a roof adorned with gildings, and the capitals of the columns are of copper gilt. The court is embellished with different ornaments, each part having its own : in one quarter are seen the combats of Perseus. In the middle of the court rises a column of extraordinary dimensions, which serves as a point of direction to the building ; for on arriving, you would not know whither you were going did not this column serve to direct you on your way. Round the capital of the column are placed the elements of all existence.”

There is some difference between the description of Aphthonius and that of the Arabian authors, but the difference is of little importance. I imagine that the rhetor, in the last phrase, indicates the elevated dome on the capital of the column, on which was represented either the principal deities to which all things created owe their existence, or the emblems of the elements. The æra in which Aphthonius flourished, is, as Fabricius remarks, posterior to the time of Aristides and Hermogènes, whom he cites, and consequently at the earliest, the third century of the vulgar æra. The precise period at which he wrote, from different observations in his works, appears to me to be between Constantine and Julian, and after the year 389, in which the temples were destroyed, and idolatry abolished in Egypt, by the laws of Theodosius, and the extravagant zeal of Theophilus.

We now know that the column of Pompey was consecrated to the Emperor Diocletian by a prefect of Egypt, probably Pomponius, as is evident from the Greek inscription on the pedestal of the column, about the year 302 ; but it does not follow that this date was that of the erection of the column ; for as Mr. Zoega has made appear, there is no sufficient reason for assigning so late a date to its erection, as that at which Egypt became a province of the Roman empire.

If it be asked which among the ancient monuments of Alexandria it is that Aphthonius describes, and to which the porticoes and colonnades belonged that were standing in the time of Salaheddin, the ruins of which also were seen by Pococke round the column of Pompey, I shall not hesitate in answering the Serapeum, or Temple of Serapis. For Strabo places this within the line of the canal cut from the lake Mareotis to join it with the port Cibotos ; and this position perfectly corresponds with the site of the column, as pointed out by Aphthonius, by Abd Allatif, and Ruffin, however it differs from the position given it by d'Anville. Why Aphthonius fails of noticing the building by the name of Serapeum may possibly be accounted for by the worship of Serapis having been abolished at the time he wrote.

That the porticoes described by the Arabian writers are the same described by Aphthonius and Ruffin, I have no doubt, but, though I conjecture such to be the case, I dare not affirm them to be those of which Hipparchus speaks as cited by Ptolemy (Cn. Pomp. Mag. Construc. Lib. xiii. lib. iii. p. 60.)

"By these observations," says Hipparchus "it clearly appears that the differences of the years have been infinitely small. As to the solstices, I am inclined to believe that Both Archimedes and myself have made a mistake, as well in our observations as our calculations, of a quarter of a day. The irregularity of the annual revolutions may be exactly distinguished by the observations made on the circle of copper at Alexandria, in the portico called the quadrangular, and which seems to be designed to indicate the day of the equinox, as on that day its concave surface begins to be illuminated on the opposite side (to that which was illuminated before the equinox); and farther on, "This is what may be seen in the circles of copper which we have in the palaestre, and which appear to be placed in the level (plane) of the equinoctial circle; for by observing diligently, we remarked in their position, and especially that of the largest and most ancient, so great a difference, that sometimes their concave surfaces were illuminated twice on the same equinoctial days."

If the quadrangular portico mentioned by Hipparchus be the same described by Aphthonius, may we not conclude that the capital of the column of Pompey supported a small observatory, and that there it was the circle was placed, on which the observations of the equinoxes were made by Hipparchus. This column, probably, might not be insulated, but joined to some part of the surrounding building which allowed access to it; this circumstance, indeed, were it the fact, would explain the silence of Strabo respecting its existence. The observation of Aphthonius, that on the capital were seen the "elements of all things," may allude to certain figures relating to astronomy represented on it; the signs of the zodiac for example, or the constellations. According to some Arabian authors, this capital sustained a statue of bronze, which was melted and converted into money, in the caliphate of Walid, son of Abd almalik. Abd Allatif relates his having seen on the capital a *kobba*, that is to say, a cupola, or somewhat of a vaulted form. Pococke remarked that it seemed intended to support a statue, as a hollow was fashioned at the top, no doubt, for receiving something. Mr. Norry, speaking of this capital, says, "A circle of two metres and two centimetres in diameter, and depressed the depth of six centimetres, suggests the idea that it once supported a fœcle, on which perhaps stood the image of the hero for whom the column was erected."

By the representation affixed to the relation of Mr. Norry is seen, that the platform of the capital in its narrowest part, measures nine feet three inches (Eng. 9 f. 10½ in.) diagonally sixteen feet three inches, (Eng. 17 f. 6½ in.) The circle traced on the capital, being of the diameter described, would have been large enough for a small observatory, and it might have been secured against any injury from the weather by a small dome, in which the requisite openings should have been made.

Great circles, designed for astronomical observations, and placed thus on high columns, or very lofty edifices, such as the Tower of the Pharos, may have given rise to what Arabian writers, always inclined to the marvellous, relate of the large mirror placed on the Pharos of Alexandria, by means of which vessels leaving the ports of Greece were distinguished.

NOTE XIX. p. 809.

Many celebrated writers dispute the fact, related by Aboulfaraj in his Arabic history of the Dynasties, of the destruction of the library of Alexandria by order of the caliph Omar; to repeat and appreciate all that has been written on which subject would exact a long dissertation. The grounds on which the doubt is founded may be seen in a German dissertation published at Gottingen in 1792, by Mr. Ch. Reinhard, and in remarks of Mr. de Sante Croix, (Mag. Encyc. An. v. t. iv. p. 433). One of the objections to the recital of Aboulfaraj was the silence of other writers among the Arabians on a subject of such importance. But this objection is weakened by the testimonies of Abd Allatif and Makrisi, though the relation of the latter is, very likely, but a copy of that of Abd Allatif. I shall, however, produce some new authorities, suited I conceive, to prove that if the fact as reported by Aboulfaraj, presents many details which cannot stand the test of criticism, it yet is highly probable to be deduced from an historical fact, and that Amroo really condemned to the flames, by the order of Omar, a numerous collection of books which were at Alexandria at the time of the conquest of this city by the Arabs.

The first authority I shall adduce is furnished me by Haji-Khalsa, a modern writer, is true, but one whose vast erudition cannot be contested. These are his words in the prolegomenes of his bibliographic Dictionary. "In the early times of Islamism, the Arabs cultivated no other study than that of their own language, the legal decisions contained in their code, and physic for some individuals among them who were proficient in physic, because this science is indispensably necessary to man in general. Their neglect of the sciences had for its end the preservation of the purity of their faith, and the fundamental dogmas of Islamism, and the prevention of any diminution of the zeal of its votaries, or any attack on the faith, resulting from the pursuit of those sciences cultivated by the Greeks, before the new religion should be established on a permanent base. It is even said their scruples were carried so far, that they burnt all the books which fell into their hands, in the countries they conquered. Even the pentateuch and the gospel were forbidden to be read, in order that a uniformity of doctrine might be maintained, and that the whole bent of the mind should be restricted to the reception and putting in practice of what is contained in the Koran, or founded on the example of the prophet."

Haji-Khalsa adds, that an individual having presented to Abd-allah, the son of Abbas, a book which he had written, Abd-allah received it, and effaced the writing by dipping it in water, and explained his reason by observing, that if Mussulmans accustomed themselves to write, they would lose the habit of retaining things which required to be remembered; and that what was reduced to writing was subject to be altered by interpolations, suppressions, and changes, an inconvenience which was avoided where a matter was once engraved on the memory.

The same author furnishes me with a fact very analogous to what is related of the destruction of the library of Alexandria; and here he but repeats the words of Ebn-Khaldoon, a writer of the eighth century of the hejra, whose assertions are of considerable weight. The passage in the bibliographical dictionary of Haji-Khalsa, under the head of Philosophical Knowledge, is as follows:

Ebn Khaldoun, in his Historical Prolegomenes, expresses himself in these terms: The intellectual sciences, which are natural to man, seeing he is endowed with the faculty of reflection, belong not exclusively to any nation whatever: on the contrary we perceive that all people who have applied themselves to the acquisition of them, have all alike felt those truths which they make evident, and have proposed those questions to which they give rise. They have their existence in human nature from the very beginning of civilization. These sciences it is to which are given the name of philosophy and wisdom. No nations have more closely addicted themselves to the study of them than the Persians and the Greeks. They were much honoured by the Persians, and it is even said they were transmitted by them to the Greeks when Alexander, after conquering Darius and putting him to death, seized upon his dominions, and became master of the books of the Persians, and their scientific labours. But when the Mussulmans subjected the provinces of Persia, and many books of that nation fell into their hands, Saad, son of Aboo-Wakkas, wrote to Omar for permission to diffuse them among the Mussulmans. The answer of Omar was: "Throw them into water; for, if what they contain is capable of directing (towards truth) God has already directed us by means much superior to these; if, on the contrary, what they shew is suited to lead astray, God has preserved us from it." These books were then thrown into water or fire, and thus perished the sciences of the Persians. As for the Greeks, empire among them first belonged to the Ionians; then sciences were likewise much cultivated among them, and sustained by the most celebrated characters of that nation; so that their learned men may be esteemed the pillars of philosophy. Those called the Peripatetics, of the number of whom are the Stoics, distinguished themselves eminently in the culture of the sciences. When empire passed from them to the Cæsars, and these became Christians, they renounced these sciences in pursuance of the dogmas of the religion they professed; in consequence they were preserved in those books alone which treat of them, and which remained buried in their libraries. At length came Islamism."

The passage of Ebn-Khaldoon which I have cited above, does not exist in the manuscript fragment of the historical prolegomenes of that author in my possession, but in them I find another text which is relevant to the same subject. It is this: "Philosophers among the human species have existed in abundance; the works on the sciences, which have not reached us, are

more numerous than those which have been transmitted to the present day. What have become of the scientific works of the Persians, that Omar ordered to be destroyed at the period of the conquest of that country! where are those of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Babylonians! where are those of the Egyptians which preceded them! The works of one single people alone have come down to us; I mean of the Greeks."

From the authorities I have given, joined with those of Aboulfaraj, Abd Allatif, and Makrisi, it cannot be doubted that the early conquests of the Mussulmans were fatal to the books of the conquered countries, nor that Alexandria shared the same fate. The library they consigned to the flames was not assuredly that established by the first Ptolemies, nor the ancient library of the Serapeum, nor, perhaps, that of the Sebasteum, or the temple of Augustus; but a new collection, doubtless much inferior to the preceding, formed for the service of the school of Alexandria, and which might have been placed in the same book-cases, or cabinets mentioned by Aphthonius.

In the addition to the notes Mr. de Sacy subjoins, what in this note I have said relative to the destruction of the books of the Arabs by the Persians, is further confirmed by a passage of the historian of the Persian poets, Douletshah, and by the testimony of Leo Africanus, who positively says, in speaking of the Persians: "and all their books at length were burnt by the command of the Mahometan caliphs, because they feared that the Persians, so long as they possessed the books which contained the sciences relative to natural objects (*le scienze naturali*) the laws, and the worship of idols would not become good, and Catholic Mussulmans."

NOTE XX. p. 809.

DIMOUH is a denomination common to many villages of Egypt; that in question belongs to the territory of Gizèh. Makrisi, in the chapter of his historical and topographical description of Egypt and Cairo, entitled, of the Synagogues of the Jews, says:

"Of the number of Jewish synagogues in Egypt, is that of Dimour in Gizèh. It is the principal object of the veneration of the Jews in that country; for they all implicitly believe that it stands on the spot where Moses, son of Amram, had his residence at the epoch he delivered to Pharaoh the commands of God, and where he continued to dwell during the whole time of his stay in Egypt, from the period of his return from the country of Madian, to the instant of his quitting the land with the children of Israel. The Jews also say, that the edifice now seen at Dimouh, was built forty years after the final destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, and more than five hundred years before the institution of Islamism. In this synagogue is a rizlakht tree of immense size. The Jews have no doubt of the existence of it in the time of Moses. They say that that prophet, having planted his staff here, God caused it to become a tree; that it continued in all its beauty, covered with green branches, and with a trunk even, thick, and perfectly straight, and that it grew towards heaven until the time that Malik-Alashraf-Shaban, son of Hosein, built, below the citadel, the college which bears his name. The prince, before whom the extreme beauty of this tree was praised, gave directions for its being cut down to be used in the construction of the college. When the people came the next morning to execute the orders of the prince, the tree was found to have become crooked, and no longer presented other than a hideous aspect. It was therefore left, and in this state remained a considerable space of time. At length, it so happened that a Jew committed fornication with a Jewish woman beneath the tree. From that instant its branches drooped towards the ground, its leaves fell, and it withered, so that not a single green leaf remained. In this state it is seen at present. On a certain day in the year, the Jews, with their families, resort to this synagogue on a pilgrimage; the day is that on which the law is promulgated in the month Suvan, and this pilgrimage stands instead of one to Jerusalem." (Man. Ar. Im. Lib. N°. 682. fol. 544.)

Benjamin of Tudela, mentions the synagogue, but the description he gives of its site is but little exact. His words are "in this place, without the city, (he speaks of the ancient capital, most probably Memphis,) is the synagogue of Moses our master, a building of great antiquity." (Itin. D. Benjamin Not. C. l'Empereur p. 119, 120.)

NOTE XXI. p.809.

"THE tradition given here relative to a fact on which it seems difficult to reconcile the testimony of scripture with that of Herodotus, deserves notice. It might be imagined even from the expressions in which the recital of Abd Allatif is conveyed, and the mention he makes of forty years as the duration of the desolation of Egypt, that he obtained what he relates on this subject from the Jews, or the Christians, who founded this fact entirely on the authority of the prophets: but Abd Allatif is not the only Mussulman writer by whom mention is made of the conquest of Egypt by Nabuchodonosor; and we may safely affirm that this was a tradition widely spread in Egypt, and the truth of which was questioned by no one. I might here add the testimony of divers Mussulman authors, such as Masoudi Abou'lfeda, Nowairi, and Makrifi, but shall content myself with adducing the passage of this last, who thus expresses himself in the chapter in which he speaks of Memphis and its kings: "Next reigned Nekas.—This prince dying was succeeded by his son Koomis (or Foomis, no doubt, Psammis): he reigned some time over Egypt. At length Bokht-nafr waged war against him, put him to death, and laid Memphis in ruins, together with many other cities of Egypt; he carried the inhabitants into captivity, without leaving a single person behind; so that Egypt remained forty years in a state of devastation, and destitute of inhabitants."

NOTE XXII. p.810.

"THIS properly speaking is a monolithic chapel, or chapel constructed of a single stone. Herodotus has handed down to us the description of two monolithic chapels which he had seen, the one at Buto, in the temple of Latona, the other at Saïs in that of Minerva. These two monuments of Egyptian grandeur have been made the subject of a curious memoir by M. le Comte de Caylus, inserted in the Collection of the Academy of Belles Lettres. The monolithic chapel seen by Abd Allatif was of very inferior size to the two works of this description described by Herodotus (lib. 11. c. 155. and 175.) Makrifi, in that chapter of his historical and topographical description of Egypt, in which he treats of Memphis, and the kings who made that city the seat of their empire, likewise speaks of this monolithic chapel, near which "there were at one time," says he, "two great statues. Within the chapel was a statue of Aziz: this was of gold, and had for eyes two precious stones of immense value: the chapel, and the two statues in its vicinity were broken in pieces after the 600th year of the hejra (beginning September 1203.)" Some lines lower, he says in a more precise manner: "There was at Memphis a house of stone, the stone of that hard granite which defies the chisel; it was formed of a single block; upon it were figures in sculpture and writing; on the front were figures of serpents which presented their breasts. This house was of such a size, and so weighty, that the efforts of many thousand men to remove it would prove ineffectual. The Sabeans relate that this was a temple dedicated to the moon, and that it formed one of the seven temples of a similar kind at Memphis which were consecrated to the seven planets. The âmeer Seïf-eddin Sheikhoo Omaree broke this green house after the year 750 (beginning March 1449); and pieces of it are to be seen in the convent he founded, and in the jami which he caused to be built in the quarter of the Sabeans, without the city of Cairo." The author of the Tohfât-alalbab likewise speaks of it: "I have seen," says he, "in the palace of Pharaoh, cotemporary with Moses, a very large house made of a single block, as green as myrtle, on which were represented the celestial spheres and the stars. Never had I beheld before any more admirable object." Mr. Denon has given the plan and a perspective of one of these monolithic monuments.

NOTE XXIII. p.811.

"THE definition of *consimiles* and instrumental, as afforded by Avicen in Plempius's translation, is given by Mr. de Sacy. By *consimiles* is meant to be expressed those parts which compare others in their denomination, as flesh, the face, &c.; by instrumental the organic parts, such as the hand, the foot, the eye, mouth, ear, &c.

NOTE XXIV. p. 812.

THE size of the unbaked bricks of which the pyramid of Dakschour was built, is given by Pococke; (*Desc. of the East. t. i. p. 53.*) some of them are thirteen inches and a half long, six and a half wide, and four thick; others fifteen inches long, by seven, and four and a half.

NOTE XXV. p. 812.

IT appears that Abd Allatif alludes here to the bricks employed at Cusiphon, and the monuments built under the dynasty of the Sassanides, respecting which Mr. Ives may be consulted. (*Voy. fr. Eng. to Ind. p. 289.*) However, the traveller whom I quote here, in his detailed description of the arc of Cosroes, Taou Kissera, ascribes but a foot square, and three inches of thickness to the bricks, with which that arc was constructed; this also, according to Niebuhr, (*Voy. en Arab. t. xi. p. 235.*) is the measure of the bricks in the ruins near Helle. Possibly some, in the time of Abd Allatif, might have existed of double the dimensions of those of Mr. Niebuhr.

NOTE XXVI. p. 813.

THE passage of Aristotle, cited here by Abd Allatif, is given by Mr. de Sacy for the purpose of exhibiting the inaccuracy of the Arabic version quoted by Abd Allatif, but is, in the translation, omitted, as it may be found in the 1st Book of his History of Animals.

NOTE XXVII. p. 816.

MR. VILLOTEAU, one of the members of the commission of sciences and arts in Egypt, and author of *Researches on the Analogy of Music with the Arts which have for their object the Imitation of Speech*, has communicated to me an extract of the journal kept by him on his excursion while in Egypt, in company with the commission of sciences and arts, to the ancient monuments on both sides the Nile from Cairo to the island of Philé, at present called Jézirët-elbîrbè, or the Island of the Temple. This extract, which relates to the mummies, deserves mention, and the reader, I trust, will be gratified with its perusal.

“ On the thirteenth Vendémiaire of the year ix (5th October 1800) we left Cardinak for the other bank of the Nile, and encamped opposite to the village of Gourney.”

“ Scarcely had we pitched our tents in this spot ere we saw men advancing towards us with dead bodies on their shoulders; when nearer we perceived that these bodies were mummies, which they were bringing to us; in fact, they laid them on the ground and offered to sell them. One was the corpse of a woman in excellent preservation; we were solicitous of examining in what manner it had been embalmed and swathed. In consequence, after taking off the covering, composed of an upper and lower part, the opening of which had been united by means of a lace in front, we unwound with much care a great number of folds, some of which went round the legs and the feet, others round the thighs, the body, the arms, and the head: we then more clearly distinguished the form of the extremities, that is to say, the head, feet, and hands, while that of the chest and body yet remained imperfectly evident.”

“ In proportion as we came nearer to the skin the bandages were more ample, and the extremities more distinct. At length we perfectly distinguished the nails of the hands and feet, the nose, the mouth, the eyes, &c. We afterwards came to a species of envelope that covered each part, so that we raised in one single piece the part which covered the face; this piece minutely preserved the form of the salient parts. The other parts, in proportion, were more thickly covered; but those in which the embalmer had shewn his ingenuity in re-establishing the injured form, soon presented no other than black and withered members. The form and colour of the nails, expressed on the folds, disappeared.”

“ Nevertheless all the parts of the body, though withered, preserved in a very sensible manner the natural form. The hair, the eyes, the nose, and mouth, were in such nice preservation that one readily distinguished the character which the assemblage of features would give to the face. The hair was black, without any mixture of grey hairs, although the defunct appeared to have

died at an advanced age; all we could distinguish was that it had a reddish hue towards the roots. It was thick set, long, and divided in braids turned up on the head and rather in disorder; this makes me imagine that in those days as now, the women suffered their hairs to hang down in numerous tresses to the waist. The eye-lids, eye-brows, and eye-lashes, were still in their natural state; the eyes only appeared a little changed on account of their being dried, and from the pupil having receded in a slight degree. The nose was, with very little difference, in its natural state, and of a regular and pleasing form. The dried tongue within the mouth resembled a shred of parchment. The lips were thin, the mouth small: the teeth seemed to have been worn with age, and to have lost their edge; but they were all perfect and did not appear to have been injured. It is even now remarked that, throughout Egypt, the natives have very fine teeth, and preserve them entire to a greatly advanced period. The head was a pretty regular oval. This individual had been opened on the left side of the belly, to allow of the entrails being withdrawn, and for the introduction of aromatics. A sufficiency of these was extracted to certify that they were all of a resinous quality. The sexual parts, although dried, had perfectly preserved their figure. This woman had her arms and hands extended along the side.

"A man, whom we unwound in the same manner, had his arms crossed on the breast. We noticed that these two different postures of the arms were constantly observed in the mummies of men and women.

"The next morning we went to see the famous colossal statues, which, according to many of the ancients, yielded a sound at the instant the rays of the rising sun shone upon them. The inhabitants call the one chama, the other thama: the first, say they, is the husband; the other, the wife.

"At four in the evening we visited several grottos, and entered the caverns of the mummies. These grottos, which are nearly half way up the mountain, north of Meranonium and the colossal statues, are painted in the most pleasing and lively colours. They are loaded with ornaments, allegorical figures, and hieroglyphics, painted or engraven on a covering, formed, as in most of the other places we visited, of a sort of plaster.

"The caves of the mummies into which we descended, are, from the rubbish, difficult to enter. They can only be penetrated, in most parts, by crawling on hands and feet: in certain places a man of common size can creep along but with great difficulty; and it would be impossible for a man anywise corpulent to force a passage.

"After dragging ourselves over arms, legs, heads, and carcases of mummies, in a state more or less damaged, we reached at length the cave where they are deposited. There are seen mummies heaped on each other in a disorderly manner to a considerable depth; some of them appeared to have suffered from fire, by what accident I know not. This made me reflect on the danger with which we should have been menaced if the least spark should have fallen from the lighted torches with which we, as well as our domestics, were provided. Surrounded on all sides by mummies full of very combustible resinous substances, we should have become the visitors of a frightful conflagration which nothing could have extinguished.

"I had an opportunity of judging of the activity of the fire of these combustibles by the rapidity with which the flame communicated itself to several mummies which we had caused to be dragged out upon opening one of the caves. A sailor of our company having had the imprudence to light his pipe near this spot, and a spark from it, carried by the wind, alighting on one of these mummies, in an instant a fire was kindled which lasted several days, and did not cease until all the combustible matter was consumed.

"After having entered three or four of these caverns without being able to find a single mummy entire, much less with its coffin, as we conjectured we might from several peices brought to us by Arabs in the morning; we gave over the search, persuaded it would be in vain. Deceived thus in our hopes, probably owing to our guide, who was one of those men that gain their living by finding out and selling mummies, and who alone are acquainted with the caves which have been the least raked into; we resolved on employing these Arabs to make researches by themselves. But whether they were disinclined to let us see that they had not directed us right, or whether there really was in this canton no mummy in a state of perfect preservation, I never was able to procure one in its coffin."

NOTE XXVIII. p. 816.

I MUCH doubt whether Galen ever expressed what is here attributed to him by Abd Allatif, but rather imagine, as I find nothing similar in the index in omnes Galeni libros of A. M. Brasavolus, that Abd Allatif has either extracted it from some treatise wrongly attributed to Galen, or quoted the passage from memory; and ascribed to Galen what he had seen extracted from Dioscorides or Aristotle. Galen indeed (*Op. Hippoc. and Gal. t. xiii. p. 108, 109, 217, 317.*) speaks in different places of the bitumen of Judæa, and that of Apollonia in Epirus, which he distinguishes from that of Judæa, and which is denominated by Dioscorides pissasphaltum.

The following is the passage of Aristotle, as cited by Ebn-Beitar (*Hib. de Mir. Auscult. exp. 2. Beckman p. 139. 280.*)

"Moumia Dioscorides, in his first book, says, is found in the country called Apollonia: it falls from the Acroceraunian Mountains (now Monte di Chimæra) along with the water, by which it is thrown on the shore: by this time it has coagulated and become firm: it yields a smell resembling white pitch mixed with bitumen, and mingled therewith an ungrateful smell. The virtues of moumia are the same as those of white pitch and bitumen combined.

NOTE XXIX. p. 817.

Paul Lucas in the relation of his travels, in 1714, (t. II. p. 99.) mentions his having seen in the catacombs of Boufir, which he denominates Abouzire, a number of heads of cattle, and a case which enclosed an entire beeve embalmed. Hasselquist speaks of one found by Father Sicard, and which, he says, was sent to Paris by that missionary. These embalmed beeves are probably, as was conjectured by P. Lucas and Mr. White, the entombed apis.

The French naturalists attached to the expedition to Egypt, remarked in the catacombs of Sakkara, towards the north, a place full of the bones of beeves; which gave them reason to conclude that this portion of the catacombs was set apart for the sepulture of the sacred bulls, or other embalmed beeves; and that if these bones were cleared away, embalmed bulls might be found in an entire state: but they had not sufficient leisure to pursue the search. Their observations on the bones enabled them, however, to ascertain that the horned cattle of ancient Egypt were of the same species as our common domestic beeves.

NOTE XXX. p. 817.

"It sometimes happens," says Hasselquist, "that in these urns are found a bird, the feathers, head, legs, feet of which, and even the appropriate colours, are so well preserved, that its species is readily known. The stork or ibis, and the crane are the only ones, as I am informed, which are to be found.

NOTE XXXI. p. 817.

I am assured that these fish are small bunnis (*Cyprinus Niloticus*): but it is clear that these little fish are distinguished into two species; one of which is called ray, the other abfaria or lesaria. On this subject I consulted by letter Mr. Michael Sabbagh, a well-informed man, and worthy of credit. This is the substance of his answer:

"After salutation and presenting my respects, I have to acknowledge the honour of your letter. As to the question you put to me relative to those small fish of which Makrisi speaks, you must know, Sir, that the moment the Nile begins to diminish, the inhabitants of Egypt close the openings of the ponds, which have been filled by the overflowings of the river on its increase; they then throw into the ponds a paste of the name of backma, made with linseed. Within a month afterwards, the ponds are filled with an inconceivable multitude of these small fish. These are what are called abfaria. The fish resemble the small fry eaten at Paris, and of which I have myself partaken, dressed in the Egyptian manner. This name comprizes several fish of different kinds; but among them is one in particular called ray: the distinguishing marks of this fish are a white colour, brilliant as polished silver, with the extremity of the tail marked red.

This is the species which the inhabitants of Cairo salt, and denominate seer. In the upper part of the Sâïl, this fish becomes of larger size, and grows to the length of a span, or even more. Here they salt it, and transport it hence to Cairo. In the Sâïl, the prepared fish is called rothal, and at Cairo, melouha (salt-fish); I must add that, for the besari, I have met with it in many countries; but for the particular species called ray, I have heard from the most distinguished and learned characters at Cairo, that it is found only in the Nil-. I myself have never seen any ray in other countries, although I have eaten besari caught in numerous rivers of Syria, Aleppo, and even of this country.

"I am much surprised that Makrisi should not have distinguished and characterised the difference between the ray and the besari. Possibly in his time attention was not paid to their difference; but at present the ray alone is salted; the besari is eaten fresh, and is even said not to be adapted for salting. It is also said that the internal part of the ray is very good, but of the besari the reverse. And this, in fact, is the truth, for I have noticed that the cooks in preparing the besari, take out its entrails with great nicety, whereas the ray is eaten without being opened. The ray is also constantly dearer than the besari. The ponds yield no other fish but these. This, Sir, is the substance of what I have to inform you."

NOTE XXXII. p. 817.

"The leaves," says Mr. Reynier, in his observations on the palm-date tree and its culture, "have at the base of their stalks (petioles) appendages or stipulæ which embrace the bud, and serve as coverings for the germinating leaf, and in season to those of the flowers: the development of these appendages precedes that of the leaves: the leaves afterwards lengthen in bundles, in which all the young are placed one over the other, without, at this period, having assumed any colour. The appendages are now white, of the consistence of very tenacious leather, and covered with a remarkably smooth skin, through which a web is perceived resembling a net, and formed of the interweaving of the fibres, of which it is composed. As soon as the leaf altogether developed makes its appearance without, its appendages become brown in those parts exposed to the light, the epidemis dries, and falls in shreds, and the fibres left naked and hardened by the action of the air, preserve themselves awhile in that condition; but if not gathered, in the end perish. Below, the use to which these fibres are applied will be noticed. What is the utility of these appendages in the organization of the date-tree? Are they designed merely as a covering to preserve the bud; do they comprise a provision of vessels, necessary to the development of a leaf of such great dimensions, but no longer of service afterwards for its preservation? This I have not been able to discover.

"The leaves of the palm-date are cut towards the end of winter, at the instant when the sap becoming active rapidly unfolds the leaves which protrude from the bud. The appendages at the base of the stalks have also their utility; of them cordage of various diameter is formed applicable to different uses, and even to the service of vessels navigating the Nile."

Mr. Reynier, at first, described these stipulæ or fibrous appendages in somewhat different terms. This first passage I shall transcribe, as the comparison of the two details will give a more perfect idea of the matter.

"The leaves, before they unfold themselves, are surrounded by remarkable expansions, of a coriaceous substance, and smooth surface, which, encasing themselves (l'emboitant) one in the other, serve to shelter the rudiments of the leaf, least formed in the center. They are formed before the leaves, and these, when they begin to appear, are bent together in a bundle, in which all the young leaves lay one against the other; at this period the envelope has acquired its full growth. This expansion is differently organised in the remainder of the plant: its fibres form a reticulation or net work. Before the appearance of the leaf, they are white, and of the consistence of very tough leather; after the leaf unfolds, this covering disappears, and there remains only a net of brown fibres on the base of the leaf. In this state they are carefully collected for making cordage, for which purpose their tenacious texture and great pliability render them admirably well adapted."

NOTE XXXIII. p. 83.

No doubt Abd Allatif had only an extract before him, or a bad translation of the policy of Aristotle: for in this, that philosopher speaks distinctly of the pyramids, in a passage which, most probably, is the same alluded to by Abd Allatif.

"This," says he, "again, is another resource of tyrants to impoverish those they command, in order that they may not be obliged to maintain a guard (for the security of their persons, and that their subjects having support only from day to day, should have no leisure to plot conspiracies). The pyramids of Egypt, the offerings of the Cypselides, the temple of Jupiter Olympus raised by Pisistratus, and the works constructed at Samos by Polycrates, present us severally with specimens of this policy."

NOTE XXXIV. p. 818.

The passage alluded to by Abd Allatif is at the end of the fifth book on the Regime of Health. He says there: "Those who have reached that age are called haram, a word derived from ahram, the pyramids, in which they have soon to take their station."

END OF VOL. XV.

